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A

HISTORY OF GREECE;

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE CLOSE OF THE GENERATION
CONTEMPORARY WITH ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

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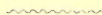
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Ἡμίθεοι προτέρη γενέη.—HESIOD.



PART. II.—HISTORICAL GREECE.

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HISTORY OF GREECE.

PART II.

CONTINUATION OF HISTORICAL GREECE.

CHAPTER IX.

CORINTH, SIKYON, AND MEGARA—AGE OF THE GRECIAN DESPOTS.

I HAVE thus brought down the history of Sparta to the period marked by the reign of Peisistratus at Athens: at which time she had attained her maximum of territory, was confessedly the most powerful state in Greece, and enjoyed a proportionate degree of deference from the rest. I now proceed to touch upon the three Dorian cities on and near to the Isthmus—Corinth, Sikyôn, and Megara, as they existed at this same period.

Even amidst the scanty information which has reached us, we trace the marks of considerable maritime energy and commerce among the Corinthians, as far back as the eighth century B.C. The foundation of Korkyra and Syracuse, in the eleventh Olympiad, or 734 B.C. (of which I shall speak farther in connexion with Grecian colonisation generally), by expeditions from Corinth, affords proof that they knew how to turn to account the excellent situation which connected them with the sea on both sides of Peloponnesus. Moreover Thucydides,¹ while he notices them as the chief liberators of the sea in early times from pirates, also tells us that the first great improvement in ship-building—the construction of the trireme, or ship of war, with a full deck and triple banks for the rowers—was the fruit of Corinthian ingenuity. It was in the year

¹ Thucyd. i. 13.

703 B.C., that the Corinthian Ameinoklês built four triremes for the Samians, the first which those islanders had ever possessed. The notice of this fact attests as well the importance attached to the new invention, as the humble scale on which the naval force in those early days was equipped. And it is a fact of not less moment, in proof of the maritime vigour of Corinth in the seventh century B.C., that the earliest naval battle known to Thucydides was one which took place between the Corinthians and the Korkyræans, B.C. 664.¹

It has already been stated that the line of Herakleid kings in Corinth subsides gradually, through a series of empty names, into the oligarchy denominated Bacchiadæ or Bacchiads, under whom our first historical knowledge of the city begins. The persons so named were all accounted descendants of Hêraklês, and formed the governing 'caste in the city; intermarrying usually among themselves, and choosing from their own number an annual prytanis, or president, for the administration of affairs. Of their internal government we have no accounts, except the tale respecting Archias the founder of Syracuse,² one of their number, who had made himself so detested by an act of brutal violence terminating in the death of the beautiful youth Aktæon, as to be forced to expatriate. That such a man should have been placed in the distinguished post of Ekist of the colony of Syracuse, gives us no favourable idea of the Bacchiad oligarchy: we do not however know upon what original authority the story depends, nor can we be sure that it is accurately recounted. But Corinth under their government had already become a powerful commercial and maritime city.

Megara, the last Dorian state in this direction eastward, and conterminous with Attica at the point where the mountains called Kerata descend to Eleusis and the Thriasian plain, is affirmed to have been originally settled by the Dorians of Corinth, and to have remained for some time a dependency of that city. It is farther said to have been at first merely one of

¹ Thucyd. i. 13.

² Plutarch, Amator. Narrat. c. 2, p. 772; Diodor. Fragm. lib. viii. p. 56. Alexander Ætolus (Fragm. i. 5, ed. Schneidewin), and the Scho-

liast. ad Apollon. Rhod. iv. 1212, seem to connect this act of outrage with the expulsion of the Bacchiadæ from Corinth, which did not take place until long afterwards.

five separate villages—Megara, Heræa, Peiræa, Kynosura, Tripodiskus—inhabited by a kindred population, and generally on friendly terms, yet sometimes distracted by quarrels, and on those occasions carrying on war with a degree of lenity and chivalrous confidence which reverses the proverbial affirmation respecting the sanguinary character of enmities between kindred. Both these two statements are transmitted to us (we know not from what primitive source) as explanatory of certain current phrases: ¹ the author of the latter cannot have agreed with the author of the former in considering the Corinthians as masters of the Megarid, because he represents them as fomenting wars among these five villages for the purpose of acquiring that territory. Whatever may be the truth respecting this alleged early subjection of Megara, we know it ² in the historical age, and that too as early as the fourteenth Olympiad, only as an independent Dorian city, maintaining the integrity of its territory under its leader Orsippus the famous Olympic runner, against some powerful enemies, probably the Corinthians. It was of no mean consideration, possessing a territory which extended across Mount Geranea to the Corinthian Gulf, on which the fortified town

¹ The first account seems referred to Dēmôn (a writer on Attic archæology, or what is called an Ἀρχαιολόγος, whose date is about 280 B.C. See Phanodēmi, Dēmônis, Clitodēmi, atque Istri, Ἀρχιδων, Fragmenta, ed. Siebelies, Præfatio, p. viii.-xi.). It is given as the explanation of the locution—ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος. See Schol. ad Pindar. Nem. vii. ad finem; Schol. Aristophan. Ran. 440: the Corinthians seem to have represented their Eponymous hero as son of Zeus, though other Greeks did not believe them (Pausan. ii. 1, 1). That the Megarians were compelled to come to Corinth for demonstration of mourning on occasion of the decease of any of the members of the Bacchiad oligarchy, is, perhaps, a story copied from the regulation at Sparta regarding the Perioeci and Helots (Herodot. vi.

57; Pausan. iv. 14, 3; Tyrtaeus, Fragm.). Pausanias conceives the victory of the Megarians over the Corinthians, which he saw commemorated in the Megarian ἑστύριος at Olympia, as having taken place before the first Olympiad, when Phorbas was life-archon at Athens: Phorbas is placed by chronologers fifth in the series from Medon son of Codrus (Pausan. i. 39, 4; vi. 19, 9). The early enmity between Corinth and Megara is alluded to in Plutarch, De Malignitate Herodoti, p. 868, c. 35.

The second story noticed in the text is given by Plutarch, Quæstion. Græc. c. 17, p. 295, in illustration of the meaning of the word Δορβήσιος.

² Pausanias, i. 44, 1, and the epigram upon Orsippus in Boeckh, Corpus Inscript. Gr. No. 1050, with Boeckh's commentary.

and port of Pêgæ, belonging to the Megarians, was situated. It was mother of early and distant colonies,—and competent, during the time of Solon, to carry on a protracted contest with the Athenians, for the possession of Salamis; wherein, although the latter were at last victorious, it was not without an intermediate period of ill-success and despair.

Of the early history of Sikyôn, from the period when it became Dorian down to the seventh century B.C., we know nothing. Our first information respecting it, concerns the establishment of the despotism of Orthagoras, about 680-670 B.C. And it is a point deserving of notice, that all the three above-mentioned towns,—Corinth, Sikyôn, and Megara—underwent during the course of this same century a similar change of government. In each of them a despot established himself: Orthagoras in Sikyôn; Kypselus in Corinth; Theagenês in Megara.

Unfortunately we have too little evidence as to the state of things by which this change of government was preceded and brought about, to be able to appreciate fully its bearing. But what draws our attention to it more particularly is, that the like phænomenon seems to have occurred contemporaneously throughout a large number of cities, continental, insular and colonial, in many different parts of the Grecian world. The period between 650 and 500 B.C. witnessed the rise and downfall of many despots and despotic dynasties, each in its own separate city. During the succeeding interval between 500 and 350 B.C., new despots, though occasionally springing up, become more rare. Political dispute takes another turn, and the question is raised directly and ostensibly between the many and the few—the people and the oligarchy. But in the still later times which follow the battle of Chæroneia, in proportion as Greece, declining in civic not less than in military spirit, is driven to the constant employment of mercenary troops, and humbled by the overruling interference of foreigners—the despot with his standing foreign body-guard becomes again a characteristic of the time; a tendency partially counteracted, but never wholly subdued, by Aratus and the Achæan league of the third century B.C.

It would have been instructive if we had possessed a faithful record of these changes of government in some of

the more considerable of the Grecian towns. In the absence of such evidence, we can do little more than collect the brief sentences of Aristotle and others respecting the causes which produced them. For as the like change of government was common, near about the same time, to cities very different in locality, in race of inhabitants, in tastes and habits, and in wealth, it must partly have depended upon certain general causes which admit of being assigned and explained.

Earliest
changes of
govern-
ment in
Greece.

In a preceding chapter I tried to elucidate the heroic government of Greece, so far as it could be known from the epic poems—a government founded (if we may employ modern phraseology) upon divine right as opposed to the sovereignty of the people, but requiring, as an essential condition, that the king shall possess force, both of body and mind, not unworthy of the exalted breed to which he belongs.¹ In this government the authority, which pervades the whole society, all resides in the king. But on important occasions it is exercised through the forms of publicity: he consults, and even discusses, with the council of chiefs or elders—he communicates after such consultation with the assembled Agora,—who hear and approve, perhaps hear and murmur, but are not understood to exercise an option or to reject. In giving an account of the Lycurgean system, I remarked that the old primitive *Khetraë* (or charters of compact) indicated the existence of these same elements; a king of superhuman lineage (in this particular case two coordinate kings)—a senate of twenty-eight old men, besides the kings who sat init—and an *Ekklesia* or public assembly of citizens, convened for the purpose of approving or rejecting propositions submitted to them, with little or no liberty of discussion. The elements of the heroic government of Greece are thus found to be substantially the same as those existing in the primitive Lycurgean constitution; in both cases the predominant force residing in the kings—and the functions of the senate, still more those of the public assembly, being comparatively narrow and restricted: in both cases the regal authority being upheld by a certain religious sentiment, which tended to exclude rivalry and to ensure submission in the people up to a certain point, in spite of misconduct or deficiency

¹ See a striking passage in Plutarch, *Præcept. Reipubl. Gerend.* c. 5, p. 801.

in the reigning individual. Among the principal Epirotic tribes this government subsisted down to the third century B.C.,¹ though some of them had passed out of it, and were in the habit of electing annually a president out of the gens to which the king belonged.

Starting from these points, common to the Grecian heroic government, and to the original Lyscurgean system, we find that in the Grecian cities generally the king is replaced by an oligarchy, consisting of a limited number of families—while at Sparta the kingly authority, though greatly curtailed, is never abolished. And the different turn of events at Sparta admits of being partially explained. It so happened that for five centuries neither of the two coordinate lines of Spartan kings was ever without some male representatives, so that the sentiment of divine right, upon which their pre-eminence was founded, always proceeded in an undeviating channel. That sentiment never wholly died out in the tenacious mind of Sparta, but it became sufficiently enfeebled to occasion a demand for guarantees against abuse. If the senate had been a more numerous body, composed of a few principal families, and comprising men of all ages, it might perhaps have extended its powers so much as to absorb those of the king. But a council of twenty-eight old men, chosen indiscriminately from all Spartan families, was essentially an adjunct and secondary force. It was insufficient even as a restraint upon the king—still less was it competent to become his rival; and it served indirectly even as a support to him, by preventing the formation of any other privileged order powerful enough to be an overmatch for his authority. This insufficiency on the part of the senate was one of the causes which occasioned the formation of the annually renewed Council of Five, called the Ephors; originally a defensive board like the Roman Tribunes, intended as a restraint upon abuse of power in the kings, but afterwards expanding into a paramount and irresponsible Executive Directory. Assisted by endless dissensions between the two coordinate kings, the Ephors encroached upon their power on every side, limited them to certain special functions, and even rendered them accountable and liable to punishment, but never aspired to abolish the dignity. That which the regal authority lost in extent (to

¹ Plutarch, Pyrrh. c. 5. Aristot. Polit. v. 9, 1.

borrow the just remark of king Theopompus¹) it gained in durability. The descendants of the twins Eurysthenês and Proklês continued in possession of their double sceptre from the earliest historical times down to the revolutions of Agis III. and Kleomenês III.—generals of the military force, growing richer and richer, and revered as well as influential in the state, though the Directory of Ephors were their superiors. And the Ephors became in time quite as despotic, in reference to internal affairs, as the kings could ever have been before them. For the Spartan mind, deeply possessed with the feelings of command and obedience, remained comparatively insensible to the ideas of control and responsibility, and even averse to that open discussion and censure of public measures or officers, which such ideas imply. We must recollect that the Spartan political constitution was both simplified in its character and aided in its working by the comprehensive range of the Lycurgean discipline with its rigorous equal pressure upon rich and poor, which averted many of the causes elsewhere productive of sedition—habituating the proudest and most refractory citizen to a life of undeviating obedience—satisfying such demand as existed for system and regularity—rendering Spartan personal habits of life much more equal than even democratical Athens could parallel; but contributing at the same time to engender a contempt for talkers, and a dislike of methodical and prolonged speech, which of itself sufficed to exclude all regular interference of the collective citizens, either in political or judicial affairs.

Such were the facts at Sparta. But in the rest of Greece the primitive heroic government was modified in a very different manner: the people outgrew, much more decidedly, that feeling of divine right and personal reverence which originally gave authority to the king. Willing submission ceased on the part of the people, and still more on the part of the inferior chiefs; and with it ceased the heroic royalty. Something like a system or constitution came to be demanded.

Of this discontinuance of kingship, so universal in the political march of Hellas, one main cause is doubtless to be sought in the smallness and concentrated residence

¹ Aristot. Polit. v. 9, 1.

of each distinct Hellenic society. A single chief, perpetual and irresponsible, was noway essential for the maintenance of union. In modern Europe, for the most part, the different political societies which grew up out of the Roman empire embraced each a considerable population and a wide extent of territory. The monarchical form presented itself as the only known means of union between the parts; the only visible and imposing symbol of a national identity. Both the military character of the Teutonic invaders, as well as the traditions of the Roman empire which they dismembered, tended towards the establishment of a monarchical chief. The abolition of his dignity would have been looked upon as equivalent, and would really have been equivalent, to the breaking up of the nation; since the maintenance of a collective union by means of general assemblies was so burdensome, that the kings themselves vainly tried to exact it be force, and representative government was then unknown.

The history of the middle ages—though exhibiting constant resistance on the part of powerful subjects, frequent deposition of individual kings, and occasional changes of dynasty—contains few instances of any attempt to maintain a large political aggregate united without a king, either hereditary or elective. Even towards the close of the last century, at the period when the federal constitution of the United States of America was first formed, many reasoners regarded¹ as an impossibility the application of any other system than the monarchical to a territory of large size and population, so as to combine union of the whole with equal privileges and securities to each of the parts. And it might perhaps be a real impossibility among any rude people, with strong local peculiarities, difficult means of communication, and habits of representative government not yet acquired. Hence throughout all the larger nations of mediæval and modern Europe, with few exceptions, the prevailing sentiment has been favourable

¹ See this subject discussed in the admirable collection of letters, called the *Federalist*, written in 1787, during the time when the federal constitution of the United States of America was under dis-

cussion—Letters 9, 10, 14, by Mr. Madison.

“Il est de la nature d’une république (says Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, viii. 16) de n’avoir qu’un petit territoire: sans cela, elle ne peut guère subsister.”

to monarchy; but wherever any single city or district, or cluster of villages, whether in the plains of Lombardy or in the mountains of Switzerland, has acquired independence—wherever any small fraction has severed itself from the aggregate—the opposite sentiment has been found, and the natural tendency has been towards some modification of republican government;¹ out of which indeed, as in Greece, a despot has often been engendered, but always through some unnatural mixture of force and fraud. The feudal system, evolved out of the disordered state of Europe between the eighth and thirteenth centuries, always presumed a permanent suzerain, vested with large rights of a mixed personal and proprietary character over his vassals, though subject also to certain obligations towards them: the immediate vassals of the king had subordinate vassals of their own, to whom they stood in the same relation: and in this hierarchy² of power, property, and territory blended together, the rights of the chief, whether king, duke, or baron, were conceived as constituting a status apart, and neither conferred originally by the grant, nor revocable at

¹ David Hume, in his Essay XV, (vol. i. p. 159, ed. 1760), after remarking “that all kinds of government, free and despotic, seem to have undergone in modern times (*i. e.* as compared with ancient) a great change to the better, with regard both to foreign and domestic management,” proceeds to say:—

“But though all kinds of government be improved in modern times, yet monarchical government seems to have made the greatest advances towards perfection. It may now be affirmed of civilized monarchies, what was formerly said in praise of republics alone, that they are a government of laws, not of men. They are found susceptible of order, method, and constancy to a surprising degree. Property is there secure: industry encouraged; the arts flourish; and the prince lives secure among his subjects, like a father among his children. There are perhaps, and have been for two centuries, near two hun-

dred absolute princes, great and small, in Europe; and allowing twenty years to each reign, we may suppose that there have been in the whole two thousand monarchs or tyrants; as the Greeks would have called them; yet of these there has not been one, not even Philip II. of Spain, so bad as Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, who were four in twelve amongst the Roman emperors. It must however be confessed, that though monarchical governments have approached nearer to popular ones in gentleness and stability, they are still much inferior. Our modern education and customs instil more humanity and moderation than the ancient, but have not as yet been able to overcome entirely the disadvantages of that form of government.”

² See the Lectures of M. Guizot, Cours d'Histoire Moderne, Leçon 30, vol. iii. p. 187, edit. 1829.

the pleasure of those over whom they were exercised. This view of the essential nature of political authority was a point in which the three great elements of modern European society—the Teutonic, the Roman, and the Christian—all concurred, though each in a different way and with different modifications; and the result was, a variety of attempts on the part of subjects to compromise with their chief, without any idea of substituting a delegated executive in his place. On particular points of these feudal monarchies there grew up gradually towns with a concentrated population, among whom was seen the remarkable combination of a republican feeling, demanding collective and responsible management in their own local affairs, with a necessity of union and subordination towards the great monarchical whole: and hence again arose a new force tending both to maintain the form, and to predetermine the march, of kingly government.¹ And it has been found in practice possible to attain this latter object—to combine regal government with fixity of administration,

¹ M. Augustin Thierry observes, *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*, Lettre xvi. p. 235:

“Sans aucun souvenir de l'histoire Grecque ou Romaine, les bourgeois des onzième et douzième siècles, soit que leur ville fût sous la seigneurie d'un roi, d'un comte, d'un duc, d'un évêque ou d'une abbaye allaient droit à la république; mais la réaction du pouvoir établi les rejetait souvent en arrière. Du balancement de ces deux forces opposées résultait pour la ville une sorte de gouvernement mixte, et c'est ce qui arriva, en général, dans le nord de la France, comme le prouvent les chartes de commune.”

Even among the Italian cities, which became practically self-governing, and produced despots as many in number and as unprincipled in character as the Grecian (I shall touch upon this comparison more largely hereafter), Mr. Hallam observes, that “the sovereignty of the emperors, though

not very effective, was in theory always admitted: their name was used in public acts and appeared upon the coin.”—View of the Middle Ages, Part I. ch. 3. p. 346, sixth edit.

See also M. Raynouard, *Histoire du Droit Municipal en France*, Book iii. ch. 12. vol. ii. p. 156: “Cette séparation essentielle et fondamentale entre les actes, les agens du gouvernement—et les actes, les agens de l'administration locale pour les affaires locales—cette démarcation politique, dont l'empire Romain avoit donné l'exemple, et qui concilioit le gouvernement monarchique avec une administration populaire—continua plus ou moins expressément sous les trois dynasties.”

M. Raynouard presses too far his theory of the continuous preservation of the municipal powers in towns from the Roman empire down to the third French dynasty; but into this question it is not necessary for my purpose to enter.

equal law impartially executed, security to person and property, and freedom of discussion under representative forms,—in a degree which the wisest ancient Greek would have deemed hopeless.¹ Such an improvement in the practical working of this species of government, speaking always comparatively with the kings of ancient times in Syria, Egypt, Judæa, the Grecian cities, and Rome,—coupled with the increased force of all established routine, and the greater durability of all institutions and creeds which have obtained footing throughout any wide extent of territory and people—has caused the monarchical sentiment to remain predominant in the European mind (though not without vigorous occasional dissent) throughout the increased knowledge and the enlarged political experience of the last two centuries.

It is important to show that the monarchical institutions and monarchical tendencies prevalent throughout mediæval and modern Europe have been both generated and perpetuated by causes peculiar to those societies, whilst in the Hellenic societies such causes had no place—in order that we may approach Hellenic phenomena in the proper spirit, and with an impartial estimate of the feeling universal among Greeks towards the idea of a king. The primitive sentiment entertained towards the heroic king died out, passing first into indifference, next—after experience of the despots—into determined antipathy.

To an historian like Mr. Mitford, full of English ideas respecting government, this anti-monarchical feeling appears of the nature of insanity, and the Grecian communities like madmen without a keeper: while the greatest of all benefactors is the hereditary king who conquers them from without—the second best is the home despot who seizes the acropolis and puts his fellow-citizens under coercion.

¹ In reference to the Italian republics of the middle ages, M. Sismondi observes, speaking of Philip della Torre, denominated *signor* by the people of Como, Vercelli and Bergamo, "Dans ces villes, non plus que dans celles que son frère s'était auparavant soulevées, le peuple ne croyoit point renoncer à sa liberté: il n'ayoit point

voulu choisir un maître, mais seulement un protecteur contre les nobles, un capitaine des gens de guerre, et un chef de la justice. L'expérience lui apprit trop tard, que ces prérogatives réunies constituoient un souverain."—*Républiques Italiennes*, vol. iii. ch. 2 p. 273.

Anti-monarchical sentiment of Greece—Mr. Mitford.

There cannot be a more certain way of misinterpreting and distorting Grecian phenomena than to read them in this spirit, which reverses the maxims both of prudence and morality current in the ancient world. The hatred of kings as it stood among the Greeks (whatever may be thought about a similar feeling now) was a pre-eminent virtue, flowing directly from the noblest and wisest part of their nature. It was a consequence of their deep conviction of the necessity of universal legal restraint; it was a direct expression of that regulated sociality which required the control of individual passion from every one without exception, and most of all from him to whom power was confided. The conception which the Greeks formed of an irresponsible One, or of a king who could do no wrong, may be expressed in the pregnant words of Herodotus:¹ "He subverts the customs of the country: he violates women: he puts men to death without trial." No other conception of the probable tendencies of kingship was justified either by a general knowledge of human nature, or by political experience as it stood from Solon downward: no other feeling than abhorrence could be entertained for the character so conceived: no other than a man of unprincipled ambition would ever seek to invest himself with it.

Our larger political experience has taught us to modify this opinion, by showing that under the conditions of monarchy in the best governments of modern Europe the enormities described by Herodotus do not take place—and that it is possible, by means of representative constitutions acting under a certain force of manners, customs, and historical recollection, to obviate many of the mischiefs likely to flow from proclaiming the duty of peremptory obedience to an hereditary and irresponsible king, who cannot be changed without extra-constitutional force. But such larger observation was not open to Aristotle, the wisest as well as the most cautious of ancient theorists; nor if it had been open, could he have applied with assurance its lessons to the governments of the single cities of Greece. The theory of a constitutional king, especially, as it exists in England, would have appeared to him impracticable: to establish a king who will reign without governing—in whose name all government is carried on,

¹ Herod. iii. 80. Νομῶν τε καὶ πατρὶν, καὶ βῆται γυναικας, καὶ βίαι τε ἀνδρῶν.

yet whose personal will is in practice of little or no effect—exempt from all responsibility, without making use of the exemption—receiving from every one unmeasured demonstrations of homage, which are never translated into act except within the bounds of a known law—surrounded with all the paraphernalia of power, yet acting as a passive instrument in the hands of ministers marked out for his choice by indications which he is not at liberty to resist. This remarkable combination of the fiction of superhuman grandeur and licence with the reality of an invisible strait-waistcoat, is what an Englishman has in his mind when he speaks of a constitutional king. The events of our history have brought it to pass in England, amidst an aristocracy the most powerful that the world has yet seen—but we have still to learn whether it can be made to exist elsewhere, or whether the occurrence of a single king, at once able, aggressive, and resolute, may not suffice to break it up. To Aristotle, certainly, it could not have appeared otherwise than unintelligible and impracticable: not likely even in a single case—but altogether inconceivable as a permanent system and with all the diversities of temper inherent in the successive members of an hereditary dynasty. When the Greeks thought of a man exempt from legal responsibility, they conceived him as really and truly such, in deed as well as in name, with a defenceless community exposed to his oppressions; and their fear and hatred of him was measured by their reverence for a government of equal law and free speech,¹ with the ascendancy of which

¹ Euripides (Supplices, 429) states plainly the idea of a τύραννος, as received in Greece; the antithesis to laws:—

Οὐδέν τυράννου δυσμενέστερον πολέει.

“Οπου, το μὲν πρωτιστον, οὐκ εἰσιν νόμοι

Κοινῶι, κρατεῖ δ’ εἰς, τὸν νόμον κεκτημένος

Αὐτὸς παρ’ αὐτῷ.

Compare Soph. Antigon. 737. See also the discussion in Aristot. Polit. iii. sect. 10 and 11, in which the rule of the king is discussed in comparison with the government of laws; compare also iv. 8, 2—3.

The person called “a king according to law” is, in his judgement, no king at all: ‘Ο μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον λεγόμενος βασιλεὺς οὐκ εἰσιν εἶδος καθάπερ εἶπομεν βασιλῆας (iii. 11, 1).

Respecting ἰσονομία, ἰσχυροῖα, πᾶρρησία—equal laws and equal speech—as opposed to monarchy, see Herodot. iii. 142. v. 78—2 Thucyd. iii. 62; Demosthen. ad Leptin. c. 6. p. 461; Eurip. Ion. 671.

Of Timoleon it was stated, as a part of the grateful vote passed after his death by the Syracusan assembly—ἔτι τοὺς τυράννους κατὰ

their whole hopes of security were associated,—in the democracy of Athens more perhaps than in any other portion of Greece. And this feeling, as it was one of the best in the Greek mind, so it was also one of the most widely spread,—a point of unanimity highly valuable amidst so many points of dissension. We cannot construe or criticise it by reference to the feelings of modern Europe, still less to the very peculiar feelings of England, respecting kingship: and it is the application, sometimes explicit and sometimes tacit, of this unsuitable standard, which renders Mr. Mitford's appreciation of Greek politics so often incorrect and unfair.

When we try to explain the course of Grecian affairs, not from the circumstances of other societies, but from those of the Greeks themselves, we shall see good reason for the discontinuance as well as for the dislike of kingship. Had the Greek mind been as stationary and unimproving as that of the Orientals, the discontent with individual kings might have led to no other change than the deposition of a bad king in favour of one who promised to be better, without ever extending the views of the people to any higher conception than that of a personal government. But the Greek mind was of a progressive character, capable of conceiving and gradually of realizing amended social combinations. Moreover it is in the nature of things that any government—regal, oligarchical or democratical—which comprises only a single city, is far less stable than if it embraced a wider surface and a larger population. When that semi-religious and mechanical submission, which made up for the personal deficiencies of the heroic king, became too feeble to serve as a working principle, the petty prince was in too close contact with his people, and too humbly furnished out in every way, to get up a prestige or delusion of any other kind. He had no means of overawing their imaginations by that combination of pomp, seclusion, and mystery, which Herodotus and Xenophon so well appreciate among the artifices of kingcraft.¹ As there was no new

ἰσχυρῶς, ἀποδείκνυται τὸ ὅτι οὐ μόνον τὸν
Συμεωναίτην. (Plutarch Timoleon,
c. 39.)

See Karl Fried. Hermann, Griech.
Staatsalterthümer, sect. 61—65.

¹ See the account of Deïokês the
first Median king in Herodotus, i.
98, evidently an outline drawn by
Grecian imagination: also the
Cyropædia of Xenophon, viii. 1,

feeling upon which a perpetual chief could rest his power, so there was nothing in the circumstances of the community which rendered the maintenance of such a dignity necessary for visible and effective union.¹ In a single city, and a small circumjacent community, collective deliberation and general rules, with temporary and responsible magistrates, were practicable without difficulty.

To maintain an irresponsible king, and then to contrive accompaniments which shall extract from him the benefits of responsible government, is in reality a highly complicated system, though, as has been remarked, we have become familiar with it in modern Europe. The more simple and obvious change is, to substitute one or more temporary and responsible magistrates in place of the king himself. Such was the course which affairs took in Greece. The inferior chiefs, who had originally served as council to the king, found it possible to supersede him, and to alternate the functions of administration among themselves; retaining probably the occasional convocation of the general assembly, as it had existed before, and with as little practical efficacy. Such was in substance the character of that mutation which occurred generally throughout the Grecian

Change to
oligarchi-
cal govern-
ment.

states, with the exception of Sparta: kingship was abolished, and an oligarchy took its place—a council deliberating collectively, deciding general matters by the majority of voices, and

selecting some individuals of their own body as temporary and accountable administrators. It was always an oligarchy which arose on the defeasance of the heroic kingdom. The age of democratical movement was yet far distant, and the condition of the people—the general body of freemen—was not immediately altered, either for better or worse, by the revolution. The small number of privileged persons, among whom the kingly attributes were distributed and put in rotation, were those nearest in rank to the king himself; perhaps members of the same large gens with him.

40; viii. 3, 1—14; vii. 5, 37 . . . ὁ τούτω μὲν ἐνόμιζε (Κῆρος) χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν τῇ βελτίονας αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγογετέωσι ὥστε χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς, &c.

¹ David Hume, Essay xvii. On the Rise and Progress of the Arts

and Sciences, p. 198, ed. 1760. The effects of the greater or less extent of territory, upon the nature of the government, are also well discussed in Destutt Tracy, *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des Loix de Montesquieu*, ch. viii.

and pretending to a common divine or heroic descent. As far as we can make out, this change seems to have taken place in the natural course of events and without violence. Sometimes the kingly lineage died out and was not replaced; sometimes, on the death of a king, his son and successor was acknowledged¹ only as archon—or perhaps set aside altogether to make room for a Prytanis or president out of the men of rank around.

At Athens, we are told that Kodrus was the last king and that his descendants were recognised only as archons for life. After some years, the archons for life were replaced by archons for ten years, taken from the body of Eupatridæ or nobles; subsequently, the duration of the archonship was further shortened to one year. At Corinth, the ancient kings are said to have passed in like manner into the oligarchy of the Bacchiadæ, out of whom an annual Prytanis was chosen. We are only able to make out the general fact of such a change, without knowing how it was brought about—our first historical acquaintance with the Grecian cities beginning with these oligarchies.

Such oligarchical governments, varying in their details but analogous in general features, were common throughout the cities of Greece Proper as well as of the colonies, throughout the seventh century B.C. Though they had little immediate tendency to benefit the mass of the freemen, yet when we compare them with the antecedent heroic government, they indicate an important advance—the first adoption

¹ Aristot. Polit. iii. 6—7; iii. 10, 7—8.

M. Augustin Thierry remarks, in a similar spirit, that the great political change, common to so large a portion of mediæval Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries whereby the many different *communes* or city constitutions were formed, was accomplished under great varieties of manner and circumstances; sometimes by violence, sometimes by harmonious accord.

“C'est une controverse qui doit finir, que celle des franchises municipales obtenues par l'insur-

rection et des franchises municipales accordées. Quelque face du problème qu'on envisage, il reste bien entendu que les constitutions urbaines du xii. et du xiii. siècle, comme toute espèce d'institutions politiques dans tous les temps, ont pu s'établir à force ouverte, s'octroyer de guerre lasse ou de plein gré, être arrachées ou sollicitées, vendues ou données gratuitement: les grandes révolutions sociales s'accomplissent par tous ces moyens à la fois.”—(Aug. Thierry, *Récits des Temps Mérovingiens*, Préface, p. 19, 2de édit.)

of a deliberate and preconceived system in the management of public affairs.¹ They exhibit the first evidences of new and important political ideas in the Greek mind—the separation of legislative and executive powers; the former vested in a collective body, not merely deliberating but also finally deciding—while the latter is confided to temporary individual magistrates, responsible to that body at the end of their period of office. We are first introduced to a community of citizens, according to the definition of Aristotle—men qualified, and thinking themselves qualified, to take turns in command and obedience. The collective sovereign, called The City, is thus constituted. It is true that this first community of citizens comprised only a small proportion of the men personally free; but the ideas upon which it was founded began gradually to dawn upon the minds of all. Political power had lost its heaven-appointed character, and had become an attribute legally communicable as well as determined to certain definite ends: and the ground was thus laid for those thousand questions which agitated so many of the Grecian cities during the ensuing three centuries, partly respecting its apportionment, partly respecting its employment,—questions sometimes raised among the members of the privileged oligarchy itself, sometimes between that order as a whole and the non-privileged Many. The seeds of those popular movements, which called forth so much profound emotion, so much bitter antipathy, so much energy and talent, throughout the Grecian world, with different modifications in each particular city, may thus be traced back to that early revolution which erected the primitive oligarchy upon the ruins of the heroic kingdom.

How these first oligarchies were administered we have no direct information. But the narrow and anti-popular interests naturally belonging to a privileged few, together

¹ Aristot. Polit. iii. 10, 7. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ (i. e. after the early kings had had their day) συνέβηεν γίνεσθαι πολλοὺς ὁμοῦς πρὸς ἄρετήν, οὐκ ἔτι ὑπερῆσαν (τῇ βασιλείᾳ) ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἄλλου τι, καὶ πολιτείας καλίστας.

Καὶ οὗτοι τι, a commune, the great

object for which the European towns in the middle ages, in the twelfth century, struggled with so much energy, and ultimately obtained: a charter of incorporation, and a qualified privilege of internal self-government.

Dissatisfaction with the oligarchies—modes by which the despots acquired power.

with the general violence of private manners and passions, leave us no ground for presuming favourably respecting either their prudence or their good feeling; and the facts which we learn respecting the condition of Attica prior to the Solonian legislation (to be recounted in the next chapter) raise inferences all of an unfavourable character.

The first shock which they received, and by which so many of them were subverted, arose from the usurpers called Despots, who employed the prevalent discontents both as pretexts and as aids for their own personal ambition, while their very frequent success seems to imply that such discontents were wide spread as well as serious. These despots arose out of the bosom of the oligarchies, but not all in the same manner.¹ Sometimes the executive magistrate, upon whom the oligarchy themselves had devolved important administrative powers for a certain temporary period, became unfaithful to his choosers, and acquired sufficient ascendancy to retain his dignity permanently in spite of them—perhaps even to transmit it to his son. In other places, and seemingly more often, there arose that noted character called the Demagogue, of whom historians both ancient and modern commonly draw so repulsive a picture:² a man of energy and ambition, sometimes even a member of the oligarchy itself, who stood forward as champion of the grievances and sufferings of the non-privileged Many, acquired their favour, and employed their strength so effectively as to put down the oligarchy by force, and constitute himself despot. A third form of despot, some presumptuous wealthy man, like Kylon at Athens, without even the pretence of popularity, was occasionally

¹ The definition of a despot is given in Cornelius Nepos, Vit. Miltiadis, c. 8:—"Omnes habentur et dicuntur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in eâ civitate, quæ libertate usa est:" compare Cicero de Republicâ, ii. 26, 27; iii. 14.

The word *tyrannos* was said by Hippias the sophist to have first found its way into the Greek language about the time of Archilochus (B.C. 660): Böckh thinks

that it came from the Lydians or Phrygians (Comment. ad Corp. Inscript. No. 3439).

² Aristot. Polit. v. 8, 2, 3, 4. *Τύραννος*—*ἐκ προστυχῆς βίης καὶ οὐκ ἀλλοτρίης ἐκβήσσεται* (Plato. Repub. viii. c. 17. p. 565). *Ὁδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἀλλοτρίον, ἔπειτα δὲ τὸν τύραννον ἐκ δημοκρατίας προέται* (Dionys. Halic. vi. 60): a proposition decidedly too general.

emboldened, by the success of similar adventurers in other places, to hire a troop of retainers and seize the acropolis. And there were examples, though rare, of a fourth variety—the lineal descendant of the ancient kings—who, instead of suffering himself to be restricted or placed under control by the oligarchy, found means to subjugate them, and to extort by force an ascendancy as great as that which his forefathers had enjoyed by consent. To these must be added, in several Grecian states, the *Æsymnête* or Dictator, a citizen formally invested with supreme and irresponsible power, placed in command of the military force, and armed with a standing body-guard, but only for a time named, and in order to deal with some urgent peril or ruinous internal dissension.¹ The person thus exalted, always enjoying a large measure of confidence, and generally a man of ability, was sometimes so successful, or made himself so essential to the community, that the term of his office was prolonged, and he became practically despot for life; or even if the community were not disposed to concede to him this permanent ascendancy, he was often strong enough to keep it against their will.

Such were the different modes in which the numerous Greek despots of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. acquired their power. Though we know thus much in general terms from the brief statements of Aristotle, yet unhappily we have no contemporary picture of any one of these communities, so as to give us the means of appreciating the change in detail. Of the persons who, possessing inherited kingly dignity, stretched their paternal power so far as to become despots, Aristotle gives us Pheidôn of Argos as an example, whose reign has been already narrated. Of those who made themselves despots by means of official power previously held under an oligarchy, he names Phalaris at Agrigentum and the despots at Miletus and other cities of the Ionic Greeks: among others who raised themselves by becoming demagogues, he specifies Panætius in the Sicilian town of Leontini, Kypselus at Corinth, and Peisistratus at Athens;² of *Æsymnêtes* or chosen despots,

¹ Aristot. iii. 9, 5; iii. 10, 1–10; iv. 8, 2. *Ἀντισυνέταται—ἀντισυνέτατοι* *πολλοὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις* *τίμῃσι—ἀντισύνοδοι*: compare Theophrastus, Fragment, *περὶ Βρυθόκοι*; and Dionys. Hal. A. R. v. 73–74;

Strabo, xiii. p. 617; and Aristot. Fragment, *Rerum Publicarum*, ed. Neumann, p. 122, *Κρατὶς* *Ἡλιπείας*.

² Aristot. Polit. v. 8, 2, 3, 4; v. 4, 5. Aristotle refers to one of

Pittakus of Mitylênê is the prominent instance. The military and aggressive demagogue, subverting an oligarchy which had degraded and ill-used him, governing as a cruel despot for several years, and at last dethroned and slain, is farther depicted by Dionysius of Halikarnassus in the history of Aristodêmus of the Italian Cumæ.¹

From the general statement of Thucydidês as well as of Aristotle, we learn that the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. were centuries of progress for the Greek cities generally, in wealth, in power, and in population; and the numerous colonies founded during this period (of which I shall speak in a future chapter) will furnish further illustration of such progressive tendencies. Now the changes just mentioned in the Grecian governments, imperfectly as we know them, are on the whole decided evidences of advancing citizenship. For the heroic government, with which Grecian communities begin, is the rudest and most infantine of all governments: destitute even of the pretence of system or security, incapable of being in any way foreknown, and depending only upon the accidental variations in the character of the reigning individual, who in most cases, far from serving as a protection to the poor against the rich and great, was likely to indulge his passions in the same unrestrained way as the latter, and with still greater impunity.

The despots, who in so many towns succeeded and supplanted this oligarchical government, though they governed on principles usually narrow and selfish, and often oppressively cruel, "taking no thought (to use the emphatic words of Thucydides) except each for his own body and his own family"—yet since they were not strong enough to crush the Greek mind, imprinted upon it a painful but improving political lesson, and contributed much to enlarge the range of experience as well as to determine the subsequent cast of feeling.² They partly broke down the wall of distinction

the songs of Alkeus as his evidence respecting the elevation of Pittakus: a very sufficient proof doubtless—but we may see that he had no other informants, except the poets, about these early times.

¹ Dionys. Hal. A. R. vii. 2, 12.

The reign of Aristodemus falls about 510 B.C.

² Thucyd. i. 17. Τὸν χρόνον δὲ ἔσται ἴσχυς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησποντίοις πολέμου, τοσοῦτον ἔστω τῶν πόλεων προσφθιμένων ἐς τὰς πόλιν καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ἴσου οἶκον.

between the people—properly so called, the general mass of freemen—and the oligarchy: indeed the demagogue-despots are interesting as the first evidence of the growing importance of the people in political affairs. The demagogue stood forward as representing the feelings and interests of the people against the governing few, probably availing himself of some special cases of ill-usage, and taking pains to be conciliatory and generous in his own personal behaviour. When the people by their armed aid had enabled him to overthrow the existing rulers, they had thus the satisfaction of seeing their own chief in possession of the supreme power, but they acquired neither political rights nor increased securities for themselves. What measure of positive advantage they may have reaped, beyond that of seeing their previous oppressors humiliated, we know too little to determine.¹ But even the worst of despots was more formidable to the rich than to the poor; and the latter may perhaps have gained by the change, in comparative importance, notwithstanding their share in the rigours and exactions of a government which had no other permanent foundation than naked fear.

A remark made by Aristotle deserves especial notice here, as illustrating the political advance and education of the Grecian communities. He draws a marked distinction between the early demagogue of the seventh and sixth centuries, and the later demagogue, such as he himself, and the generations immediately preceding, had witnessed. The former was a military chief, daring and full of resource, who took arms at the head of a body of popular insurgents, put down the government by force, and made himself the master both of those whom he deposed and of those by whose aid he deposed them: while the latter was a speaker, possessed of all the talents necessary for moving an audience, but neither inclined to, nor qualified for, armed attack—accomplishing all his purposes by pacific

The demagogue-despot of the earlier times compared with the demagogue of later times.

οὐδὲν δὲ διαφύλακτος ἔσαν εὐφραντο μέγιστα, τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ᾔχοντα.

¹ Wachsmuth (*Hellenische Alterthumskunde*, sect. 49-51) and Tittmann (*Griechisch. Staatsverfassungen*, p. 527-533) both make too much of the supposed friendly con-

nexion and mutual goodwill between the despot and the poorer freemen. Community of antipathy against the old oligarchy was a bond essentially temporary, dissolved as soon as that oligarchy was put down.

and constitutional methods. This valuable change—substituting discussion and the vote of an assembly in place of an appeal to arms, and procuring for the pronounced decision of the assembly such an influence over men's minds as to render it final and respected even by dissentients—arose from the continued practical working of democratical institutions. I shall have occasion, at a later period of this history, to estimate the value of that unmeasured obloquy which has been heaped on the Athenian demagogues of the Peloponnesian war—Kleôn and Hyperbolus; but assuming the whole to be well-founded, it will not be the less true that these men were a material improvement on the earlier demagogues such as Kypselus and Peisistratus, who employed the armed agency of the people for the purpose of subverting the established government and acquiring despotic authority for themselves. The demagogue was essentially a leader of opposition, who gained his influence by denouncing the men in real ascendancy, and in actual executive functions. Now under the early oligarchies his opposition could be shown only by armed insurrection, and it conducted him either to personal sovereignty or to destruction. But the growth of democratical institutions ensured both to him and to his political opponents full liberty of speech, and a paramount assembly to determine between them; whilst it both limited the range of his ambition, and set aside the appeal to armed force. The railing demagogue of Athens at the time of the Peloponnesian war (even if we accept literally the representations of his worst enemies) was thus a far less mischievous and dangerous person than the fighting demagogue of the earlier centuries; and the “growth of habits of public speaking”¹ (to use Aristotle's expression) was the cause of the difference. Opposition by the tongue was a beneficial substitute for opposition by the sword.

The rise of these despots on the ruins of the previous oligarchies was, in appearance, a return to the principles

¹ Aristot. Polit. v. 4, 4; 7, 3. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων, ὅτε γένετο ὁ αὐτός δημοκράτης καὶ στρατηγός, εἰς τὴν πόλιν μεταβαλλόν, σχεδόν, γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐκ δημοκρατίας γένεσθαι. Αὐτοὶ δὲ τοῦ τότε μὲν γενέσθαι, ὅν δὲ μή, ὅτι τότε μὲν,

οἱ δημοκράται ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν στρατηγούτων, ὃ γὰρ πῶ θειοὶ ἦσαν λέγεσθαι, ὅν δὲ, τῆς χρηστοῦς ἡρώδης, οἱ δυνάμειοι λέγεσθαι δημοκράται μὲν, δι' ἀπειρίαν δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν οὐκ ἐπιτελεσθαι, πλεονεξίας ὅτι βραχύ τι γέγονε τοιοῦτον.

of the heroic age—the restoration of a government of personal will in place of that systematic arrangement known as the City. But the Greek mind had so far outgrown those early principles, that no new government founded thereupon could meet with willing acquiescence, except under some temporary excitement. At first doubtless the popularity of the usurper—combined with the fervour of his partisans and the expulsion or intimidation of opponents, and further enhanced by the punishment of rich oppressors—was sufficient to procure for him obedience; and prudence on his part might prolong this undisputed rule for a considerable period, perhaps even throughout his whole life. But Aristotle intimates that these governments, even when they began well, had a constant tendency to become worse and worse. Discontent manifested itself, and was aggravated rather than repressed by the violence employed against it, until at length the despot became a prey to mistrustful and malevolent anxiety, losing any measure of equity or benevolent sympathy which might once have animated him. If he was fortunate enough to bequeath his authority to his son, the latter, educated in a corrupt atmosphere and surrounded by parasites, contracted dispositions yet more noxious and unsocial. His youthful appetites were more ungovernable, while he was deficient in the prudence and vigour which had been indispensable to the self-accomplished rise of his father.¹ For such a position, mercenary guards and a fortified acropolis were the only stay—guards fed at the expense of the citizens, and thus requiring constant exactions on behalf of that which was nothing better than a hostile garrison. It was essential to the security of the despot that he should keep down the spirit of the free people whom he governed; that he should isolate them from each other, and prevent those meetings and mutual communications which Grecian cities habitually presented in the School, the Leschê, or the Palaestra; that he should strike off the overtopping ears of corn in the field (to use the Greek locution) or crush the

Contrast between the despot and the early heroic king.
Position of the despot.

¹ Aristot. Polit. v. 8, 20. The whole tenor of this eighth chapter (of the fifth book) shows how un-restrained were the personal pas-

sions—the lust as well as the anger—of a Grecian τύραννος.

Τὸν τοὺς τύραννον ἐνέχεζεν ὁ πόδες.
(Sophokles ap. Schol. Aristides, vol. iii. p. 291, ed. Dindorf).

exalted and enterprising minds.¹ Nay, he had even to a certain extent an interest in degrading and impoverishing them, or at least in debarring them from the acquisition either of wealth or leisure. The extensive constructions undertaken by Polykratês at Samos, as well as the rich donations of Periander to the temple at Olympia, are considered by Aristotle to have been extorted by these despots with the express view of engrossing the time and exhausting the means of their subjects.

It is not to be imagined that all were alike cruel or unprincipled. But the perpetual supremacy of one man or one family had become so offensive to the jealousy of those who felt themselves to be his equals, and to the general feeling of the people, that repression and severity were inevitable, whether originally intended or not. And even if an usurper, having once entered upon this career of violence, grew sick and averse to its continuance, abdication only left him in imminent peril, exposed to the vengeance² of those whom

Good government impossible to him.

¹ Aristot. Polit. iii. 8, 3; v. 8, 7. Herodot. v. 92. Herodotus gives the story as if Thrasybulus had been the person to suggest this hint by conducting the messenger of Periander into a corn-field and there striking off the tallest ears with his stick. Aristotle reverses the two, and makes Periander the adviser: Livy (i. 54) transfers the scene to Gabii and Rome, with Sextus Tarquinius as the person sending for counsel to his father at Rome. Compare Plato, *Republ.* viii. c. 17. p. 565; Eurip. *Supplic.* 414-455.

The discussion which Herodotus ascribes to the Persian conspirators, after the assassination of the Magian king, whether they should constitute the Persian government as a monarchy, an oligarchy, or a democracy, exhibits a vein of ideas purely Grecian, and altogether foreign to the Oriental conception of government. But it sets forth—briefly, yet with great perspicuity and penetration—the advantages

and disadvantages of all the three. The case made out against monarchy is by far the strongest, while the counsel on behalf of monarchy assumes as a part of his case that the individual monarch is to be the best man in the state. The anti-monarchical champion Otanes concludes a long string of criminations against the despot with these words above-noticed,—“He subverts the customs of the country: he violates women: he puts men to death untried.” (Herod. iii. 80-82).

² Thucyd. ii. 62. Compare again the speech, of Kleon, iii. 37-40—*ὡς τυραννίδι γὰρ ἔχετε αὐτήν, ἣν λαβεῖν μὲν σόλων δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀφείναι δὲ ἐπιτέλλουσιν.*

The better sentiment against despots seems to be as old as Alkæus, and we find traces of it in Solon and Theognis (*Theognis*, 38-50; Solon, *Fragm.* vii. p. 32, ed. Schneidewin). Phanias of Eresus had collected in a book the “Assassinations of Despots from revenge”

he had injured—unless indeed he could clothe himself with the mantle of religion, and stipulate with the people to become priest of some temple and deity; in which case his new function protected him, just as the tonsure and the monastery sheltered a dethroned prince in the middle ages.¹ Several of the despots were patrons of music and poetry, courting the goodwill of contemporary intellectual men by invitation as well as by reward. Moreover there were some cases, such as that of Peisistratus and his sons at Athens, in which an attempt was made (analogous to that of Augustus at Rome) to reconcile the reality of personal omnipotence with a certain respect for pre-existing forms.² In such instances the administration—though not unstained by guilt, never otherwise than unpopular, and carried on by means of foreign mercenaries—was doubtless practically milder. But cases of this character were rare; and the maxims usual with Grecian despots were personified in Periander the Kypselid of Corinth—a harsh and brutal person, though not destitute either of vigour or intelligence.

The position of a Grecian despot, as depicted by Plato, by Xenophon and by Aristotle,³ and farther sustained by

(*Τυράννων ἀντιρρήσεις ἐκ τιμωρίας*—Athenæus, iii. p. 90; x. p. 433).

¹ See the story of Mæandrius, minister and successor of Polykratès of Samos, in Herodotus, iii. 142, 143.

² Thucyd. vi. 54. The epitaph of Archedikè, the daughter of Hippias (which was inscribed at Lampsakus, where she died), though written by a great friend of Hippias, conveys the sharpest implied invective against the usual proceedings of the despots:—

Ἡ περὶς τε καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆων
τ' ὄντα τυράννων
Παίδων τ', ὅχλ' ἡρώων νόον ἐς
ἀτασθαλίην.

(Thuc. vi. 59.)

The position of Augustus at Rome, and of Peisistratus at Athens, may be illustrated by a passage in Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, vol. iv. ch. 26. p. 208:—

“Les petits monarques de chaque ville s'opposaient eux-mêmes à

ce que leur pouvoir fût attribué à un droit héréditaire, parce que l'hérédité aurait presque toujours été rétorqué contre eux. Ceux qui avaient succédé à une république, avaient abaissé des nobles plus anciens et plus illustres qu'eux: ceux qui avaient succédé à d'autres seigneurs n'avaient tenu aucun compte du droit de leurs prédécesseurs, et se sentaient intéressés à le nier. Ils se disaient donc mandataires du peuple: ils ne prenaient jamais le commandement d'une ville, lors même qu'ils l'avaient soumise par les armes, sans se faire attribuer par les anciens ou par l'assemblée du peuple, selon que les uns ou les autres se montraient plus dociles, le titre et les pouvoirs de seigneur général, pour un an, pour cinq ans, ou pour toute leur vie, avec une paie fixe, qui devoit être prise sur les deniers de la communauté.”

³ Consult especially the treatise

the indications in Herodotus, Thucydidês, and Isokratês, though always coveted by ambitious men, reveals clearly enough "those wounds and lacerations of mind" whereby the internal Erinnys avenged the community upon the usurper who trampled them down. Far from considering success in usurpation as a justification of the attempt (according to the theories now prevalent respecting Cromwell and Bonaparte, who are often blamed because they kept out a legitimate king, but never because they seized an unauthorized power over the people), these philosophers regard the despot as among the greatest of criminals. The man who assassinated him was an object of public honour and reward, and a virtuous Greek would seldom have scrupled to carry his sword concealed in myrtle branches, like Har-

of Xenophon, called Hiero, or *Τυραννικός*, in which the interior life and feelings of the Grecian despot are strikingly set forth, in a supposed dialogue with the poet Simonides. The tenor of Plato's remarks in the eighth and ninth books of the Republic, and those of Aristotle in the fifth book (ch. 8 and 9) of the Politics, display the same picture, though not with such fullness of detail. The speech of one of the assassins of Euphrôn (despot of Sikyon) is remarkable, as a specimen of Grecian feeling (Xenoph. Hellen. vii. 3, 7—12). The expressions both of Plato and Tacitus, in regard to the mental wretchedness of the despot, are the strongest which the language affords:—*Καὶ πένης τῷ ἀληθείᾳ φαίνεται, ἔαν τις βίῃ, ψυχῇ ἐπιστήνῃ, καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ, καὶ φρονίᾳ γέμων διὰ παντός τοῦ βίου, σφαδασμῶν τε καὶ ὀδυνῶν πλήρης . . . Ἀνάγκη καὶ εἶλαι, καὶ ἐπιμύθιον γίνεσθαι αὐτῷ ἢ προτερον διὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς, φθονερῶ, ὀπίστηρ, ἀδικῶ, ἀφίμῳ, ἀνοστήρ, καὶ πάσης κακίας πανδοκεῖ τε καὶ τροφεῖ, καὶ εἰ ἀπάντων τούτων μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ δορυτοχεῖ εἶναι, ἔπειτα δε καὶ τοῦς πλησίον αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτους ἀπεργάζεσθαι.* (Republic. ix. p. 550.)

And Tacitus, in the well-known

passage (Annal. vi. 6): "*Neque frustra præstantissimus sapientiæ firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus: quando ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitiâ, libidine, malis consultis, animus dilaceretur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines, protegabant, quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse pœnas fateretur.*"

It is not easy to imagine power more completely surrounded with all circumstances calculated to render it repulsive to a man of ordinary benevolence: the Grecian despot had large means of doing harm,—scarcely any means of doing good. Yet the acquisition of power over others, under any conditions, is a motive so all-absorbing, that even this precarious and anti-social sceptre was always intensely coveted,—*Τυραννίς, χρῆμα σφαλερὸν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρῶσται εἰς:* (Herod. iii. 53). See the striking lines of Solon (Fragment. vii. ed. Schneidewin), and the saying of Jason of Phæræ, who used to declare that he felt hunger until he became despot,—*πενῆν, ὥστε μὴ τυραννοῦ ὥς οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος βιώτης εἶναι* (Aristot. Polit. iii. 2, 6).

modius and Aristogeiton, for the execution of the deed.¹ A station, which overtopped the restraints and obligations involved in citizenship, was understood at the same time to forfeit all title to the common sympathy and protection;² so that it was unsafe for the despot to visit in person those great Pan-Hellenic games in which his own chariot might perhaps have gained the prize, and in which the Theors or sacred envoys, whom he sent as representatives of his Hellenic city, appeared with ostentatious pomp. A government carried on under these unpropitious circumstances could never be otherwise than short-lived. Though the individual daring enough to seize it, often found means to preserve it for the term of his own life, yet the sight of a despot living to old age was rare, and the transmission of his power to his son still more so.³

¹ See the beautiful Skolion of Kallistratus, so popular at Athens, xxvii. p. 456, apud Schneidewin, Poet. Græc.—'Εν μύρτου κλαδί τὸ εἶρος φορέσω, &c.

Xenophon, Hiero, ii. 8. Οἱ τύραννοι πάντες πανταχῇ ὡς διὰ πολέμιας πορεύονται. Compare Isokrates, Or. viii. (De Pace) p. 182; Polyb. ii. 59; Cicero, Orat. pro Milone, c. 29.

Aristot. Polit. ii. 4, 8. 'Επεὶ ἀδικοῦσι γὰρ τὰ μέγιστα διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὰναγκαῖα οἷον τυραννεῖν, οὐχ ἵνα μὴ βιώσιν διὰ καὶ σὶ τιμαὶ μεγάλαι, ἀν' ἀποκτείνῃσι, οὐ κλέπτειν, ἀλλὰ τύραννοι.

There cannot be a more powerful manifestation of the sentiment entertained towards a despot in the ancient world, than the remarks of Plutarch on the conduct of Timoleon in assisting to put to death his brother the despot Timophanēs (Plutarch, Timoleon, c. 4—7, and Comp. of Timoleon with Paulus Æmilius, c. 2). See also Plutarch, Comparison of Dion and Brutus, c. 3, and Plutarch, Præcepta Reipublicæ Gerendæ, c. 11. p. 805; c. 17, p. 813; c. 32. p. 824,—he speaks of the putting down of a despot (τυραν-

νίδων κατάλυσιν) as among the most splendid of human exploits—and the account given by Xenophon of the assassination of Jason of Phæræ, Hellenic. vi. 4, 32.

² Livy, xxxviii. 50. "Qui jus æquum patinon possit, in eum vim haud injustam esse." Compare Theognis, v. 1183, ed. Gaisf.

³ Plutarch, Sept. Sapient. Conviv. c. 2. p. 147.—ὡς ἐρωτηθεῖς ὑπὸ Μελπαγόρου τοῦ Ἰωνος, τί παραδοξότατον εἴης ἐωρακώς, ἀποκρίαιτο, τυραννοὺς γέροντα.—Compare the answer of Thales in the same treatise, c. 7. p. 152.

The orator Lysias, present at the Olympic games, and seeing the Theors of the Syracusan despot Dionysius also present in tents with gilding and purple, addressed an harangue inciting the assembled Greeks to demolish the tents (Lysiaῖ Δόγος Ὀλυμπιακός, Fragm. p. 911, ed. Reisk.; Dionys. Halicar. De Lysiaῖ Judicium, c. 29-30). Theophrastus ascribed to Themistokles a similar recommendation in reference to the Theōrs and the prize chariots of the Syracusan despot Hiero (Plutarch, Themistokles, c. 25).

The common-places of the rhe-

Amidst the numerous points of contention in Grecian political morality, this rooted antipathy to a permanent hereditary ruler stood apart as a sentiment almost unanimous, in which the thirst for pre-eminence felt by the wealthy few, and the love of equal freedom in the bosoms of the many, alike concurred. It first began among the oligarchies of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., being a reversal of that pronounced monarchical sentiment which we now read in the Iliad; and it was transmitted by them to the democracies which did not arise until a later period. The conflict between oligarchy and despotism preceded that between oligarchy and democracy, the Lacedæmonians standing forward actively on both occasions to uphold the oligarchical principle. A mingled sentiment of fear and repugnance led them to put down despotism in several cities of Greece during the sixth century B.C., just as during their contest with Athens in the following century, they assisted the oligarchical party to overthrow democracy. And it was thus that the demagogue-despot of these earlier times—bringing out the name of the people as a pretext, and the arms of the people as a means of accomplishment, for his own ambitious designs—served as a preface to the reality of democracy which manifested itself at Athens a short time before the Persian war, as a development of the seed planted by Solon.

As far as our imperfect information enables us to trace, these early oligarchies of the Grecian states, against which the first usurping despots contended, contained in themselves more repulsive elements of inequality, and more mischievous barriers between the component parts of the population, than the oligarchies of later days. What was true of Hellas as an aggregate, was true, though in a less degree, of each separate community which

Early oligarchies included a multiplicity of different sections and associations.

tors afford the best proof how unanimous was the tendency in the Greek mind to rank the despot among the most odious criminals, and the man who put him to death among the benefactors of humanity. The rhetor Theon, treating upon common-places, says: Τοπος ἐστὶ λόγος ἀνέστης ὁ μόνος γού-

μένου πράγματος, ἤτοι ἀμαρτήματος, ἢ ἀνδραγαθήματος. Ἐστὶ γὰρ διττός ὁ τόπος· ὁ μὲν τις, κατὰ τῶν πεποιημένων, οἷον κατὰ τυράννου, προδότου, ἀνδροφόνου, ἀσωτου· ὁ δὲ τις, ὑπὲρ τῶν χορηστών τι διαπραγμαμένων οἷον ὑπὲρ τυράννοκτόνου, ἀριστέως νομοθέτου. (Theon, Prologues-

went to compose that aggregate. Each included a variety of clans, orders, religious brotherhoods, and local or professional sections, very imperfectly cemented together: so that the oligarchy was not (like the government so denominated in subsequent times) the government of a rich few over the less rich and the poor, but that of a peculiar order, sometimes a Patrician order, over all the remaining society. In such a case the subject Many might number opulent and substantial proprietors as well as the governing Few; but these subject Many would themselves be broken into different heterogeneous fractions not heartily sympathising with each other, perhaps not intermarrying together, nor partaking of the same religious rites. The country-population, or villagers who tilled the land, seem in these early times to have been held to a painful dependence on the great proprietors who lived in the fortified town, and to have been distinguished by a dress and habits of their own, which often drew upon them an unfriendly nickname. These town proprietors often composed the governing class in early Grecian states; while their subjects consisted—1. Of the dependent cultivators living in the district around, by whom their lands were tilled. 2. Of a certain number of small self-working proprietors (*αὐτοῦργοι*), whose possessions were too scanty to maintain more than themselves by the labour of their own hands on their own plot of ground—residing either in the country or the town, as the case might be. 3. Of those who lived in the town, having not land, but exercising handicraft, arts or commerce.

The governing proprietors went by the name of the Gamori or Geomori, according as the Doric or Ionic dialect might be used in describing them, since they were found in states belonging to one race as well as to the other. They appear to have constituted a close order, transmitting their privileges to their children, but admitting no new members to a participation. The principle called by Greek thinkers a Timocracy (the apportionment of political rights and privileges according to comparative property) seems to have been little, if at all, applied in the earlier times. We know no example of it earlier than Solon. So

Govern-
ment of the
Geomori—
a close
order of
present or
past pro-
prietors.

nata, c. vii. ap. Walz. Coll. Rhett. volume, and Dionysius Halikarn. vol. i. p. 222. Compare Aphthonius, Ars Rhetorica, x. 15. p. 390, ed. Progyumn. c. vii. p. 82 of the same Reiske.)

that by the natural multiplication of families and mutation of property, there would come to be many individual Gamori possessing no land at all,¹ and perhaps worse off than those small freeholders who did not belong to the order; while some of these latter freeholders, and some of the artisans and traders in the towns, might at the same time be rising in wealth and importance. Under a political classification such as this, of which the repulsive inequality was aggravated by a rude state of manners, and which had no flexibility to meet the changes in relative position amongst individual inhabitants, discontent and outbreaks were unavoidable. The earliest despot, usually a wealthy man of the disfranchised class, became champion and leader of the malcontents.² However oppressive his rule might be, at least it was an oppression which bore with indiscriminate severity upon all the fractions of the population; and when the hour of reaction against him or against his successor arrived, so that the common enemy was expelled by the united efforts of all, it was hardly possible to revive the pre-existing system of exclusion and inequality without some considerable abatements.

As a general rule, every Greek city-community included in its population, independent of bought slaves, the three elements above noticed,—considerable land-proprietors with rustic dependents, small self-working proprietors, and town-artisans,—the three elements being found everywhere in different proportions. But the progress of events in Greece, from the seventh century B.C. downwards, tended continually to elevate the comparative importance of the two latter; while in those early days the ascendancy of the former was at its maximum, and altered only to decline. The military force of most of the cities was at first in the hands of the great proprietors, and formed by them. It consisted of cavalry, themselves and their retainers, with horses fed upon their lands. Such was the primitive oligarchical militia, as constituted in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.³ at Chalkis and Eretria in Eubœa, as well as at Kolophôn and other cities in Ionia,

¹ Like various members of the Polish or Hungarian noblesse in recent times.

² Thucyd. i. 13.

³ Aristot. Polit. iv. 3, 2; 11, 10. Aristot. Rerum Public. Fragm. ed. Neumann, Fragm. v. Εὐβοῶντος πολιτείας, p. 112; Strabo, x. p. 447.

and as it continued in Thessaly down to the fourth century B.C. But the gradual rise of the small proprietors and town-artisans was marked by the substitution of heavy-armed infantry in place of cavalry. Moreover a further change not less important took place, when the resistance to Persia led to the great multiplication of Grecian ships of war, manned by a host of seamen who dwelt congregated in the maritime towns. All these movements in the Grecian communities tended to break up the close and exclusive oligarchies with which our first historical knowledge commences; and to conduct them, either to oligarchies rather more open, embracing all men of a certain amount of property—or else to democracies. But the transition in both cases was usually attained through the interlude of the despot.

Rise of the heavy-armed infantry and of the free military marine—both unfavourable to oligarchy.

In enumerating the distinct and unharmonious elements of which the population of these early Grecian communities was made up, we must not forget one further element which was to be found in the Dorian states generally—men of Dorian, as contrasted with men of non-Dorian, race. The Dorians were in all cases immigrants and conquerors, establishing themselves along with and at the expense of the prior inhabitants. Upon what terms the co-habitation was established, and in what proportions invaders and invaded came together—we have little information. Important as this circumstance is in the history of these Dorian communities, we know it only as a general fact, without being able to follow its results in detail. But we see enough to satisfy ourselves that in those revolutions which overthrew the oligarchies both at Corinth and Sikyôn—perhaps also at Megara—the Dorian and non-Dorian elements of the community came into conflict more or less direct.

Dorian states—Dorian and non-Dorian inhabitants.

The despots of Sikyôn are the earliest of whom we have any distinct mention. Their dynasty lasted 100 years, a longer period than any other Grecian despots known to Aristotle; they are said moreover to have governed with mildness and

Dynasty of despots at Sikyôn—the Orthagoridæ.

¹ Aristot. Polit. v. 9. 21. An oracle is said to have predicted to the Sikyonians that they would be subjected for the period of a cen-

tury to the hand of the scourger (Diodor. Fragm. lib. vii.-x.; Fragm. xiv. ed. Mai)

with much practical respect to the pre-existing laws. Orthagoras, the beginner of the dynasty, raised himself to the position of despot about 676 B.C., subverting the pre-existing Dorian oligarchy;¹ but the cause and circumstances of this revolution are not preserved. He is said to have been originally a cook. In his line of successors we find mention of Andreas, Myrôn, Aristônymus and Kleisthenês. Myrôn gained a chariot victory at Olympia in the 33rd Olympiad (648 B.C.), and built at the same holy place a thesaurus containing two ornamented alcoves of copper, for the reception of commemorative offerings from himself and his family.² Respecting Kleisthenês (whose age must be placed between 600-560 B.C., but can hardly be determined accurately), some facts are reported to us highly curious, but of a nature not altogether easy to follow or verify.

We learn from the narrative of Herodotus that the tribe to which Kleisthenês³ himself (and of course his progenitors Orthagoras and the other Orthagoridæ also)

¹ Herodot. vi. 126; Pausan. ii. 8, 1. There is some confusion about the names of Orthagoras and Andreas; the latter is called a *cook* in Diodorus (Fragment. Excerpt. Vatic. lib. vii.-x. Fragm. xiv.). Compare Libanius in Sever. vol. iii. p. 251, Reisk. It has been supposed, with some probability, that the same person is designated under both names: the two names do not seem to occur in the same author. See Plutarch, Ser. Numin. Vind. c. 7. p. 553.

Aristotle (Polit. v. 10, 3) seems to have conceived the dominion as having passed direct from Myrôn to Kleisthenês, omitting Aristônymus.

² Pausan. vi. 19, 2. The Eleians informed Pausanias that the brass in these alcoves came from Tartessus (the southwestern coast of Spain from the Strait of Gibraltar to the territory beyond Cadiz): he declines to guarantee the statement. But O. Müller treats it as a certainty,—“two apartments in-

laid with Tartessian brass, and adorned with Doric and Ionic columns. Both the architectural orders employed in this building, and the Tartessian brass, which the Phokæans had then brought to Greece in large quantities from the hospitable king Arganthonius, attest the intercourse of Myrôn with the Asiatics.” (Dorians, i. 8, 2.) So also Dr. Thirlwall states the fact: “copper of Tartessus, which had not long been introduced into Greece.” (Hist. Gr. ch. x. p. 483, 2nd ed.) Yet, if we examine the chronology of the case, we shall see that the thirty-third Olympiad (648 B.C.) must have been earlier even than the first discovery of Tartessus by the Greeks,—before the accidental voyage of the Samian merchant Kôlaeus first made the region known to them, and more than half a century (at least) earlier than the commerce of the Phokæans with Arganthonius. Compare Herod. iv. 152; i. 163, 167.

³ Herodot. v. 67.

belonged, was distinct from the three Dorian tribes, who have been already named in my previous chapter respecting the Lycurgean constitution at Sparta—the Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes. We also learn that these tribes were common to the Sikyonians and the Argeians. Kleisthenês, being in a state of bitter hostility with Argos, tried in several ways to abolish the points of community between the two. Sikyôn, originally dorised by settlers from Argos, was included in the “lot of Temênus,” or among the towns of the Argeian confederacy. The coherence of this confederacy had become weaker and weaker, partly without doubt through the influence of the predecessors of Kleisthenês; but the Argeians may perhaps have tried to revive it, thus placing themselves in a state of war with the latter, and inducing him to disconnect palpably and violently Sikyôn from Argos. There were two anchors by which the connexion held—first, legendary and religious sympathy; next, the civil rites and denominations current among the Sikyonian Dorians: both of them were torn up by Kleisthenês. He changed the names both of the three Dorian tribes, and of that non-Dorian tribe to which he himself belonged: the last he called by the complimentary title of Archelai (commanders of the people); the first three he styled by the insulting names of Hyatæ, Oneatæ, and Chœreatæ, from the three Greek words signifying a boar, an ass, and a little pig. The extreme bitterness of such an insult can only be appreciated when we fancy to ourselves the reverence with which the tribes in a Grecian city regarded the hero from whom their name was borrowed. That these new denominations, given by Kleisthenês, involved an intentional degradation of the Dorian tribes as well as an assumption of superiority for his own, is affirmed by Herodotus, and seems well-deserving of credit.

But the violence of which Kleisthenês was capable in his anti-Argeian antipathy, is manifested still more plainly in his proceedings with respect to the hero Adrastus and to the legendary sentiment of the people. Something has already been said in a former chapter¹ about this remarkable incident, which must however be here again briefly noticed. The hero Adrastus, whose chapel Herodotus himself saw in the Sikyonian agora, was common both to

¹ See above, Part I. ch. 21.

Argos and to Sikyôn, and was the object of special reverence at both. He figures in the legend as king of Argos, and as the grandson and heir of Polybus king of Sikyôn. He was the unhappy leader of the two sieges of Thebes, so famous in the ancient epic. The Sikyonians listened with delight both to the exploits of the Argeians against Thebes, as celebrated in the recitations of the epical rhapsodes, and to the mournful tale of Adrastus and his family misfortunes, as sung in the tragic chorus. Kleisthenês not only forbade the rhapsodes to come to Sikyôn, but further resolved to expel Adrastus himself from the country—such is the literal Greek expression,¹ the hero himself being believed to be actually present and domiciled among the people. He first applied to the Delphian oracle for permission to carry this banishment into direct effect; but the Pythian priestess returned an answer of indignant refusal,—“Adrastus is king of the Sikyonians, but thou art a ruffian.” Thus baffled, he put in practice a stratagem calculated to induce Adrastus to depart of his own accord.² He sent to Thebes to beg that he might be allowed to introduce into Sikyôn the hero Melanippus; and the permission was granted. Now Melanippus—being celebrated in the legend as the puissant champion of Thebes against Adrastus and the Argeian besiegers, and as having slain both Mêkisteus the brother, and Tydeus the son-in-law, of Adrastus—was pre-eminently odious to the latter. Kleisthenês brought this anti-national hero into Sikyôn, assigning to him consecrated ground in the prytaneium or government-house, and even in that part which was most strongly fortified:³ (for it seems that Adrastus was conceived as likely to assail and to battle with the intruder)—moreover he took away both the tragic choruses and the sacrifice from Adrastus, assigning the former to the god Dionysus, and the latter to Melanippus.

The religious manifestations of Sikyôn being thus transferred from Adrastus to his mortal foe, and from the cause of Argeians in the siege of Thebes to that of the

¹ Herod. v. 67. Τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης, εὖτε Ἀργεῖον, εἰσάγειν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

² Herod. v. 67. Ἐπειὸς τε μὲν γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ὁ Ἀδράστου ἀπαλλοτρίετο.

³ Ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τοῦ Μελανίππου, τέμενος οἱ ἀπέδειξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ προταγῆναι καὶ μὴ ἐνδοῦναι τὰ ἱερόα ἐν τῷ ισχυροτάτῳ. (Herod. ib.)

Thebans, Adrastus was presumed to have voluntarily retired from the place. And the purpose which Kleisthenês contemplated, of breaking the community of feeling between Sikyôn and Argos, was in part accomplished.

A ruler who could do such violence to the religious and legendary sentiment of his community may well be supposed capable of inflicting that deliberate insult upon the Dorian tribes which is implied in their new appellations. As we are uninformed, however, of the state of things which preceded, we know not how far it may have been a retaliation for previous insult in the opposite direction. It is plain that the Dorians of Sikyôn maintained themselves and their ancient tribes quite apart from the remaining community; though what the other constituent portions of the population were, or in what relation they stood to these Dorians, we are not enabled to make out. We hear indeed of a dependent rural population in the territory of Sikyôn, as well as in that of Argos and Epidaurus, analogous to the Helots in Laconia. In Sikyôn this class was termed the Korynêphori (club-men) or the Katônakophori, from the thick woollen mantle which they wore, with a sheepskin sewn on to the skirt: in Argos they were called Gymnêsii, from their not possessing the military panoply or the use of regular arms: in Epidaurus, Konipodes or the Dusty-footed.¹ We may conclude that a similar class existed in Corinth, in Megara, and in each of the Dorian towns of the Argolic Aktê. But besides the Dorian tribes and these rustics, there must probably have existed non-Dorian proprietors and town-residents, and upon them we may suppose that the power of the Orthagoridæ and of Kleisthenês was founded, perhaps more friendly and indulgent to the rustic serfs than that of the Dorians had been previously. The moderation, which Aristotle ascribes to the Orthagoridæ generally, is belied by the proceedings of Kleisthenês. But we may probably believe that his predecessors, content with maintaining the real predominance of the non-Dorian over the Dorian population, meddled very

Classes
of Syko-
nian popu-
lation.

¹ Julius Pollux, iii. 83; Plutarch, *Quest. Græc.* c. 1. p. 291; Theopompus ap. Athenæum, vi. p. 271; Welcker, *Prolegomen.* ad Theogorid. c. 10. p. xxxiv.

As an analogy to this name of Konipodes, we may notice the ancient courts of justice called Courts of *Pie-powder* in England, *Pieds-poudrés*.

little with the separate position and civil habits of the latter—while Kleisthenês, provoked or alarmed by some attempt on their part to strengthen alliance with the Argeians, resorted both to repressive measures and to that offensive nomenclature which has been above cited. The preservation of the power of Kleisthenês was due to his military energy (according to Aristotle) even more than to his moderation and popular conduct. It was aided probably by his magnificent displays at the public games, for he was victor in the chariot-race at the Pythian games 582 B.C., as well as at the Olympic games besides. Moreover he was in fact the last of the race, nor did he transmit his power to any successor.¹

The reigns of the early Orthagoridæ then may be considered as marking a predominance, newly acquired but quietly exercised, of the non-Dorians over the Dorians in Sikyôn: the reign of Kleisthenês, as displaying a strong explosion of antipathy from the former towards the latter. And though this antipathy, with the application of those opprobrious tribe-names in which it was conveyed, stand ascribed to Kleisthenês personally—we may see that the non-Dorians in Sikyôn shared it generally, because these same tribe-names continued to be applied not only during the reign of that despot, but also for sixty years longer, after his death. It is hardly necessary to remark that such denominations could never have been acknowledged or employed among the Dorians themselves. After the lapse of sixty years from the death of Kleisthenês, the Sikyonians came to an amicable adjustment of the feud, and placed the tribe-names on a footing satisfactory to all parties. The old Dorian denominations (Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes) were re-established, while the name of the fourth tribe, or non-Dorians, was changed from Archelai to Ægiacleis—Ægiacleus son of Adrastus being constituted their eponymus.² This choice, of the son of Adrastus for an

¹ Aristot. Polit. v. 9, 21; Pausan. x. 7, 3.

² Herod. v. 68. Τούτοις τε τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν φυλέων ἐγγρέωντο οἱ Σικυῶνιοι, καὶ ἐπὶ Κλεισθένης ἀργυροῦτος, καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεώτος ἐπὶ ἐπεὶ ἐξήχοντα μετέπειτα μέντοι λό-

γον σφισὶ δόντας, μετέβαλον ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλέας καὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Δυμάντας· τετάρτους δὲ αὐτοῖσι προσέθεντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδράστου παιδὸς Αἰγιαλέως τῇ ἐπωνυμίῃ ποιούμενοι κεκληθῆναι Αἰγιαλέας.

eponymus, seems to show that the worship of Adrastus himself was then revived in Sikyôn, since it existed in the time of Herodotus.

Of the war which Kleisthenês helped to conduct against Kirrha, for the protection of the Delphian temple, I shall speak in another place. His death and the cessation of his dynasty seem to have occurred about 560 B.C., as far as the chronology can be made out.¹ That he was put down by the

The Sikyo-
nian des-
pots not
put down
by Sparta.

¹ The chronology of Orthagoras and his dynasty is perplexing. The commemorative offering of Myrôn at Olympia is marked for 648 B.C., and this must throw back the beginning of Orthagoras to a period between 680-670. Then we are told by Aristotle that the entire dynasty lasted 100 years; but it must have lasted probably somewhat longer, for the death of Kleisthenês can hardly be placed earlier than 560 B.C. The war against Kirrha (595 B.C.) and the Pythian victory (582 B.C.) fall within his reign: but the marriage of his daughter Agaristê with Megaklês can hardly be put earlier than 570 B.C., if so high; for Kleisthenês the Athenian, the son of that marriage, effected the democratical revolution at Athens in 509 or 508 B.C. Whether the daughter whom Megaklês gave in marriage to Peisistratus about 554 B.C., was also the offspring of that marriage, as Larcher contends, we do not know.

Megaklês was the son of that Alkmaëon who had assisted the deputies sent by Crœsus of Lydia into Greece to consult the different oracles, and whom Crœsus rewarded so liberally as to make his fortune (compare Herod. i. 46; vi. 125): and the marriage of Megaklês was in the next generation after this enrichment of Alkmaëon — μὲτὰ δὲ, γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστερον

(Herod. vi. 126). Now the reign of Crœsus extended from 560-546 B.C. and his deputation to the oracles in Greece appears to have taken place about 556 B.C. If this chronology be admitted, the marriage of Megaklês with the daughter of the Sikyonian Kleisthenês cannot have taken place until considerably after 556 B.C. See the long, but not very satisfactory, note of Larcher, ad Herodot. v. 66.

But I shall show grounds for believing, when I recount the interview between Solôn and Crœsus, that Herodotus in his conception of events misdates very considerably the reign and proceedings of Crœsus as well as of Peisistratus. This is a conjecture of Niebuhr which I think very just, and which is rendered still more probable by what we find here stated about the succession of the Alkmaeonidæ. For it is evident that Herodotus here conceives the adventure between Alkmaëon and Crœsus as having occurred one generation (about twenty-five or thirty years) anterior to the marriage between Megaklês and the daughter of Kleisthenês. That adventure will thus stand about 590-585 B.C., which would be about the time of the supposed interview (if real) between Solôn and Crœsus, describing the maximum of the power and prosperity of the latter.

Spartans (as K. F. Hermann, O. Müller, and Dr. Thirlwall suppose)¹ can be hardly admitted consistently with the narrative of Herodotus, who mentions the continuance of the insulting names imposed by him upon the Dorian tribes for many years after his death. Now, had the Spartans forcibly interfered for the suppression of his dynasty, we may reasonably presume that, even if they did not restore the decided preponderance of the Dorians in Sikyôn, they would at least have rescued the Dorian tribes from this obvious ignominy. But it seems doubtful whether Kleisthenês had any son: and the extraordinary importance attached to the marriage of his daughter Agaristê, whom he bestowed upon the Athenian Megaklês of the great family Alkmæonidæ, seems rather to evince that she was an heiress—not to his power, but to his wealth. There can be no doubt as to the fact of that marriage, from which was born the Athenian leader Kleisthenês, afterwards the author of the great democratical revolution at Athens after the expulsion of the Peisistratidæ; but the lively and amusing details with which Herodotus has surrounded it bear much more the stamp of romance than of reality. Drest up apparently by some ingenious Athenian as a compliment to the Alkmæonid lineage of his city, which comprised both Kleisthenês and Periklês, the narrative commemorates a marriage-rivalry between that lineage and another noble Athenian house, and at the same time gives a mythical explanation of a phrase seemingly proverbial at Athens—“*Hippokleides don't care.*”²

¹ Müller, Dorians, book i. 8, 2; Thirlwall, Hist. of Greece, vol. i. ch. x. p. 486, 2nd ed.

² Herod. vi. 127-131. The locution explained is—Ὁς ἐφεστὶς ἱπποκλείδῃ; compare the allusions to it in the Paræmiographi, Zenob. v. 31; Diogenian. vii. 21; Suidas, xi. 45, ed. Schott.

The convocation of the suitors at the invitation of Kleisthenês from all parts of Greece, and the distinctive mark and character of each, is prettily told, as well as the drunken freak whereby Hippokleidês forfeits both the favour of Kleisthenês and the hand of

Agaristê which he was on the point of obtaining. It seems to be a story framed upon the model of various incidents in the old epic, especially the suitors of Helen.

On one point, however, the author of the story seems to have overlooked both the exigencies of chronology and the historical position and feelings of his hero Kleisthenês. For among the suitors who present themselves at Sikyôn in conformity with the invitation of the latter, one is Leôkêdês, son of Pheidôn the despot of Argos. Now the hostility and vehement antipathy towards Argos,

Plutarch numbers Æschinês of Sikyôn¹ among the despots put down by Sparta: at what period this took place, or how it is to be connected with the history of Kleisthenês as given in Herodotus, we are unable to say.

Contemporaneous with the Orthagoridæ at Sikyôn—but beginning a little later and closing somewhat earlier—we find the despots Kypselus and Periander at Corinth. The former appears as the subverter of the oligarchy called the Bacchiadæ. Of the manner in which he accomplished his object we find no information: and this historical blank is inadequately filled up by various religious prognostics and oracles, foreshadowing the rise, the harsh rule, and the dethronement after two generations, of these powerful despots.

According to an idea deeply seated in the Greek mind, the destruction of a great prince or of a great power is usually signified by the gods beforehand, though either through hardness of heart or inadvertence no heed is taken of the warning. In reference to Kypselus and the Bacchiadæ, we are informed that Melas, the ancestor of the former, was one of the original settlers at Corinth who accompanied the first Dorian chief Alêtês, and that Alêtês was in vain warned by an oracle not to admit him.² Again too, immediately before Kypselus was born, the Bacchiadæ received notice that his mother was about to give birth to one who would prove their ruin: the dangerous infant

which Herodotus ascribes in another place to the Sikyonian Kleisthenês, renders it all but impossible that the son of any king of Argos could have become a candidate for the hand of Agaristê. I have already recounted the violence which Kleisthenês did to the legendary sentiment of his native town, and the insulting names which he put upon the Sikyonian Dorians—all under the influence of a strong anti-Argeian feeling. Next, as to chronology: Pheidôn king of Argos lived some time between 760-750; and his son can never have been a candidate for the daughter of Kleisthenês, whose reign falls 600-560 B.C. Chronolo-

gers resort here to the usual resource in cases of difficulty: they recognise a second and later Pheidôn, whom they affirm that Herodotus has confounded with the first; or they alter the text of Herodotus by reading in place of "son of Pheidôn," "descendant of Pheidôn." But neither of these conjectures rests upon any basis: the text of Herodotus is smooth and clear, and the second Pheidôn is nowhere else authenticated. See Larcher and Wesseling *ad loc.*: compare also Part II. ch. 4. of this History.

¹ Plutarch, *De Herod. Malign. c.* 21. p. 859.

² Pausan. ii. 4, 2.

escaped destruction only by a hair's breadth, being preserved from the intent of his destroyers by lucky concealment in a chest. Labda, the mother of Kypselus, was daughter of Amphiôn, who belonged to the gens or sept of the Bacchiadæ; but she was lame, and none of the gens would consent to marry her with that deformity. Eetiôn, son of Echekratês, who became her husband, belonged to a different, yet hardly less distinguished, heroic genealogy. He was of the Lapithæ, descended from Kæneus, and dwelling in the Corinthian deme called Petra. We see thus that Kypselus was not only a high-born man in the city, but a Bacchiad by half-birth: both of these circumstances were likely to make exclusion from the government intolerable to him. He rendered himself highly popular with the people, and by their aid overthrew and expelled the Bacchiadæ, continuing as despot at Corinth for thirty years until his death (B.C. 655—625). According to Aristotle, he maintained throughout life the same conciliatory behaviour by which his power had first been acquired; and his popularity was so effectually sustained that he had never any occasion for a body-guard. But the Corinthian oligarchy of the century of Herodotus (whose tale that historian has embodied in the oration of the Corinthian envoy Sosiklês¹ to the Spartans) gave a very different description, and depicted Kypselus as a cruel ruler, who banished, robbed, and murdered by wholesale.

His son and successor Periander, though energetic as
 Periander. a warrior, distinguished as an encourager of poetry and music, and even numbered by some among the seven wise men of Greece—is nevertheless uniformly represented as oppressive and inhuman in his treatment of subjects. The revolting stories which are told respecting his private life, and his relations with his mother and his wife, may for the most part be regarded as calumnies suggested by odious associations with his memory. But there seems good reason for imputing to him tyranny of the worst character. The sanguinary maxims of pre-

¹ Aristot. Polit. v. 9, 22. Herodot. v. 92. The tale respecting Kypselus and his wholesale exaction from the people, contained in the spurious second book of the *Œconomica* of Aristotle, coincides with the

general view of Herodotus (Aristot. *Œconom.* ii. 2); but I do not trust the statements of this treatise for facts of the sixth or seventh centuries B.C.

caution, so often acted upon by Grecian despots, were traced back in ordinary belief to Periander¹ and his contemporary Thrasybulus despot of Milêtus. He maintained a powerful body-guard, shed much blood, and was exorbitant in his exactions, a part of which was employed in votive offerings at Olympia. Such munificence to the gods was considered by Aristotle and others as part of a deliberate system, with the view of keeping his subjects both hard at work and poor. On one occasion we are told that he invited the women of Corinth to assemble for the celebration of a religious festival, and then stripped them of their rich attire and ornaments. By some later writers he is painted as the stern foe of everything like luxury and dissolute habits—enforcing industry, compelling every man to render account of his means of livelihood, and causing the procuresses of Corinth to be thrown into the sea.² Though the general features of his character, his cruel tyranny no less than his vigour and ability, may be sufficiently relied on, yet the particular incidents connected with his name are all extremely dubious. The most credible of all seems to be the tale of his inextinguishable quarrel with his son and his brutal treatment of many noble Korkyræan youths, as related in Herodotus. Periander is said to have put to death his wife Melissa, daughter of Proklês despot of Epidaurus. His son Lykophrôn, informed of this deed, contracted an incurable antipathy against him. Periander, after vainly trying both by rigour and by conciliation, to conquer this feeling on the part of his son, sent him to reside at Korkyra, then dependent upon his rule; but when he found himself growing old and disabled, he recalled him to Corinth, in order to ensure the continuance of the dynasty. Lykophrôn still obstinately declined all personal communication with his father, upon which the latter desired him to come to Corinth, and engaged himself to go over to Korkyra. So terrified were the Korkyræans at the idea of a visit from this formidable old man, that they put Lykophrôn to death—a deed which Periander avenged by seizing three hundred youths of their noblest families, and sending them over to the Lydian king Alyattês at Sardis,

¹ Aristot. Polit. v. 9, 2-22; iii. 8, Köhler; Nicolaus Damasc. p. 50, 3, Herodot. v. 92. ed. Orell.; Diogen. Laërt. i. 96-98;

² Ephorus, Frag. 106, ed. Marx.; Suidas, v. Κοψελίδων ἀνέλημα. Herakleides Ponticus, Frag. v. ed.

in order that they might be castrated and made to serve as eunuchs. The Corinthian vessels in which the youths were despatched fortunately touched at Samos in the way; where the Samians and Knidians, shocked at a proceeding which outraged all Hellenic sentiment, contrived to rescue the youths from the miserable fate intended for them, and after the death of Periander sent them back to their native island.¹

While we turn with displeasure from the political life of this man, we are at the same time made acquainted with the great extent of his power—greater than that which was ever possessed by Corinth after the extinction of his dynasty. Korkyra, Ambrakia, Leukas, and Anaktorium, all Corinthian colonies, but in the next century independent states, appear in his time dependencies of Corinth. Ambrakia is said to have been under the rule of another despot named Periander, probably also a Kypselid by birth. It seems indeed that the towns of Anaktorium, Leukas, and Apollonia in the Ionian Gulf, were either founded by the Kypselids, or received reinforcements of Corinthian colonists, during their dynasty, though Korkyra was established considerably earlier.²

The reign of Periander lasted for forty years (B.C. 625-585): Psammetichus son of Gordius, who succeeded him, reigned three years, and the Kypselid dynasty is then said to have closed after having continued for seventy-three years.³ In respect of power, magnificent display, and wide-spread connexions both in Asia and in Italy, they evidently stood high among the Greeks of their time. Their offerings consecrated at Olympia excited great admiration, especially the gilt colossal statue of Zeus and the large chest of cedar-wood dedicated in the temple of Hêrê, overlaid with various figures in gold and ivory. The figures were borrowed from mythical and legendary story, while the chest was a com-

¹ Herodot. iii. 47-54. He details at some length this tragical story. Compare Plutarch, *De Herodoti Malignitat.* c. 22. p. 860.

² Aristot. *Polit.* v. 3, 6; 8, 9. Plutarch, *Amatorius*, c. 23. p. 768. and *De Serâ Numinis Vindictâ*,

c. 7. p. 553. Strabo, vii. p. 325: x. p. 452. Scymnus Chius, v. 454. and Antoninus Liberalis, c. iv., who quotes the lost work called *Ἀμ-βρακικά* of Athanadas.

³ See Mr. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, ad ann. 625-585 B.C.

memoration both of the name of Kypselus and of the tale of his marvellous preservation in infancy.¹ If Plutarch is correct, this powerful dynasty is to be numbered among the despots put down by Sparta.² Yet such intervention of the Spartans, granting it to have been matter of fact, can hardly have been known to Herodotus.

Coincident in point of time with the commencement of Periander's reign at Corinth, we find Theagenês despot at Megara, who is also said to have acquired his power by demagogic arts, as well as by violent aggressions against the rich proprietors, whose cattle he destroyed in their pastures by the side of the river. We are not told by what previous conduct on the part of the rich this hatred of the people had been earned; but Theagenês carried the popular feeling completely along with him, obtained by public vote a body of guards ostensibly for his personal safety, and employed them to overthrow the oligarchy.³ Yet he did not maintain his power even for his own life. A second revolution dethroned and expelled him, on which occasion, after a short interval of temperate government, the people are said to have renewed in a still more marked way their antipathies against the rich; banishing some of them with confiscation of property, intruding into the houses of others

Megara—
Theagenês
the despot.

¹ Pausan. v. 2, 4; 17, 2. Strabo, viii. p. 353. Compare Schneider, Epimetrum ad Xenophon. Anab. p. 570. The chest was seen at Olympia both by Pausanias and by Dio Chrysostom (Or. x. p. 325, Reiske).

² Plutarch, De Herodot. Malign. c. 21. p. 859. If Herodotus had known or believed that the dynasty of the Kypselids at Corinth was put down by Sparta, he could not have failed to make allusion to the fact in the long harangue which he ascribes to the Corinthian Sosiklês (v. 92). Whoever reads that speech, will perceive that the inference from silence to ignorance is in this case almost irresistible.

O. Müller ascribes to Periander a policy intentionally anti-Dorian

—“prompted by the wish of utterly eradicating the peculiarities of the Doric race. For this reason he abolished the public tables, and prohibited the ancient education.” (O. Müller, Dorians, iii. 8, 3.)

But it cannot be shown that any public tables (συσσίτια) or any peculiar education, analogous to those of Sparta, ever existed at Corinth. If nothing more be meant by these συσσίτια than public banquets on particular festive occasions (see Welcker, Prolegom. ad Theognid. c. 20. p. xxxvii.), these are noway peculiar to Dorian cities. Nor does Theognis, v. 270, bear out Welcker in affirming “syssitiorum vetus institutum” at Megara.

³ Aristot. Polit. v. 4, 5; Rhetor. i. 2, 7.

with demands for forced hospitality, and even passing a formal Palintokia—or decree to require from the rich who had lent money on interest, the refunding of all past interest paid to them by their debtors.¹ To appreciate correctly such a demand, we must recollect that the practice of taking interest for money lent was regarded by a large proportion of early ancient society with feelings of unqualified reprobation. And it will be seen, when we come to the legislation of Solon, how much such violent reactionary feeling against the creditor was provoked by the antecedent working of the harsh law determining his rights.

We hear in general terms of more than one revolution in the government of Megara—a disorderly democracy subverted by returning oligarchical exiles, and these again unable long to maintain themselves;² but we are alike uninformed as to dates and details. And in respect to one of these struggles we are admitted to the outpourings of a contemporary and a sufferer—the Megarian poet Theog-

Disturbed
govern-
ment at
Megara—
Theognis.

nis. Unfortunately his elegiac verses as we possess them are in a state so broken, incoherent and interpolated, that we make out no distinct conception of the events which call them forth. Still less can we discover in the verses of Theognis that strength and peculiarity of pure Dorian feeling, which, since the publication of O. Müller's History of the Dorians, it has been the fashion to look for so extensively. But we see that the poet was connected with an oligarchy of birth, and not of wealth, which had recently been subverted by the breaking in of the rustic population previously subject and degraded—that these subjects were content to submit to a single-headed despot, in order to escape from their former rulers—and that Theognis had himself been betrayed by his own friends and companions, stripped of his property and exiled, through the wrong doing "of enemies whose blood he hopes one day to be permitted to drink."³ The condition of the subject cultivators previous to this revolution he depicts in sad colours: they "dwelt without the city, clad in goatskins, and ignorant of judicial

¹ Plutarch, *Quæst. Græc.* c. 18. p. 295.

² Aristot. *Polit.* iv. 12, 10; v. 2, 6; 4, 3.

³ Theognis, vv. 262, 349, 512, 600, 828, 834, 1119, 1200, *Gaisf. edit.*:—

Τῶν ἐνὶ μέλειν αἶμα πιεῖν, &c.

sanctions or laws:"¹ after it, they had become citizens, and their importance had been immensely enhanced. Thus (according to his impression) the vile breed has trodden down the noble—the bad have become masters, and the good are no longer of any account. The bitterness and humiliation which attend upon poverty, and the undue ascendancy which wealth confers even upon the most worthless of mankind,² are among the prominent subjects of his complaint. His keen personal feeling on this point would be alone sufficient to show that the recent revolution had no way overthrown the influence of property; in contradiction to the opinion of Welcker, who infers without ground, from a passage of uncertain meaning, that the land of the state had been formally re-divided.³ The Megarian

¹ Theognis, v. 349, Gaisf. :—

Κόρυς, πόλις μὲν ἔθ' ἤδε πόλις,
λαοὶ δὲ θῆ' ἄλλοι,

Οἱ πρότερόν οὔτε δίκας ἤδεσαν
οὔτε νόμους,

Ἀλλ' ὁμφί πλεορῆσι δοράς αἰγῶν
κατέτρεβον,

Ἐξω δ' ὄντε' ἔλαφον τῆσδ' ἐνέ-
μουντο πόλεως.

² Theognis, vv. 174, 267, 523, 700, 865, Gaisf.

³ Consult the Prolegomena to Welcker's edition of Theognis; also those of Schneidewin (Delectus Elegiac. Poetar. p. 46—55).

The Prolegomena of Welcker are particularly valuable and full of instruction. He illustrates at great length the tendency common to Theognis with other early Greek poets, to apply the words *good* and *bad*, not with reference to any ethical standard, but to wealth as contrasted with poverty—nobility with low birth—strength with weakness—conservative and oligarchical politics as opposed to innovation (sect. 10—18). The ethical meaning of these words is not absolutely unknown, yet rare, in Theognis: it gradually grew up at Athens, and became popularized by the Socratic school of philosophers as well as by the orators.

But the early or political meaning always remained, and the fluctuation between the two has been productive of frequent misunderstanding. Constant attention is necessary when we read the expressions οἱ ἀγαθοί, ἐσθλοί, καλο-κάγαθοί, χρηστοί, &c. or on the other hand, οἱ κακοί, δειλοί, &c., to examine whether the context is such as to give to them the ethical or the political meaning. Welcker seems to go a step too far when he says that the latter sense “fell into desuetude, through the influence of the Socratic philosophy.” (Proleg. sect. 11. p. xxv.) The two meanings both remained extant at the same time, as we see by Aristotle (Polit. iv. 8, 2)—σχεδόν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις οἱ εὐποροὶ, τῶν καλῶν καγαθῶν δοκῶσι κατέχειν χώραν. A careful distinction is sometimes found in Plato and Thucydides, who talk of the oligarchs as “the persons called super-excellent”—τούς καλοὺς καγαθοὺς ὀνομαζομένους (Thucyd. viii. 48)—ὅπο τῶν πλουσίων τε καὶ καλῶν καγαθῶν λεγομένων ἐν τῇ πόλει (Plato, Rep. viii. p. 569).

The same double sense is to be found equally prevalent in the Latin language: “*Bonique et malè*

revolution, so far as we apprehend it from Theognis, appears to have improved materially the condition of the cultivators around the town, and to have strengthened a certain class whom he considers "the bad rich"—while it extinguished the privileges of that governing order, to which he himself belonged, denominated in his language "the good and the virtuous," with ruinous effect upon his own individual fortunes. How far this governing order was exclusively Dorian, we have no means of determining. The political change by which Theognis suffered, and the new despot whom he indicates as either actually installed or nearly impending, must have come considerably after the despotism of Theagenês; for the life of the poet seems to fall between 570-490 B.C., while Theagenês must have ruled about 630-600 B.C. From the unfavourable picture therefore, which the poet gives as his own early experience, of the condition of the rural cultivators, it is evident that the despot Theagenês had neither conferred upon them any permanent benefit, nor given them access to the judicial protection of the city.

It is thus that the despots of Corinth, Sikyôn and Megara serve as samples of those revolutionary influences which towards the beginning of the sixth century B.C. seem to have shaken or overturned the oligarchical governments in very many cities throughout the Grecian world. There existed a certain sympathy and alliance between the despots of Corinth and Sikyôn:¹ how far such feeling was further extended to Megara we do not know. The latter city seems evidently to have been more populous and powerful during

Analogy of
Corinth,
Sikyôn and
Megara.

cives appellati, non ob merita in rempublicam, omnibus pariter corruptis: sed uti quisque locupletissimus, et injuriâ validior, quia præsentia defendebat, pro bono habebatur." (Sallust. Hist. Fragment. lib. i. p. 935, Cort.) And again Cicero (De Republ. i. 34): "Hoc errore vulgi cum rempublicam opes paucorum, non virtutes, tenere ceperunt, nomen illi principes *optimotum* mordicus tenent, re autem carent eo nomine." In Cicero's Oration pro Sextio (c. 45) the two meanings are inten-

tionally confounded together, when he gives his definition of *optimus quisque*. Welcker (Proleg. s. 12) produces several other examples of the like equivocal meaning. There are not wanting instances of the same use of language in the laws and customs of the early Germans—boni homines, probi homines, Rachinburgi, Gudemänner. See Savigny, Geschichte des Römisch. Rechts im Mittelalter, vol. i. p. 184; vol. ii. p. xxii.

¹ Herod. vi. 128.

the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. than we shall afterwards find her throughout the two brilliant centuries of Grecian history. Her colonies, found as far distant as Bithynia and the Thracian Bosphorus on one side, and as Sicily on the other, argue an extent of trade as well as naval force once not inferior to Athens; so that we shall be the less surprised when we approach the life of Solon, to find her in possession of the island of Salamis, and long maintaining it, at one time with every promise of triumph, against the entire force of the Athenians.

CHAPTER X.

IONIC PORTION OF HELLAS—ATHENS BEFORE SOLON.

HAVING traced in the preceding chapters the scanty stream of Peloponnesian history, from the first commencement of an authentic chronology in 776 B.C., to the maximum of Spartan territorial acquisition, and the general acknowledgement of Spartan primacy, prior to 547 B.C., I proceed to state as much as can be made out respecting the Ionic portion of Hellas during the same period. This portion comprehends Athens and Eubœa—the Cyclades islands—and the Ionic cities on the coast of Asia Minor, with their different colonies.

In the case of Peloponnesus, we have been enabled to discern something like an order of real facts in the period alluded to—Sparta makes great strides, while Argos falls. In the case of Athens, unfortunately, our materials are less instructive. The number of historical facts, anterior to the Solonian legislation, is very few indeed: the interval between 776 B.C. and 624 B.C., the epoch of Drako's legislation a short time prior to Kylon's attempted usurpation, gives us merely a list of archons, denuded of all incident.

In compliment to the heroism of Kodrus, who had sacrificed his life for the safety of his country, we are told that no person after him was permitted to bear the title of king.¹ His son Medôn, and twelve successors—Akastus, Archipus, Thersippus, Phorbas, Megaklês, Diognêtus, Phereklês, Aripchrôn, Thespieus, Agamestôr, Æschylus, and Alkmæôn—were all archons for life. In the second year of Alkmæôn (752 B.C.), the dignity of archon was restricted to a duration of ten years: and seven of these decennial archons are numbered—Charops, Æsimidês, Kleidikus, Hippomenês, Leokratês, Apsandrus,

History of Athens before Drako—only a list of names.

No king after Kodrus. Life archons. Decennial archons. Annual archons, nine in number.

¹ Justin. ii. 7.

Eryxias. With Kreôn, who succeeded Eryxias, the archonship was not only made annual, but put into commission and distributed among nine persons. These nine archons annually changed continue throughout all the historical period, interrupted only by the few intervals of political disturbance and foreign compression. Down to Kleidikus and Hippomenês (714 B.C.), the dignity of archon had continued to belong exclusively to the Medontidæ or descendants of Medôn and Kodrus;¹ at that period it was thrown open to all the Eupatrids, or order of nobility in the state.

Such is the series of names by which we step down from the level of legend to that of history. All our historical knowledge of Athens is confined to the annual archons; which series of eponymous archons, from Kreôn downwards, is perfectly trustworthy.² Above 683 B.C., the Attic antiquaries have provided us with a string of names, which we must take as we find them, without being able either to warrant the whole or to separate the false from the true. There is no reason to doubt the general fact that Athens, like so many other communities of Greece, was in its primitive times governed by an hereditary line of kings, and that it passed from that form of government into a commonwealth, first oligarchical, afterwards democratical.

Archonship
of Kreôn,
B.C. 683—
commence-
ment of
Attic chrono-
logy.

We are in no condition to determine the civil classification and political constitution of Attica, even at the period of the archonship of Kreôn, 683 B.C., when authentic Athenian chronology first commences—much less can we pretend to any knowledge of the anterior centuries. Great political changes were introduced first by Solon (about 594 B.C.), next by Kleisthenês (509 B.C), afterwards by Aristeidês, Periklês and Ephialtês, between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars: so that the old ante-Solonian—nay even the real Solonian—polity was thus put more and more out of date and out of knowledge. But all the information

¹ Pausan. i. 3, 2; Suidas, Ἰππομένης; Diogenian. Centur. Proverb. iii. 1. Ἀσβερίστου Ἰππομένους.

² See Boeckh on the Parian Marble, in Corp. Inscript. Græc. part 12. sect. 6. pp. 307, 310, 332.

From the beginning of the reign of Medôn son of Kodrus, to the first annual archon Kreôn, the Parian Marble computes 407 years, Eusebius 387.

which we possess respecting that old polity is derived from authors who lived after all or most of these great changes—and who, finding no records, nor anything better than current legends, explained the foretime as well as they could by guesses more or less ingenious, generally attached to the dominant legendary names. They were sometimes able to found their conclusions upon religious usages, periodical ceremonies, or common sacrifices, still subsisting in their own time. These were doubtless the best evidences to be found respecting Athenian antiquity, since such practices often continued unaltered throughout all the political changes. It is in this way alone that we arrive at some partial knowledge of the ante-Solonian condition of Attica, though as a whole it still remains dark and unintelligible, even after the many illustrations of modern commentators.

Philochorus, writing in the third century before the Christian æra, stated, that Kekrops had originally distributed Attica into twelve districts—Kekropia, Tetrapolis, Epakria, Dekeleia, Eleusis, Aphidnæ, Thorikus, Braurôn, Kythêrus, Sphêttus, Kêphisia, Phalêrus—and that these twelve were consolidated into one political society by Theseus.¹ This partition does not comprise the Megarid, which, according to other statements, is represented as united with Attica, and as having formed part of the distribution made by king Pandiôn among his four sons, Nisus, Ægeus, Pallas and Lykus—a story as old as Sophoklês at least.² In other accounts, again, a quadruple division is applied to the tribes, which are stated to have been four in number, beginning from Kekrops—called in his time Kêkrôpis, Autochthon, Aktæa and Paralia. Under king Kranaus, these tribes (we are told) received the names of Kranaïs, Atthis, Mesogæa and Diakria³—under Erichthonius, those of Dias, Athenaïs, Poseidonias, Hephæstias: at last, shortly after Erechtheus, they were denominated after the four sons of Iôn (son of Kreusa daughter of Erechtheus, by

¹ Philochorus ap. Strabo. ix. p. 396. See Schömann, *Antiq. J. P. Græc.* b. v. sect. 2—5.

² Strabo, ix. p. 392. Philochorus and Andrôn extended the kingdom

of Nisus from the isthmus of Corinth as far as the Pythium (near Œnoë) and Eleusis (*Str. ib.*; but there were many different tales.

³ Pollux, viii. c. 9. 109—111.

Apollo), Geleontes, Hoplêtes, Ægikoreis, Argadeis. The four Attic or Ionic tribes, under these last-mentioned names, continued to form the classification of the citizens until the revolution of Kleisthenês in 509 B.C., by which the ten tribes were introduced, as we find them down to the period of Macedonian ascendancy. It is affirmed, and with some etymological plausibility, that the denominations of these four tribes must originally have had reference to the occupations of those who bore them—the Hoplêtes being the *warrior-class*, the Ægikoreis *goatherds*, the Argadeis *artisans*, and the Geleontes (Teleontes, or Gedeontes) *cultivators*. Hence some authors have ascribed to the ancient inhabitants of Attica¹ an actual primitive distribution into hereditary professions or castes, similar to that which prevailed in India and Egypt. If we should even grant that such a division into castes might originally have prevailed, it must have grown obsolete long before the time of Solon: but there seem no sufficient grounds for believing that it ever did prevail. The names of the tribes may have been originally borrowed from certain professions, but it does not necessarily follow that the reality corresponded to this derivation, or that every individual who belonged to any tribe was a member of the profession from whence the name had originally been derived. From the etymology of the names, be it ever so clear, we cannot safely assume the historical reality of a classification according to professions. And this objection (which would be weighty even if the etymology had been clear) becomes irresistible when we add that even the etymology is not beyond dispute;² that the names themselves are written with a diversity which

Four Ionic tribes—
Geleontes,
Hoplêtes,
Ægikoreis,
Argadeis.

¹ Iôn, the father of the four heroes after whom these tribes were named, was affirmed by one story to be the primitive civilising legislator of Attica, like Lykurgus, Numa, or Deukaliôn (Plutarch. adv. Kolôten, c. 31. p. 1125).

² Thus Euripides derives the Αἰγικoreis, not from αἴς a goat, but from Αἰγίς the Ægis of Athênê (Ion. 1581): he also gives Teleontes, derived from an eponymous Telôn son of Iôn, while the inscriptions

at Kyzikus concur with Herodotus and others in giving Geleontes. Plutarch (Solon, 25) gives Gedeontes. In an Athenian inscription recently published by Professor Ross (dating seemingly in the first century after the Christian æra), the worship of Zeus Geleôn at Athens has been for the first time verified—Διὸς Γελέωντος ἱερὸν ἄλυσον (Ross, *Die Attischen Dæmonen*, pp. vii.-ix. Halle, 1846).

Not names of castes or professions, cannot be reconciled; and that the four professions named by Strabo omit the goatherds and include the priests; while those specified by Plutarch leave out the latter and include the former.¹

All that seems certain is, that these were the four ancient Ionic tribes (analogous to the Hylleis, Pamphyli and Dymanes among the Dorians) which prevailed not only at Athens, but among several of the Ionic cities derived from Athens. The Geleontes are mentioned in inscriptions now remaining belonging to Teôs in Ionia, and all the four are named in those of Kyzikus in the Propontis, which was a foundation from the Ionic Miletus.² The four tribes, and the four names (allowing for some variations of reading), are therefore historically verified. But neither the time of their introduction, nor their primitive import, are ascertainable matters; nor can any faith be put in the various constructions of the legends of Iôn, Erechtheus, and Kekrops, by modern commentators.

Component portions of the four tribes. These four tribes may be looked at either as religious and social aggregates, in which capacity each of them comprised three Phratries and ninety Gentes; or as political aggregates, in which point of view each included three Trittyes and twelve Naukraries. Each Phratry contained thirty Gentes: each Tritty comprised four Naukraries: the total numbers were thus 360 Gentes and 48 Naukraries. Moreover each gens is said to have contained thirty heads of families, of whom therefore there would be a total of 10,500.

The Trittyes and the Naukrary. Comparing these two distributions one with the other, we may remark that they are distinct in their nature and proceed in opposite directions. The Trittyes and the Naukrary are essentially fractional subdivisions of the tribe, and resting upon the tribe

¹ Plutarch (Solon, c. 25); Strabo, viii. p. 383. Compare Plato, Kritias, p. 110.

² Boeckh, Corp. Inscr. Nos. 3078, 3079, 3665. The elaborate commentary on this last-mentioned inscription, in which Boeckh vindicates the early historical reality of the classification by professions, is noway satisfactory to my mind.

K. F. Hermann (Lehrbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthümer, sect. 91-96) gives a summary of all that can be known respecting these old Athenian tribes. Compare Ilgen, De Tribubus Atticis, p. 9 seq. Tittmann, Griechische Staatsverfassungen, pp. 570-582; Wachsmuth, Hellenische Alterthumskunde, sect. 43, 44.

as their higher unity: the Naukrary is a local circumscription, composed of the Naukrars or principal householders (so the etymology seems to indicate), who levy in each respective district the quota of public contributions which belongs to it, and superintend the disbursement,—provide the military force incumbent upon the district, being for each naukrary two horsemen and one ship,—and furnish the chief district-officers, the Prytanes of the Naukrari.¹ A certain number of foot soldiers, varying according to the demand, must probably be understood as accompanying these horsemen; but the quota is not specified, as it was, perhaps, thought unnecessary to limit precisely the obligations of any except the wealthier men who served on horseback,—at a period when oligarchical ascendancy was paramount, and when the bulk of the people was in a state of comparative subjection. The forty-eight naukraries are thus a systematic subdivision of the four tribes, embracing altogether the whole territory, population, contributions, and military force of Attica,—a subdivision framed exclusively for purposes connected with the entire state.

But the Phratries and Gentes are a distribution completely different from this. They seem aggregations of small primitive unities into larger; they are independent of, and do not presuppose, the tribe; they arise separately and spontaneously, without

The Phratry and the Gens.

¹ About the Naukraries, see Aristot. Fragment. Rerum Public. p. 89, ed. Neumann; Harpokration, vv. Δῦμαρχος, Ναυκραρχία; Photius, v. Ναυκραρία; Pollux, viii. 108; Schol. ad Aristoph. Nubes, 37.

Οἱ πρυτάνεις τῶν Ναυκράρων, Herodot. v. 71: they conducted the military proceedings in resistance to the usurpation of Kylon.

The statement that each Naukrary was obliged to furnish one ship can hardly be true of the time before Solon: as Pollux states it, we should be led to conceive that he only infers it from the name ναυκροτορος (Pollux, viii. 108), though the real etymology seems rather to be from ναῖω (Wachsmuth, Hellen. Alt. sect. 44. p. 240). There

may be some ground for believing that the old meaning also of the word ναύτης connected it with ναῖω; such a supposition would smooth the difficulty in regard to the functions of the ναυτοδίκαι as judges in cases of illicit admission into the phratores. See Hesychius and Harpokration, v. Ναυτοδίκαι; and Baumstark, De Curatoribus Emporii, Friburg, 1828, p. 67 seq.; compare also the fragment of the Solonian law, ἥ ἐξῶν ὁργίῳ ἥ ναύεται, which Niebuhr conjecturally corrects. Röm. Gesch. v. i. p. 323, 2nd ed.: Hesychius, Ναυστήρες—οἱ δικάζονται. See Pollux, Ναυδόν, and Lobeck, Πημπτύον, sect. 3 p. 7; Ἀναναύεται πρὸς Μελησίους? Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. c. 32, p. 298.

preconcerted uniformity, and without reference to a common political purpose; the legislator finds them pre-existing, and adapts or modifies them to answer some national scheme. We must distinguish the general fact of the classification, and the successive subordination in the scale, of the families to the gens, of the gentes to the phratry, and of the phratries to the tribe—from the precise numerical symmetry with which this subordination is invested, as we read it,—thirty families to a gens, thirty gentes to a phratry, three phratries to each tribe. If such nice equality of numbers could ever have been procured, by legislative constraint¹ operating upon pre-existent natural elements, the proportions could not have been permanently maintained. But we may reasonably doubt whether it ever did so exist: it appears more like the fancy of an antiquary who pleased himself by supposing an original systematic creation in times anterior to records, by multiplying together the number of days in the month and of months in the year. That every phratry contained an equal number of gentes, and every gens an equal number of families, is a supposition hardly admissible without better evidence than we possess. But apart from this questionable precision of numerical scale, the Phratries and Gentes themselves were real, ancient, and durable associations among the Athenian people, highly important to be understood.² The basis of the whole was the house, hearth or family,—a number of which, greater or less, composed the Gens or Genos. This gens was therefore a clan, sept, or enlarged, and partly factitious, brotherhood, bound together by,—1. Common religious ceremonies, and exclusive privilege of priesthood, in honour of the same god, supposed to be the primitive ancestor and characterised by a special surname. 2. By a common burial-place. 3. By mutual

What constituted the gens or gentile communion.

¹ Meier, *De Gentilitate Atticâ*, pp. 22-24, conceives that this numerical completeness was enacted by Solon; but of this there is no proof, nor is it in harmony with the general tendencies of Solon's legislation.

² So in reference to the Anglo-Saxon *Tythings* and *Hundreds*, and to the still more widely-spread division of the *Hundred*, which

seems to pervade the whole of Teutonic and Scandinavian antiquity, much more extensively than the *tything*;—there is no ground for believing that these precise numerical proportions were in general practice realized: the systematic nomenclature served its purpose by marking the idea of graduation and the type to which a certain approach was actually

rights of successions to property. 4. By reciprocal obligations of help, defence, and redress of injuries. 5. By mutual right and obligation to intermarry in certain determinate cases, especially where there was an orphan daughter or heiress. 6. By possession, in some cases at least, of common property, an archon and a treasurer of their own.

Such were the rights and obligations characterising the gentile union.¹ The phratric union, binding together several gentes, was less intimate, but still included some mutual rights and obligations of an analogous character; especially a communion of particular sacred rites, and mutual privileges of prosecution in the event of a phrator being slain. Each phratry was considered as belonging to one of the four tribes, and all the phratries of the same tribe enjoyed a certain periodical communion of sacred rites, under the presidency of a magistrate called the Phylo-Basileus or Tribe King, selected from the Eupatrids: Zeus Geleôn was in this manner the patron god of the tribe Geleontes. Lastly, all the four tribes were linked together by the common worship of Apollo Patrôus as their divine father and guardian: for Apollo was the father of Iôn, and the Eponyms of all the four tribes were reputed sons of Iôn.

Thus stood the primitive religious and social union of the population of Attica in its gradually ascending scale—as distinguished from the political union, probably of later introduction, represented at first by the Trittyes and Naukraries, and in after times by the ten Kleisthenean tribes, subdivided into Trittyes and Demes. The religious and

made. Mr. Thorpe observes respecting the Hundred, in his Glossary to the 'Ancient Laws and Institutes of England,' v. *Hundred*, *Tything*, *Frid-Borg*, &c. "In the Dialogus de Scaccario, it is said that a Hundred 'ex hydarum aliquot centenariis, sed non determinatis, constat: quidam enim ex pluribus, quidam ex paucioribus constat.' Some accounts make it consist of precisely a hundred hydes, others of a hundred tythings, others of a hundred free families. Certain it is, that whatever may have been its original organization, the Hundred, at the time when it

becomes known to us, differed greatly in extent in various parts of England."

¹ See the instructive inscription in Professor Ross's work (*Ueber die Demeu von Attika*, p. 26) of the γένος Ἀποξανδριδῶν, commemorating the archon of that gens, the priest of Kekrops, the Τραῖς or treasurer, and the names of the members, with the deme and tribe of each individual. Compare Bossler, *De Gent. Atticis*, p. 53. About the peculiar religious rites of the gens called Gephyrai, see Herodot. v. 61.

family bond of aggregation is the earlier of the two: but the political bond, though beginning later, will be found to acquire constantly increasing influence throughout the greater part of this history. In the former, personal relation is the essential and predominant characteristic¹—local relation being subordinate: in the latter, property and residence become the chief considerations, and the personal element counts only as measured along with these accompaniments. All these phratric and gentile associations, the larger as well as the smaller, were founded upon the same principles and tendencies of the Grecian mind²—a coalescence of the idea of worship with that of ancestry, or of communion in certain special religious rites with communion of blood, real or supposed. The god or hero, to whom the assembled members offered their sacrifices, was conceived as the primitive ancestor to whom they owed their origin; often through a long list of intermediate names, as in the case of the Milesian Hekataeus, so often before adverted to.³

¹ Φυλαὶ γενικαὶ opposed to φυλαὶ τοπικαί.—Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. iv. 14.

² Plato, Euthydem. p. 302; Aristot. ap. Schol. in Platon. Axioch. p. 465., ed. Bek. Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ τοῦ ὅλου πλήθους διχοσπόμενου Ἀθήνησιν εἰς τε τοὺς γεωργοὺς καὶ τοὺς δημιουργοὺς, φυλὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι τέσσαρας, τῶν δὲ φυλῶν ἐκάστης μισθὰς εἶναι τρεῖς, ἃς τριττώας τε καλοῦσι καὶ φρατρίας· ἐκάστης δὲ τούτων τριάκοντα εἶναι γένη, τὸ δὲ γένος ἐκ τριάκοντα ἀνδρῶν συνιστάειν· τοὺτους δὲ τοὺς εἰς τὰ γένη τεταγμένους γεννήτας καλοῦσι. Pollux, viii. 3. Οἱ μετέγοντες τοῦ γένους, γεννῶνται καὶ ὁμογάλακτες· γένει μὲν οὐ προσήκοντες, ἐκ δὲ τῆς συνόδου αὐτῶ προσσφραγευόμενοι: compare also iii. 52; Meris. Atticist. p. 108.

Harpokrat. v. Ἀπολλῶν Πατρώος, Θερίων, Γεννήται, Ὀργεῶνες, &c. Etymol. Magn. v. Γεννήται; Suidas, v. Ὀργεῶνες; Pollux, viii. 85; Demosthen. cont. Eubulid. p. 1319. εἴτα φράτορες, εἴτα Ἀπολλῶνος πατρώου καὶ Διὸς ἐρχίου γεννῶνται: and co. t. Nearam, p. 1365. Isæus uses

ὀργεῶνες as synonymous with γεννῶνται (see Orat. ii. p. 19, 20—28, ed. Bek.). Schömann (Antiq. J. P. Græc. §. xxvi.) considers the two as essentially distinct. Φρήνη and φύλον both occur in the Iliad, ii. 362. See the Dissertation of Buttmann, Ueber den Begriff von φρατρία (Mythologus, c. 24. p. 305); and that of Meier, De Gentilitate Atticâ, where the points of knowledge attainable respecting the Gentes are well put together and discussed.

In the Theræan Inscription (No. 2448 ap. Boeckh. Corp. Inscr., see his comment, p. 310) containing the testament of Epiktêta, whereby a bequest is made to οἱ συγγενεῖς—ὁ ἀνδρεῖος τῶν συγγενῶν—this latter word does not mean kindred or blood relations, but a variety of the gentile union—"thiasus" or "sodalitium." Boeckh.

³ Herodot. i. 143. Ἐκαταίῳ—γενελογήσαντι τε ἑωυτῶν καὶ ἀναδῆσαντι τῇ πατρίῳ ἐς ἑκκαδέκατον ἔτος. Again γενελογήσαντι ἑωυτοῖ, καὶ ἀναδῆσαντι ἐς ἑκκαδέκατον ἔτος.

Each family had its own sacred rites and funereal commemoration of ancestors, celebrated by the master of the house, to which none but members of the family were admissible: so that the extinction of a family, carrying with it the suspension of these religious rites, was held by the Greeks to be a misfortune, not merely from the loss of the citizens composing it, but also because the family gods and the names of deceased citizens were thus deprived of their

Artificial enlargement of the primitive family association. Ideas of worship and ancestry coalesce. honours¹ and might visit the country with displeasure. The larger associations, called Gens, Phratry, Tribe, were formed by an extension of the same principle—of the family considered as a religious brotherhood, worshipping some common god or hero with an appropriate surname, and recognising him as their joint ancestor; and the festivals Theoenia and Apaturia² (the first Attic, the second common to all the Ionic race) annually

The Attic expression—*ἀγχίστατα ἱερῶν καὶ ὁρίων*—illustrates the intimate association between family relationship and common religious privileges.—Isæus, Orat. vi. p. 89. ed. Bek.

¹ Isæus, Or. vi. p. 61; ii. p. 38; Demosth. adv. Makartatum. p. 1053—1075; adv. Leochar. p. 1093. Respecting this perpetuation of the family sacred rites, the feeling prevalent among the Athenians is much the same as what is now seen in China.

Mr. Davis observes—"Sons are considered in this country, where the power over them is so absolute through life, as a sure support, as well as a probable source of wealth and dignities, should they succeed in learning. But the grand object is, the perpetuation of the race, to sacrifice at the family tombs. Without sons, a man lives without honour or satisfaction, and dies unhappy; and as the only remedy, he is permitted to adopt the sons of his younger brothers.

"It is not during life only that a man looks for the service of

his sons. It is his consolation in declining years, to think that they will continue the performance of the prescribed rites in the hall of ancestors, and at the family tombs, when he is no more; and it is the absence of this prospect which makes the childless doubly miserable. The superstition derives influence from the importance attached by the government to this species of posthumous duty; a neglect of which is punishable, as we have seen, by the laws. Indeed, of all the subjects of their care, there are none which the Chinese so religiously attend to as the tombs of their ancestors, conceiving that any neglect is sure to be followed by worldly misfortune."—(The Chinese, by John Francis Davis, chap. ix. p. 131—134, ed. Knight, 1840.)

Mr. Mill notices the same state of feeling among the Hindoos.—(History of British India, book ii. chap. vii. p. 381, ed. 8vo.)

² Xenoph. Hellen. i. 5, 8; Herodot. i. 147; Suidas, Ἀπαυρία—Ζεὺς Φράτριος—Ἀθήναι φρατρία,

brought together the members of these phratries and gentes for worship, festivity, and maintenance of special sympathies; thus strengthening the larger ties without effacing the smaller.

Such were the manifestations of Grecian sociality, as we read them in the early constitution, not merely of Attica, but of other Grecian states besides. To Aristotle and Dikæarchus it was an interesting inquiry to trace back all political society into certain assumed elementary atoms, and to show by what motives and means the original families, each having its separate meal-bin and fireplace,¹ had been brought together into larger aggregates. But the historian must accept as an ultimate fact the earliest state of things which his witnesses make known to him, and in the case now before us, the gentile and phratric unions are matters into the beginning of which we cannot pretend to penetrate.

Pollux (probably from Aristotle's lost work on the Constitutions of Greece) informs us distinctly that the members of the same gens at Athens were not commonly related by blood,—and even without any express testimony we might have concluded such to be the fact. To what extent the gens at the unknown epoch of its first formation was based upon actual relationship, we have no means of determining, either with regard to the Athenian or the Roman gentes, which were in all main points analogous. Gentilism is a tie by itself; distinct from the family ties, but presupposing their existence and extending them by an artificial analogy, partly founded in religious belief and partly on positive compact, so as to comprehend strangers in blood. All the members of one gens, or even of one phratry, believed themselves to be sprung, not indeed from the same grandfather or great-grandfather, but from the same divine or heroic ancestor. All the contemporary members of the phratry of Hekatæus had a common god for their ancestor in the

Belief in a common divine ancestor.

the presiding god of the phratric union.—Plato, *Euthydem*, c. 28. p. 302; *Demosth. adv. Makart.* p. 1054 See Meier, *De Gentilitate Atticâ*, p. 11—14.

The *πάτριαι* at Byzantium, which were different from *γένεαι*, and which possessed corporate property (*τὰ τῶν γενεωτικῶν καὶ τὰ πα-*

τριωτικῶν, *Aristot. Œconomic.* ii 4), are doubtless the parallel of the Athenian phratries.

¹ *Dikæarchus ap. Stephan. Byz.* v. *Πατριά*; *Aristot. Polit.* i. 1, 6; *Ὁμοσπύρος* and *ὁμογάπυρος* are the old words cited by the latter from *Charondas* and *Epimenidēs*.

sixteenth degree; and this fundamental belief, into which the Greek mind passed with so much facility, was adopted and converted by positive compact into the Gentile and Phratric principle of union. It is because such a transfusion, not recognised by Christianity, is at variance with modern habits of thought, and because we do not readily understand how such a legal and religious fiction can have sunk deep into the Greek feelings, that the Phratric and Gentes appear to us mysterious. But they are in harmony with all the legendary genealogies which have been set forth in the preceding volume. Doubtless Niebuhr, in his valuable discussion of the ancient Roman Gentes, is right in supposing that they were not real families, procreated from any common historical ancestor. Still it is not the less true (though he seems to suppose otherwise) that the idea of the gens involved *the belief* in a common first father, divine or heroic—a genealogy which we may properly call fabulous, but which was consecrated and accredited among the members of the gens itself, and served as one important bond of union between them.¹ And though an analytical mind like Aristotle might discern the difference between the gens and the family, so as to distinguish the former as the offspring of some special compact—still this is no fair

This ancestry fabulous, yet still accredited.

¹ Niebuhr, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 317–337. Varro's language on that point is clear:—"Ut in hominibus quædam sunt cognationes et gentilitates, sic in verbis. Utenim ab Æmilio homines orti Æmilii et gentiles, sic ab Æmilii nomine declinatæ voces in gentilitate nominali." Paul. Diacon. p. 94. "Gentilis dicitur ex eodem genere ortus, et is qui simili nomine appellatur," &c. See Becker, *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*, part 2. abth. 2. p. 36.

The last part of the definition ought to be struck out for the Grecian gentes. The passage of Varro does not prove the historical reality of the primitive father or Genarch Æmilius, but it proves that the members of the gens believed in him.

Dr. Wilda, in his learned work, 'Das Deutsche Strafrecht' (Halle, 1842), dissents from Niebuhr in the opposite direction, and seems to maintain that the Grecian and Roman gentes were really distant blood relations (p. 123). How this can be proved, I do not know: and it is inconsistent with the opinion which he advances in the preceding page (p. 122) very justly—that these *quasi* families are primordial facts in early human society, beyond which we cannot carry our researches. "The farther we go back in history, the more does the community exhibit the form of a family, though in reality it is *not* a mere family. This is the limit of historical research, which no man can transgress with impunity" (p. 122).

test of the feelings usual among early Greeks. Nor is it certain that Aristotle himself, son of the physician Nikomachus, who belonged to the gens of the Asklepiads,¹ would have consented to disallow the procreative origin of *all* these religious families without any exception. The natural families of course changed from generation to generation, some extending themselves while others diminished or died out; but the gens received no alterations, except through the procreation, extinction, or subdivision of these component families. Accordingly the relations of the families with the gens were in perpetual course of fluctuation, and the gentile ancestral genealogy, adapted as it doubtless was to the early condition of the gens, became in process of time partially obsolete and unsuitable. We hear of this genealogy but rarely, because it is only brought before the public in certain cases pre-eminent and venerable. But the humbler gentes had their common rites, and common superhuman ancestor and genealogy, as well as the more celebrated: the scheme and ideal basis was the same in all.

Analogies, borrowed from very different people and parts of the world, prove how readily these enlarged and factitious family unions assort with the ideas of an early stage of society. The Highland clan, the Irish sept,² the ancient legally consti-

¹ Diogen. Laërt. v. 1.

² See Colonel Leake's Travels in Northern Greece, ch. 2. p. 85 (the Greek word φατρίας seems to be adopted in Albania); Boué, La Turquie en Europe, vol. ii. ch. i. p. 15—17; chap. 4. p. 530; Spenser's View of the State of Ireland (vol. vi. p. 1542—1543 of Tonson's edition of Spenser's Works, 1715); Cyprien Robert, Die Slaven in der Türkei, b. 1. ch. 1 and 2.

So too, in the laws of King Alfred in England on the subject of murder, the guild-brethren or members of the same guild are made to rank in the position of distant relatives if there happen to be no blood relatives:—

“If a man, kinless of paternal

relatives, fight and slay a man, then if he have maternal relatives, let them pay a third of the wēr: his guild-brethren a third part: for a third let him flee. If he have no maternal relatives, let his guild-brethren pay half: for half let him flee . . . If a man kill a man thus circumstanced, if he have no relatives, let half be paid to the king, half to his guild-brethren.” (Thorpe, Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, vol. i. p. 79-81.) Again in the same work, Leges Henrici Primi, vol. i. p. 596, the ideas of the kindred and the guild run together in the most intimate manner:—“Si quis hominem occidat—Si eum tunc *cognatio sua* deserat, et pro eo *gildare* nolit,” &c. In the Salic law, the members of a

tuted families in Friesland and Dithmarsch, the Phis or Phara among the Albanians, are examples of a similar practice:¹ and the adoption of prisoners by the North

contubernium were invested with the same rights and obligations one towards the other (Rogge, *Gerechtswesen der Germanen*, ch. iii. p. 62). Compare Wilda, *Deutsches Strafrecht*, p. 389, and the valuable special treatise of the same author (*Das Gildenwesen im Mittelalter*. Berlin, 1831), where the origin and progress of the guilds from the primitive times of German heathenism is unfolded. He shows that these associations have their basis in the earliest feelings and habits of the Teutonic race—the family was as it were a natural guild—the guild, a factitious family. Common religious sacrifices and festivals—mutual defence and help, as well as mutual responsibility—were the recognised bonds among the *congildones*; they were *sororitates* as well as *fraternitates*, comprehending both men and women (deren Genossen wie die Glieder einer Familie eng unter einander verbunden waren, p. 145). Wilda explains how this primitive social and religious *phratry* (sometimes this very expression *fratria* is used, see p. 109) passed into something like the more political tribe or *phylê* (see pp. 42, 57, 60, 116, 126, 129, 344). The sworn *commune*, which spread so much throughout Europe in the beginning of the twelfth century, partakes both of the one and of the other—*conjuratio*—*amicitia jurata* (pp. 148, 169).

The members of an Albanian *phara* are all jointly bound to exact, and each severally exposed to suffer, the vengeance of blood, in the event of homicide committed upon, or by, any one of them (Boué, *ut supra*).

¹ See the valuable chapter of

Niebuhr, *Röm. Gesch.* vol. i. pp. 317, 350, 2nd edit.

The *Alberghi* of Genoa in the middle ages were enlarged families created by voluntary compact:—"De tout temps (observe Sismondi) les familles puissantes avoient été dans l'usage, à Gènes, d'augmenter encore leur puissance en adoptant d'autres familles moins riches, moins illustres, ou moins nombreuses—auxquelles elles communiquoient leur nom et leurs armes, qu'elles prenoient ainsi l'engagement de protéger—et qui en retour s'associoient à toutes leurs querelles. Les maisons dans lesquelles on entroit ainsi par adoption, étoient nommées des *alberghi* (*alberges*), et il y avoit peu de maisons illustres qui ne se fussent ainsi recrutées à l'aide de quelque famille étrangère." (*Républiques Italiennes*, t. xv. ch. 120. p. 366.)

Eichhorn (*Deutsche Staats- und Rechts-Geschichte*, sect. 18. vol. i. p. 84, 5th edit.) remarks in regard to the ancient Germans, that the German "*familia et propinquitates*" mentioned by Tacitus (*Germ. c. 7*), and the "*gentibus cognationibusque hominum*" of Cæsar (*B. G. vi. 22*), bore more analogy to the Roman *gens* than to relationship of blood or wedlock. According to the idea of some of the German tribes, even blood-relationship might be formally renounced and broken off, with all its connected rights and obligations, at the pleasure of the individual: he might declare himself *ἐκποιητός*, to use the Greek expression. See the Titul. 63 of the Salic law as quoted by Eichhorn, *l. c.*

Professor Koutorga of St. Petersburg (in his *Essai sur l'Organisa-*

American Indians, as well as the universal prevalence and efficacy of the ceremony of adoption in the Grecian and Roman world, exhibit to us a solemn formality under certain circumstances, originating an union and affections similar to those of kindred. Of this same nature were the Phratries and Gentes at Athens, the Curiae and Gentes at Rome. But they were peculiarly modified by the religious imagination of the ancient world, which always traced back the past time to gods and heroes: and religion thus supplied both the common genealogy as their basis, and the privileged communion of special sacred rites as means of commemoration and perpetuity. The Gentes, both at Athens and in other parts of Greece, bore a patronymic name, the stamp of their believed common paternity: we find the Asklepiadæ in many parts of Greece—the Aleuadæ in Thessaly—the Midylidæ, Psalychidæ, Blepsiadæ, Euxenidæ, at Ægina—the Branchidæ at Miletus—the Nebridæ at Kôs—the Iamidæ and Klytiadæ at Olympia—the Akestoridæ at Argos—the Kinyradæ in Cyprus—the Penthilidæ at Mitylene¹—the Talthybiadæ at Sparta,—not less

sion de la Tribu dans l'Antiquité, translated from Russian into French by M. (Chopin, Paris 1839) has traced out and illustrated the fundamental analogy between the social classification, in early times, of Greeks, Romans, Germans, and Russians (see especially pp. 47. 213). Respecting the early history of Attica, however, many of his positions are advanced upon very untrustworthy evidence (see p. 123 *seq.*).

Among the Arab tribes in Algeria there are some which are supposed to be formed from the descendants, real or reputed, of some holy man or *marabout*, whose tomb, covered with a white dome, is the central point of the tribe. Sometimes a tribe of this sort is divided into *firka* or sections, each of which has for its head or founder a son of the Tribe-eponymus or founder. Sometimes these tribes are enlarged, by adjunction or adoption of new

elements; so that they become larger tribes, "formées à la fois par le développement de l'élément familial, et par l'aggrégation d'éléments étrangers."—"Tout cela se naturalise par le contact, et chacun des nouveaux venus prend la qualité d'Amri (homme des Beni Amer) tout aussi bien que les descendants d'Amer lui-même." (Tableau de la Situation des Etablissements Français en Algérie, Mar. 1846, p. 393).

¹ Pindar, Pyth. viii. 53; Isthm. vi. 92; Nem. vii. 103; Strabo, ix. p. 421; Stephan. Byz. v. Kōs; Herodot. v. 44; vii. 134; ix. 37; Pausan. x. 1, 4; Kallimachus, Lavaer. Palлад. 33; Schol. Pindar. Pyth. ii. 27; Aristot. Pol. v. 8, 13; Ἀλευάδων τοὺς πρώτους, Plato, Menon. 1, which marks them as a numerous gens. See Buttmann, Dissert. on the Aleuadæ, in the Mythologus, vol. ii. p. 246. Bacchiadæ at Corinth, ἐδίδουσαν καὶ ἡγόοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων (Herod. v. 92).

than the Kodridæ, Eumolpidæ, Phytalidæ, Lykomêdæ, Butadæ, Euneidæ, Hesychidæ, Brytiadæ, &c. in Attica.¹ To each of these corresponded a mythical ancestor more or less known, and passing for the first father as well as the eponymous hero of the gens—Kodrus, Eumolpus, Butes, Phytalus, Hesychus, &c.

The revolution of Kleisthenês in 509 B.C. abolished the old tribes for civil purposes, and created ten new tribes—leaving the phratries and gentes unaltered, but introducing the local distribution according to demes or cantons, as the foundation of his new political tribes. A certain number of demes belong to each of the ten Kleisthenean tribes (the demes in the same tribes were not usually contiguous, so that the tribe was not coincident with a definite circumscription), and the deme, in which every individual was then registered, continued to be that in which his descendants were also registered. But the gentes had no connexion, as such, with these new tribes, and the members of the same gens might belong to different demes.² It deserves to be remarked, however, that to a certain extent, in the old arrangement of Attica, the division into gentes coincided with the division into demes, *i.e.* it happened not unfrequently that the *gennêtes* (or members of the same gens) lived in the same canton, so that the name of the gens and the name of the deme was the same. Moreover, it seems that Kleisthenês recognised a certain number of new demes, to which he gave names derived from some important gens resident near the spot. It is thus that we are to explain the large number of the Kleisthenean demes which bear patronymic names.³

¹ Harpokration, v. Ἑπειρογενέται, Βοιωτογενέται. Thucyd. viii. 53; Plutarch, Theseus, 12; Themistoklês, 1; Demosth. cont. Near. p. 1365; Polemo ap. Schol. ad Soph. Œdip. Kol. 489; Plutarch, Vit. X. Orator. p. 841-844. See the Dissertation of O. Müller, De Minervâ Poliade, c. 2.

² Demosth. cont. Near. p. 1365. Tittmann (Griechische Staatsverfassung, p. 277) thinks that every citizen, after the Kleisthenean revolution, was of necessity a member of some phratry, as well as of some deme: but the evidence which he produces is in my judgement

insufficient. The ideas of the phratry and the tribe are often confounded together; thus the Ægeidæ of Sparta, whom Herodotus (iv. 149) calls a tribe, are by Aristotle called a Phratry, of Thebans (ap. Schol. ad Pindar. Isthm. vii. 18). Compare Wachsmuth, Hellenische Alterthumskunde, sect. 83, p. 17.

A great many of the demes seem to have derived their names from the shrubs or plants which grew in their neighbourhood (Schol. ad Aristophan. Plutus, 586, Μαρρυσός, 'Ραυρυσός, &c.).

³ For example, Æthalidæ, Bu-

There is one remarkable difference between the Roman and the Grecian gens, arising from the different practice in regard to naming. A Roman Patrician bore habitually three names—the gentile name, with one name following it to denote his family, and another preceding it peculiar to himself in that family. But in Athens, at least after the revolution of Kleisthenês, the gentile name was not employed: a man was described by

tadæ, Kothôkidæ, Dædalidæ, Eire-sidæ, Epieikidæ, Eræadæ, Eupyr-idæ, Echelidæ, Keiriadæ, Kydan-tidæ, Lakiadæ, Pambôtadæ, Perithoidæ, Persidæ, Semachidæ, Skambônidæ, Sybridæ, Titakidæ, Thyrgonidæ, Hybadæ, Thymætadæ, Pæonidæ, Philaidæ, Chollidæ: all these names of demes, bearing the patronymic form, are found in Harpokration and Stephanus Byz. alone.

We do not know that the Κεραμαῖς ever constituted a γένος, but the name of the deme Κεραμαῖς is evidently given, upon the same principle, to a place chiefly occupied by potters. The gens Κοιρωνίδαι are said to have been called Φιλαιῖς (? Φυλαῖς) and Περιθουίδαι as well as Κοιρωνίδαι: the names of gentes and those of demes seem not always distinguishable.

The Butadæ, though a highly venerable gens, also ranked as a deme (see the Psephism about Lykurgus in Plutarch, Vit. X. Orator. p. 852): yet we do not know that there was any locality called Butadæ. Perhaps some of the names above noticed may be simply names of gentes, enrolled as demes, but without meaning to imply any community of abode among the members.

The members of a Roman gens occupied adjoining residences, on some occasions—to what extent we do not know (Heiberg, De Familiari Patriciorum Nexu, ch. 24, 25. Sleswic, 1829).

We find the same patronymic names of demes and villages elsewhere: in Kôs and Rhodes (Ross. Inscr. Gr. ined., Nr. 15–26. Halle, 1846); *Lêstadæ* in Naxos (Aristotle ap. Athenæ. viii. p. 348); *Botachidæ* at Tegea (Steph. Byz. in v.): *Branchidæ* near Miletus, &c.; and an interesting illustration is afforded, in other times and other places, by the frequency of the ending *ikon* in villages near Zurich in Switzerland,—Mezikon, Nennikon, Wezikon, &c. Bluntschli, in his history of Zurich, shows that these terminations are abridgements of *inghoven*, including an original patronymic element—indicating the primary settlement of members of a family, or of a band bearing the name of its captain, on the same spot (Bluntschli, Staats- und Rechts-Geschichte der Stadt Zürich, vol. i. p. 26).

In other inscriptions from the island of Kôs, published by Professor Ross, we have a deme mentioned (without name), composed of three coalescing gentes, “In hoc et sequente titulo alium jam deprehendimus *denum Coum*, e tribus gentibus appellatione patronymicâ conflatum, Antimachidarum, Ægiliensium, Archidarum.” (Ross, Inscript. Græc. Ined. Fascic. iii. No. 307. p. 44. Berlin, 1845.) This is a specimen of the process systematically introduced by Kleisthenês in Attica.

his own single name, followed first by the name of his father and next by that of the deme to which he belonged,—as *Æschinês, son of Atromêtus, a Kothôkid*. Such a difference in the habitual system of naming tended to make the gentile tie more present to every one's mind at Rome than in the Greek cities.

Before the pecuniary classification of the Atticans introduced by Solon, the Phratrises and Gentes, and the Trittyes and Naukraries, were the only recognised bonds among them, and the only basis of legal rights and obligations, over and above the natural family. The gens constituted a close incorporation, both as to property and as to persons. Until the time of Solon, no man had any power of testamentary disposition. If he died without children, his gennêtes succeeded to his property,¹ and so they continued to do even after Solon, if he died intestate. An orphan girl might be claimed in marriage of right by any member of the gens, the nearest agnates being preferred; ² if shee was poor, and he did not choose to marry her himself, the law of Solon compelled him to provide her with a dowry proportional to his enrolled scale of property, and to give her out in marriage to another; and the magnitude of the dowry required to be given (large even as fixed by Solon and afterwards doubled) seems a proof that the law-giver intended indirectly to enforce actual marriage.³ If a man was murdered, first his near relations, next his gennêtes and phrators, were both allowed and required to prosecute the crime at law;⁴ while his fellow demots, or inhabitants

Rights and obligations of the gentile and phratric brethren.

¹ Plutarch, Solon, 21. We find a common cemetery exclusively belonging to the gens and tenaciously preserved (Demosth. cont. Eubulid. p. 1307; Cicero, Legg. ii. 26).

² Demosth. cont. Makartat. p. 1068. See the singular additional proviso in Plutarch, Solon. c. 20.

³ See Meursius, Themis Attica, i. 13.

⁴ That this was the primitive custom, and that the limitation μέγχις ἀνεψιῶδων (Meier, De Bonis Damnat. p. 23, cites ἀνεψιῶδων καὶ φρατρῶν) was subsequently intro-

duced (Demosth. cont. Euerg. et Mnesib. p. 1161), we may gather from the law as it stands in Demosth. cont. Makartat. p. 1069, which includes the phrators, and therefore, à fortiori, the gennêtes or gentiles.

The same word γένος is used to designate both the circle of nameable relatives, brothers, first cousins (ἀγχιστεῖς, Demosth. cont. Makartat. c. 9. p. 105²), &c., going beyond the οἶκος—and the quasi-family or gens. As the gentile tie tended to become weaker, so the former sense of the word

of the same deme, did not possess the like right of prosecuting. All that we hear of the most ancient Athenian laws is based upon the gentile and phratric divisions, which are treated throughout as extensions of the family. It is to be observed that this division is completely independent of any property qualification—rich men as well as poor being comprehended in the same gens.¹ Moreover the different gentes were very unequal in dignity, arising chiefly from the religious ceremonies of which each possessed the hereditary and exclusive administration, and which, being in some cases considered as of pre-eminent sanctity in reference to the whole city, were therefore nationalized. Thus the Eumolpidæ and Kêrŷkes, who supplied the Hierophant and superintended the mysteries of the Eleusinian Dêmêtêr—and the Butadæ, who furnished the priestess of Athênê Polias as well as the priest of Poseidôn Erechtheus in the acropolis—seem to have been revered above all the other gentes.² When the name Butadæ was selected in

became more and more current, to the extinction of the latter. Οἱ ἐν γένει or οἱ προσήγοντες would have borne a wider sense in the days of Drako than in those of Demosthenes: Συγγενής usually belongs to γένος in the narrower sense, γυνήτης to γένος in the wider sense, but Isæus sometimes uses the former word as an exact equivalent of the latter (Orat. vii. pp. 95, 99, 102, 103, Bekker). Τριαχάς appears to be noted in Pollux as the equivalent of γένος or gens (viii. 111), but the word does not occur in the Attic orators, and we cannot make out its meaning with certainty: the Inscription of the Deme of Peiræus given in Boeckh (Corp. Insc. No. 101. p. 140) rather adds to the confusion by revealing the existence of a τριαχάς constituting the fractional part of a deme, and not connected with a gens: compare Boeckh's Comment. ad loc. and his Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 900.

Dr. Thirlwall translates γένος,

house; which I cannot but think inconvenient, because that word is the natural equivalent of οἶκος—a very important word in reference to Attic feelings, and quite different from γένος (Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 14. ch. 11). It will be found impossible to translate it by any known English word which does not at the same time suggest erroneous ideas: which I trust will be accepted as my excuse for adopting it untranslated into this history.

¹ Demosthen. cont. Makartat. l. c.

² See Æschines de Falsâ Legat. p. 292. c. 46; Lysias cont. Andokid. p. 108; Andokid. de Mysteriis, p. 63, Reiske; Deinarchus and Heliandikus ap. Harpokrat. v. ἱεροφάντης.

In case of crimes of impiety, particularly in offences against the sanctity of the Mysteries, the Eumolpidæ had a peculiar tribunal of their own number, before which offenders were brought by the king archon. Whether it was often

the Kleisthenean arrangement as the name of a deme, the holy gens so called adopted the distinctive denomination of *Êteobutadæ*, or "The true Butadæ."¹

A great many of the ancient gentes of Attica are known to us by name; but there is only one phratry (the Achniadæ) whose title has come down to us.² These phratries and gentes probably never at any time included the whole population of the country—and the proportion not included in them tended to become larger and larger, in the times anterior to Kleisthenês,³ as well as afterwards. They remained, under his constitution and throughout the subsequent history, as religious quasi-families or corporations, conferring rights and imposing liabilities which were enforced in the regular dikasteries, but not directly connected with the citizenship or with political functions: a man might be a citizen without being enrolled in any gens. The forty-

used, seems doubtful. They had also certain unwritten customs of great antiquity, according to which they pronounced (Demosthen. cont. Androtion. p. 601; Schol. ad Demosth. vol. ii. p. 137, Reiske: compare Meier and Schömann, *Der Attische Prozess*, p. 117). The Butadæ also had certain old unwritten maxims (Androtion ap. Athenæ. ix. p. 374).

Compare Bossler, *De Gentibus et Familiis Atticæ*, p. 20, and Ostermann, *De Præconibus Græcor.* sect. 2 and 3 (Marpurg. 1845).

¹ Lycurgus the orator is described as τὸν δῆμον Βουτάδης, γένους τοῦ τῶν Ἐτεοβουτάδων. (Plutarch, Vit. X. Orator. p. 841).

² In an inscription (apud Boeckh. *Corpus Inscript.* No. 465).

Four names of the phratries at the Greek city of Neapolis, and six names out of the thirty Roman curiæ, have been preserved (Becker, *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*, p. 32; Boeckh, *Corp. Inscript.* ii. p. 650).

Each Attic phratry seems to have had its own separate laws and customs, distinct from the rest,

τοῖς φράτρει, κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνων νόμους (Isæus. Or. viii. p. 115, ed. Bek.; vii. p. 99: iii. p. 49).

Bossler (*De Gentibus et Familiis Atticæ*, Darmstadt, 1833), and Meier (*De Gentilitate Atticâ*, p. 41–54) have given the names of those Attic gentes that are known: the list of Meier comprises seventy-nine in number (see Koutorga, *Organis. Trib.* p. 122).

³ Tittmann (*Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, p. 271) is of opinion that Kleisthenês augmented the number of phratries, but the passage of Aristotle brought to support this opinion is insufficient proof (*Polit.* vi. 2, 11). Still less can we agree with Platner (*Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Attischen Rechts*, p. 74–77), that three new phratries were assigned to each of the new Kleisthenean tribes.

Allusion is made in Hesychius, Ἀττικασταί, Ἐξω τρικκᾶδος, to persons not included in any gens, but this can hardly be understood to refer to times anterior to Kleisthenês, as Wachsmuth would argue (p. 238).

eight Naukraries ceased to exist, for any important purposes, under his constitution. The deme, instead of the naukrary, became the elementary political division, for military and financial objects; while the demarch became the working local president, instead of the chief of the naukrars. The deme however was not coincident with a naukrary, nor the demarch with the previous chief of the naukrary, though they were analogous and constituted for the like purpose.¹ While the naukraries had been only forty-eight in number, the demes formed smaller subdivisions, and (in later times at least) amounted to a hundred and seventy-four.²

But though this early quadruple division into tribes is tolerably intelligible in itself, there is much difficulty in reconciling it with that severalty of government which we learn to have originally prevailed among the inhabitants of Attica. From Kekrops down to Theseus (says Thucydides) there were many different cities in Attica, each of them autonomous and self-governing, with its own prytaneium and its own archons. It was only on occasions of some common danger that these distinct communities took counsel together under the authority of the Athenian kings, whose city at that time comprised merely the holy rock of Athênê on the plain³ (afterwards so conspicuous as the acropolis of the enlarged Athens), together with a narrow

¹ The language of Photius on this matter (v. *Ναυκραρία μὲν ὁποῖόν τι ἡ συμμορία καὶ ὁ δῆμος. ναύκραρος δὲ ὁποῖόν τι ὁ δῆμορχος*) is more exact than that of Harpokration, who identifies the two completely—v. *Δῆμορχος*. If it be true that the naukraries were continued under the Kleisthenean constitution, with the alteration that they were augmented to fifty in number, five to every Kleisthenean tribe, they must probably have been continued in name alone without any real efficiency or functions. Kleidêmus makes this statement, and Boeckh follows it (*Public Economy of Athens*, l. ii.

ch. 21. p. 256): yet I cannot but doubt its correctness. For the *τριτὴς* (one-third of a Kleisthenean tribe) was certainly retained and was a working and available division (see *Dêmosthenês de Symmoriis*, c. 7. p. 184), and it seems hardly probable that there should be two co-existing divisions, one representing the third part, the other the fifth part, of the same tribes.

² Strabo, ix. p. 396.

³ Strabo, ix. p. 396, *πέτρα ἐν πεδίῳ περιτοιχομένη κύκλῳ*. Euripid. *Ion*, 1578, *σκόπελον οἷ ναίουσ' ἐμὸν* (Athênê).

area under it on the southern side. It was Theseus (he states) who effected that great revolution whereby the whole of Attica was consolidated into one government—all the local magistracies and councils being made to centre in the prytaneium and senate of Athens. His combined sagacity and power enforced upon all the inhabitants of Attica the necessity of recognising Athens as the one city in the country, and of occupying their own abodes simply as constituent portions of Athenian territory. This important move, which naturally produced a great extension of the central city, was commemorated throughout the historical times by the Athenians in the periodical festival called *Synœkia*, in honour of the goddess *Athênê*.¹

Such is the account which *Thucydidês* gives of the original severalty and subsequent consolidation of the different portions of Attica. Of the general fact there is no reason to doubt, though the operative cause assigned by the historian—the power and sagacity of Theseus—belongs to legend and not to history. Nor can we pretend to determine either the real steps by which such a change was brought about, or its date, or the number of portions which went to constitute the full-grown Athens—further enlarged at some early period, though we do not know when, by voluntary junction of the Bœotian or semi-Bœotian town *Eleutheræ*, situated among the valleys of *Kithærôn* between *Eleusis* and *Platæa*. It was the standing habit of the population of Attica, even down to the Peloponnesian war,² to reside in their several cantons, where their ancient festivals and temples yet continued as relics of a state of previous autonomy. Their visits to the city were made only at special times, for purposes religious or political, and they still looked upon the country residence as their real home. How deep-seated this cantonal feeling was among them,

Long continuance of the cantonal feeling.

¹ *Thucyd.* ii. 15; *Theophrast. Charact.* 29, 4. *Plutarch* (*Theseus*, 24) gives the proceedings of Theseus in greater detail, and with a stronger tinge of democracy.

² *Pausan.* i. 2, 4; 38, 2. *Diodor. Sicul.* iv. 2. *Schol. ad Aristophan. Acharn.* 242.

The Athenians transferred from *Eleutheræ* to Athens both a venerable statue of *Dionysus* and

a religious ceremony in honour of that god. The junction of the town with Athens is stated by *Pausanias* to have taken place in consequence of the hatred of its citizens for Thebes, and must have occurred before 509 B.C., about which period we find *Hysiæ* to be the frontier deme of Attica (*Herodot.* v. 72; vi. 108).

we may see by the fact that it survived the temporary exile forced upon them by the Persian invasion, and was resumed when the expulsion of that destroying host enabled them to rebuild their ruined dwellings in Attica.¹

How many of the demes recognised by Kleisthenês had originally separate governments, or in what local aggregates they stood combined, we cannot now make out. It must be recollected that the city of Athens itself contained several demes, while Peiræus also formed a deme apart. Some of the twelve divisions, which Philochorus ascribes to Kekrops, present probable marks of an ancient substantive existence—Kekropia, or the region surrounding and including the city and acropolis; the Tetrapolis, composed of Cenoê, Trykorythus, Probalinthus and Marathon;² Eleusis; Aphidnæ and Dekeleia,³ both distinguished by their peculiar mythical connexion with Sparta and the Dioskuri. But it is difficult to imagine that Phalêrum (which is one of the separate divisions named by Philochorus) can ever have enjoyed an autonomy apart from Athens. Moreover we find among some of the demes which Philochorus does not notice, evidences of standing antipathies, and prohibitions of intermarriage, which might seem to indicate that these had once been separate little states.⁴ Though in

¹ Thucyd. ii. 15, 16. οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀπολείπων ἔκαστος—respecting the Athenians from the country who were driven into Athens at the first invasion during the Peloponnesian war.

² Etymologicum Magn. v. Ἐπαρχία χώρα; Strabo, viii. p. 383; Stephan. Byz. v. Τετράπολις.

The τετράκωμοι comprised the four demes, Πειραιεῖς, Φυλῆρσις, Εὐπετεῶνες, Θυμοῖταλαι (Pollux, iv. 105): whether this is an old division, however, has been doubted (see Ilgen, De Tribubus Atticis, p. 51).

The Ἐπαρχίων τριπύς is mentioned in an inscription apud Ross (Die Deme von Attika, p. vi.). Compare Boeckh ad Corp. Inscr. no. 52: among other demes, it comprised the deme Plôtheia. Mesogœa also (or rather the Mesogeî, οἱ Μεσόγειοι) appears as

a communion for sacrifice and religious purposes, and as containing the deme Batê. See Inscriptiones Atticæ nuper repertæ duodecim, by Ern. Curtius; Berlin. 1843: Inscript. i. p. 3. The exact site of the deme Batê in Attica is unknown (Ross, Die Deme von Attika, p. 64): and respecting the question, what portion of Attica was called Mesogœa, very different conjectures have been started, which there appears to be no means of testing. Compare Schömann de Comititiis, p. 343, and Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, p. 229, 2nd edit.

³ Dikæarchus, Fragm. p. 109, ed. Fuhr.; Plutarch, Theseus, c. 33.

⁴ Such as that between the Pallenæans and Agnusians (Plutarch, Theseus, 12).

Acharnæ was the largest and

most cases we can infer little from the legends and religious ceremonies which nearly every deme¹ had peculiar to itself, yet those of Eleusis are so remarkable, as to establish the probable autonomy of that township down to a comparatively late period. The Homeric hymn to Dêmêtêr, recounting the visit of that goddess to Eleusis after the abduction of her daughter, and the first establishment of the Eleusinian ceremonies, specifies the eponymous prince Eleusis, and the various chiefs of the place—Keleos, Triptolemus, Dioklês, and Eumolpus. It also notices the Rharian plain in the neighbourhood of Eleusis. But not the least allusion is made to Athens or to any concern of the Athenians in the presence or worship of the goddess. There is reason to believe that at the time when this hymn was composed, Eleusis was an independent town: what that time was, we have no means of settling, though Voss puts it as low as the 30th Olympiad.² And the proof hence derived is so much the more valuable, because the hymn to Dêmêtêr presents a colouring strictly special and local: moreover the story told by Solon to Crœsus, respecting Tellus the Athenian who perished in battle against the neighbouring townsmen of Eleusis,³ assumes in like manner the independence of the latter in earlier times. Nor is it unimportant to notice, that even so low as 300 B.C. the observant visitor Dikæarchus professes to detect a difference between the native Athenians and the Atticans, as well in physiognomy as in character and taste.⁴

In the history set forth to us of the proceedings of Theseus, no mention is made of these four Ionic tribes; but

What demes were originally independent of Athens.—Eleusis.

most populous deme in Attica (see Ross, *Die Demeu von Attika*, p. 62; Thucyd. ii. 21); yet Philochorus does not mention it as having ever constituted a substantive πόλις.

Several of the demes seem to have stood in repute for peculiar qualities, good or bad: see Aristophan. *Acharn.* 177, with Elmsley's note.

¹ Strabo, ix. p. 396; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 14. Polemo had written a book expressly on the eponymous

heroes of the Attic demes and tribes (Preller, *Polemonis Fragm.* p. 42): the Atthidographers were all rich on the same subject: see the Fragments of the Atthis of Hellanikus (p. 24, ed. Preller), also those of Istrus, Philochorus, &c.

² J. H. Voss, *Erläuterungen*, p. 1: see the hymn, 96–106, 451–475: compare *Hermesianax* ap. Athen. xiii. p. 597.

³ Herodot. i. 30.

⁴ Dikæarch. *Vita Græciæ*, p. 141, *Fragm.* ed. Fuhr.

another and a totally different distribution of the people into Eupatridæ, Geômorî and Demiurgi, which he is said to have first introduced, is brought to our notice: Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives only a double division—Eupatridæ and dependent cultivators; corresponding to his idea of the patricians and clients in early Rome¹. As far as we can understand this triple distinction, it seems to be disparate and unconnected with the four tribes above-mentioned. The Eupatridæ are the wealthy and powerful men, belonging to the most distinguished families in all the various gentes, and principally living in the city of Athens, after the consolidation of Attica: from them are distinguished the middling and lower people, roughly classified into husbandmen and artisans. To the Eupatridæ is ascribed a religious as well as a political and social ascendancy. They are represented as the source of all authority on matters both sacred and profane:² they doubtless comprised those gentes, such as the Butadæ, whose sacred ceremonies were looked upon with the greatest reverence by the people; and we may conceive Eumolpus, Keleos, Dioklês, &c., as they are described in the Homeric hymn to Dêmêtêr, in the character of Eupatridæ of Eleusis. The humbler gentes, and the humbler members of each gens, would appear in this classification confounded with that portion of the people who belonged to no gens at all.

From these Eupatridæ exclusively, and doubtless by their selection, the nine annual archons—probably also the Prytanês of the Naukrari—were taken. That the senate of Areopagus was formed of members of the same order, we may naturally presume. The nine archons all passed into it at the expiration of their year of office, subject only to the condition of having duly passed the test of accountability; and they remained members for life. These are the only political authorities of whom we hear in the earliest im-

¹ Plutarch, Theseus, c. 25; Dionys. Hal. ii. 8.

² Etymologic. Magn. Εὐπατρίδαι —οὐ αὐτὸ τὸ ἀστυ οἰκοῦντες, καὶ μετέχοντες τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῦμενοι. The βασιλικὸν γένος includes not only the Kodrids but also the

Erechtheids, Pandionids, Pallantids, &c. See also Plutarch, Theseus, c. 24; Hesychius, Ἀγροῖώται.

Yet Isokratês seems to speak of the great family of the Alkmaeonidæ as not included among the Eupatridæ (Orat. xvi. De Bigis, p. 351, p. 506 Bek.).

perfectly known period of the Athenian government, after the discontinuance of the king, and the adoption of the annual change of archons. The Senate of Areopagus seems to represent the Areopagus. Homeric council of old men;¹ and there were doubtless, on particular occasions, general assemblies of the people, with the same formal and passive character as the Homeric agora—at least we shall observe traces of such assemblies anterior to the Solonian legislation. Some of the writers of antiquity ascribed the first establishment of the senate of Areopagus to Solon, just as there were also some who considered Lycurgus as having first brought together the Spartan Gerusia. But there can be little doubt that this is a mistake, and that the senate of Areopagus is a primordial institution, of immemorial antiquity, though its constitution as well as its functions underwent many changes. It stood at first alone as a permanent and collegiate authority, originally by the side of the kings and afterwards by the side of the archons. It would then of course be known by the title of *The Boulê*—*The senate or council*; its distinctive title, “Senate of Areopagus” (borrowed from the place where its sittings were held) would not be bestowed until the formation by Solon of the second senate or council, from which there was need to discriminate it.

This seems to explain the reason why it was never mentioned in the ordinances of Draco, whose silence supplied one argument in favour of the opinion that it did not exist in his time, and that it was first constituted by Solon. We hear of the senate of Areopagus chiefly as a judicial tribunal, because it acted in this character constantly throughout Athenian history, and because the orators have most frequent occasion to allude to its decision on matters of trial. But its functions were originally of the widest senatorial character, directive generally as well as judicial. And although the gradual increase of democracy at Athens (as will be hereafter explained) both abridged its powers and contributed still further comparatively to lower it, by enlarging the direct working of the people in assembly and judicature, as well as that of the senate of Five Hundred.

¹ Meier und Schömann, *Der Attische Prozess*. Einleitung, p. 17.

² Plutarch, *Solon*, c. 19; *Aristotle*, *Polit.* ii. 9, 2; *Cicero*, *De*

Offic. i. 22. Pollux seems to follow the opinion that Solon first instituted the senate of Areopagus (viii. 125).

which was a permanent adjunct and auxiliary of the public assembly—yet it seems to have been, even down to the time of Periklês, the most important body in the state. And after it had been cast into the background by the political reforms of that great man, we still find it on particular occasions stepping forward to reassert its ancient powers, and to assume for the moment that undefined interference which it had enjoyed without dispute in antiquity. The attachment of the Athenians to their ancient institutions gave to the senate of Areopagus a constant and powerful hold on their minds, and this feeling was rather strengthened than weakened when it ceased to be an object of popular jealousy—when it could no longer be employed as an auxiliary of oligarchical pretensions.

Of the nine archons, whose number continued un-
 altered from 653 B.C. to the end of the free de-
 mocracy, three bore special titles—the Archon
 Eponymus, from whose name the designation of
 the year was derived, and who was spoken of as
The Archon; the Archon Basileus (king), or more frequently, the Basileus; and the Polemarch. The remaining six
 passed by the general title of Thesmothetæ. Of the first
 three, each possessed exclusive judicial competence in re-
 gard to certain special matters: the Thesmothetæ were in
 this respect all on a par, acting sometimes as a board,
 sometimes individually. The Archon Eponymus deter-
 mined all disputes relative to the family, the gentile, and
 the phratric relations: he was the legal protector of orphans
 and widows.¹ The Archon Basileus (or king archon) en-
 joyed competence in complaints respecting offences against
 the religious sentiment and respecting homicide. The
 Polemarch (speaking of times anterior to Kleisthenês) was
 the leader of military force and judge in disputes between
 citizens and non-citizens. Moreover each of these three
 archons had particular religious festivals assigned to him,
 which it was his duty to superintend and conduct. The
 six Thesmothetæ seem to have been judges in disputes and
 complaints, generally, against citizens, saving the special
 matters reserved for the cognizance of the first two archons.
 According to the proper sense of the word Thesmothetæ,
 all the nine archons were entitled to be so called,² though

The nine
archons—
their func-
tions.

¹ Pollux, viii. 89—91.

² We read the *ἑσμοθέτων ἀνά-*

the first three had especial designations of their own. The word *Thesmoi* (analogous to the *Themistes*¹ of Homer) includes in its meaning both general laws and particular sentences—the two ideas not being yet discriminated, and the general law being conceived only in its application to some particular case. *Drako* was the first *Thesmothet* who was called upon to set down his *Thesmoi* in writing, and thus to invest them essentially with a character of more or less generality.

In the later and better-known times of Athenian law, we find these archons deprived in great measure of their powers of judging and deciding, and restricted to the task of first hearing the parties and collecting the evidence, next, of introducing the matter for trial into the appropriate *dikastery*, over which they presided. But originally there was no separation of powers; the archons both judged and administered, sharing among themselves those privileges which had once been united in the hands of the king, and probably accountable at the end of their year of office to the senate of *Areopagus*. It is probable also that the

χρῆσις in *Demosthen. cont. Eubulid.*, c. 17. p. 1319. and *Pollux*, viii. 85; a series of questions which it was necessary for them to answer before they were admitted to occupy their office. Similar questions must have been put to the Archon, the *Basileus*, and the *Polemarch*: so that the words *θεσμοθέτων ἀνάχρησις* may reasonably be understood to apply to all the nine archons, as indeed we find the words *τοὺς ἐνὲξ ἀρχόν-τας ἀνακρίνεται* shortly afterwards, p. 1320. Besides, all the nine, after passing the *εὐθύναι* at the close of their official year, became members of the *Areopagus*.

¹ Respecting the word *θέμιτες* in the Homeric sense, see above, ch. xx.

Both Aristotle (*Polit.* ii. 9, 9) and *Démosthenés* (*cont. Euerg.* et *Mnésibul.* c. 18. p. 1161) call the ordinances of *Drako* νόμοι, not θεσμοί. And *Skidēs* distinguishes

the θεσμοί of *Drako* and the νόμοι of *Solon* (*De Mysteriis*, p. 11). This is the adoption of a phrase comparatively modern; *Solon* called his own laws θεσμοί. The oath of the *περίπολοι ἐφηβοί* (the youth who formed the armed police of Attica during the first two years of their military age), as given in *Pollux* (vii. 106), seems to contain many ancient phrases: this phrase—καὶ τοῖς θεσμοῖς τοῖς ἱερουμένοις τίσσονται—is remarkable, as it indicates the ancient association of religious sanction which adhered to the word θεσμοί; for ἱερόεσθαι is the word employed in reference to the establishment and domiciliation of the gods who protected the country—θέσθαι νόμους is the later expression for making laws. Compare *Stobæus De Republic.* xliii. 42. ed. *Gaisford*, and *Démosthen. cont. Macartat.* c. 13. p. 1069.

functions of that senate, and those of the prytanes of the naukrars, were of the same double and confused nature. All of these functionaries belonged to the Eupatrids, and all of them doubtless acted more or less in the narrow interest of their order: moreover there was ample room for favouritism, in the way of connivance, as well as antipathy, on the part of the archons. That such was decidedly the case, and that discontent began to be serious, we may infer from the duty imposed on the thesmothet Drako, B.C. 624, to put in writing the Thesmoi or Ordinances, his laws. so that they might be "shown publicly" and known beforehand.¹ He did not meddle with the political constitution, and in his ordinances Aristotle finds little worthy of remark except the extreme severity² of the punishments awarded: petty thefts, or even proved idleness of life, being visited with death or disfranchisement.

But we are not to construe this remark as demonstrating any special inhumanity in the character of Drako, who was not invested with the large power which Solon afterwards enjoyed, and cannot be imagined to have imposed upon the community severe laws of his own invention. Himself of course an Eupatrid, he set forth in writing such ordinances as the Eupatrid archons had before been accustomed to enforce without writing, in the particular cases which came before them; and the general spirit of penal legislation had become so much milder, during the two centuries which followed, that these old ordinances appeared to Aristotle intolerably rigorous. Probably neither Drako, nor the Lokrian Zaleukus, who somewhat preceded him in date, were more rigorous than the sentiment of the age: indeed the few fragments of the Drakonian tables which have reached us, far from exhibiting indiscriminate cruelty, introduce, for the first time, into the Athenian law, mitigating distinctions in respect to homicide;³ founded on the

¹ Ὅτε θεσμοὶς ἐφ' ἅνῃ ἔδε—such is the exact expression of Solon's law (Plutarch, Solon, c. 19); the word θεσμός is found in Solon's own poems, θεσμοὶς δ' ὁμοίους τῷ κακῷ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ.

² Aristot. Polit. ii. 9, 9; Rhetoric. ii. 25, 1; Aulus Gell. N. A. xi. 18; Pausanias, ix. 36, 4; Plutarch, Solon. c. 19; though Pollux (viii.

42) does not agree with him. Taylor, Lectt. Lysiacæ, ch. 10.

Respecting the θεσμοὶ of Drako, see Kuhn ad Ælian. V. H. viii. 19. The preliminary sentence which Porphyry (De Abstinentiâ, iv. 22) ascribes to Drako can hardly be genuine.

³ Pausanias, ix. 36, 2. Δράκωντος Ἀθηναίους θεσμοθετήσαντος ἐκ τῶν

variety of concomitant circumstances. He is said to have constituted the judges called Ephetæ, fifty-one elders belonging to some respected gens or possessing an exalted position, who held their sittings for trial of homicide in three different spots, according to the difference of the cases submitted to them. If the accused party, admitting the fact, denied any culpable intention and pleaded accident, the case was tried at the place called the Palladium; when found guilty of accidental homicide, he was condemned to a temporary exile, unless he could appease the relatives of the deceased, but his property was left untouched. If, again, admitting the fact, he defended himself by some valid ground of justification, such as self-defence, or flagrant adultery with his wife on the part of the deceased, the trial took place on ground consecrated to Apollo and Artemis, called the Delphinium. A particular spot called the Phreattys, close to the seashore, was also named for the trial of a person, who while under sentence of exile for an unintentional homicide, might be charged with a second homicide, committed of course without the limits of the territory: being considered as impure from the effects of the former sentence, he was not permitted to set foot on the soil, but stood his trial on a boat hauled close in shore. At the Prytaneium or government-house itself, sittings were held by the four Phylo-Basileis or Tribe Kings, to try any inanimate object (a piece of wood or stone, &c.) which had caused death to any one, without the proved intervention of a human hand: the wood or stone, when the fact was verified, was formally cast beyond the border.¹

ἐκείνου κατέστη νόμων οὓς ἔγραψεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἄλλων τε ὁρίων ἀδείαν εἶναι χρῆναι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τιμωρίαν μοιχεύειν: compare Dēmesthen. cont. Aristokrat. p. 637; Lysias de Cæde Eratosthen. p. 31.

¹ Harpokration, vv. Ἐφέτται, Ἐπὶ Δελφίνω, Ἐπὶ Παλλὰδιῳ, Ἐν Φρεατταῖ; Pollux, viii. 119, 124, 125; Photius, v. Ἐφέτται; Hesychius, ἐς Φρεατταῖ; Dēmesthen. cont. Aristokrat. c. 15—18. p. 642—645; cont. Makartat. c. 13. p. 1068. When Pollux speaks of the five courts in which the Ephetæ judged, he

probably includes the Areopagus (see Dēmesthen. cont. Aristokrat. c. 14. p. 641).

About the judges ἐν Φρεατταῖ, see Aristot. Polit. iv. 13, 2. On the general subject of this ancient and obscure criminal procedure, see Matthiæ, De Judiciis Atheniensium (in Miscellan. Philologic. vol. i. p. 143 seq.); also Schömann, Antiq. Jur. Pub. Att. sect. 61. p. 288; Platner, Prozess und Klagen bey den Attikern. b. i. ch. 1; and E. W. Weber, Comment. ad Dēmesthen. cont. Aristokrat. pp. 627,

Different
tribunals
for ho-
micide at
Athens.

All these distinctions of course imply the preliminary investigation of the case (called *Anakrisis*) by the king archon, in order that it might be known what was the issue and where the sittings of the *Ephetæ* were to be held.

So intimately was the mode of dealing with homicide connected with the religious feelings of the Athenians, that these old regulations, never formally abrogated throughout the historical times, were read engraved on their column by the contemporaries of *Dêmosthenês*.¹ The *Areopagus* continued in judicial operation, and the *Ephetæ* are spoken of as if they were so, even through the age of *Dêmosthenês*; though their functions were tacitly usurped or narrowed, and their dignity impaired,² by the more popular *dikasteries*

641: Meier und Schömann, *Attisch. Prozess*, p. 14—19.

I cannot consider the *Ephetæ* as judges in appeal, and I agree with those (*Schömann*, *Antiq. Jur. Pub. Gr.* p. 171; Meier und Schömann, *Attisch. Prozess*, p. 16; Platner, *Prozess und Klagen*, t. i. p. 18) who distrust the etymology which connects this word with ἐπέτιμος. The active sense of the word, akin to ἐπίτιμι (*Æsch. Prom.* 4) and ἐπέτιμή, meets the case better: see O. Müller, *Prolegm. ad Mythol.* p. 424 (though there is no reason for believing the *Ephetæ* to be older than *Drako*): compare however K. F. Hermann, *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthümer*, sect. 103, 104, who thinks differently.

The trial, condemnation and banishment of inanimate objects which had been the cause of death, was founded on feelings widely diffused throughout the Grecian world (see *Pausan.* vi. 11, 2; and *Theokritus*, *Idyll.* xliii. 6) or analogous in principle to the English law respecting deadland, and to the spirit pervading the ancient Germanic codes generally (see Dr. C. Trümmer, *Die Lehre von der Zurechnung*, c. 28—38. *Hamburg*, 1849).

The Germanic codes do not content themselves with imposing a general obligation to appease the relatives and gentiles of the slain party, but determine beforehand the sum which shall be sufficient for the purpose, which, in the case of involuntary homicide, is paid to the surviving relatives as a compensation. As to the difference between culpable homicide, justifiable homicide, and accidental homicide, see the elaborate treatise of *Wida*, *Das Deutsche Strafrecht*, ch. viii. p. 544—559, whose doctrine however is disputed by Dr. Trümmer in the treatise above noticed.

At Rome, according to the Twelve Tables and earlier, involuntary homicide was to be expiated by the sacrifice of a ram (*Walter*, *Geschichte des Römisch. Rechts*, sect. 768).

¹ *Demosth. cont. Euerg. et Mnêsib.* p. 1161.

² *Demosthen. cont. Aristocrat.* p. 647. τοσοῦτοις δικάστησι, ἃ ἔστι κατὰ νόμον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ δὲ καὶ γὰρ οὐκ πάντα τοῦ χρόνου, p. 648. καὶ τὰς ἐπιτοχὰς τοῦ νόμου κατὰ νόμον, οἷον: πρὸς ἑκάστην ἑξῆς, ἢ ἑκατὶ, ἢ ἑκατὶ. See also the *Oration cont. Makartat.* p. 1067; *Æschin. cont. Ktesiphon.* p. 636; *Antiph. De Cæde Herodis*, c. 14.

afterwards created. It is in this way that they have become known to us, while the other Drakonian institutions have perished: but there is much obscurity respecting them, particularly in regard to the relation between the Ephetæ and the Areopagites. Indeed so little was known on the subject, even by the historical inquirers of Athens, that most of them supposed the council of Areopagus to have received its first origin from Solon; and even Aristotle, though he contradicts this view, expresses himself in no very positive language.¹ That judges sat at the Areopagus for the trial of homicide, previous to Drako, seems implied in the arrangements of that lawgiver respecting the Ephetæ, inasmuch as he makes no new provision for trying the direct issue of intentional homicide, which, according to all accounts, fell within the cognizance of the Areopagus: but whether the Ephetæ and the Areopagites were the same persons, wholly or partially, our information is not sufficient to discover. Before Drako, there existed no tribunal for trying homicide, except the senate, sitting at the Areopagus. And we may conjecture that there was something connected with that spot—legends, ceremonies, or religious feelings—which compelled judges there sitting to condemn every man proved guilty of homicide, and forbid them to take account of extenuating or justifying circumstances.² Drako appointed the Ephetæ to sit at different places: places so pointedly marked, and so unalterably maintained, that we may see in how peculiar a manner those special issues, of homicide under particular circumstances, which he assigned to each, were adapted in Athenian belief, to the new sacred localities chosen;³ each having its own

Regula-
tions of
Drako
about the
Ephetæ.

The popular Dikastery, in the age of Isokratēs and Dēmostenēs, held sittings ἐν Πυλαῶν for the trial of charges of unintentional homicide—a striking evidence of the special holiness of the place for that purpose (see Isokrat. cont. Kallimachum, Or. xviii. p. 381; Dēmosth. cont. Næm. p. 1348).

The statement of Pollux (viii. 125), that the Ephetæ became despised, is not confirmed by the language of Dēmostenēs.

¹ Plutarch, Solon, c. 19; Aristot. Polit. ii. 9, 2.

² Read on this subject the maxims laid down by Plato, about theft (Legg. xii. p. 941). Nevertheless Plato copies, to a great degree, the arrangements of the ephetic tribunals, in his provisions for homicide (Legg. ix. p. 865–873).

³ I know no place in which the special aptitude of particular localities, consecrated each to its own purpose, is so powerfully set forth, as in the speech of Camillus against the transfer of Rome to Veii (Livy, v. 52).

distinct ceremonial and procedure appointed by the gods themselves. That the religious feelings of the Greeks were associated in the most intimate manner with particular

Local superstitions at Athens about trial of homicide.

localities, has already been often remarked; and Drako proceeded agreeably to them in his arrangements for mitigating the indiscriminate condemnation of every man found guilty of homicide, which was unavoidable so long as the Areopagus remained the only place of trial. The man who either confessed, or was proved, to have shed the blood of another, could not be acquitted or condemned to less than the full penalty (of death or perpetual exile with confiscation of property) by the judges on the hill of Arês, whatever excuse he might have to offer: but the judges at the Palladium and Delphinium might hear him, and even admit his plea, without contracting the taint of irreligion.¹ Drako did not directly meddle with, nor indeed ever mention, the judges sitting in Areopagus.

¹ It has been remarked to me that what I here state is inconsistent with the Eumenides of Æschylus, which introduce Orestes as tried at the Areopagus and acquitted, although his matricide is confessed; because the justification preferred by Apollo in his behalf, that Klytæmnestra had deserved her death by having previously slain Agamemnon, is held sufficient. I think, however, that an attentive study of that very curious drama, far from contradicting what is here said in the text, will farther illustrate and confirm it.

The cause tried represents two parties: first, the official prosecutors or avenging goddesses (the Eumenides), who claim Orestes as their victim, peremptorily, and without even listening to any excuse, the moment that the fact of his matricide is verified: next, Orestes himself, who admits the act, but pleads that he has committed it to avenge his father, under the sanction and even instigation of Apollo, who appears as his witness and champion.

Two points of view, respecting homicide, are here put in conflict: one represented by the Eumenides, the other by Apollo, acting indirectly with the sanction of Zeus.

The divine privileges of the Eumenides are put in on one side, those of Apollo on the other: the former complain that the latter interferes with them, and meddles with proceedings which do not legitimately (227-715) belong to him, while they each hold out terrible menaces of the mischief which they will do respectively to Attica, if the verdict be given against them (710-714).

Athênê, as patroness of Attica, has to protect her territory against injury from both sides, and to avoid giving offence to either. This is really contrived, as much as it is possible to do consistent with finding any verdict at all. The votes of the Dikasts or Jurors are made to be equal, so that they at least, as Athenians, may not exasperate either of the powerful antagonists: and the acquittal of Orestes ensues, because Athênê

In respect to homicide, then, the Drakonian ordinances were partly a reform of the narrowness, partly a mitigation

herself has pronounced in his favour, on the ground that her sympathies are with the male sex rather than the female, and that the murder of Agamemnon counts with her for more than that of Klytæmnestra. This trial, assumed as the first ever held for blood spilt (πρωτὴ δίκης κρίνοντες ἄμματος χυτοῦ—682), terminates in a verdict of acquittal pronounced by Athênê as casting vote among equal numbers of the Dikasts.

Upon this the Eumenides burst into violent expression of complaint and menace, which Athênê does her best to appease. They complain of having been vanquished and dishonoured: she tells them that they have not been so, because the votes were equal: and that she decided herself in favour of Orestes, because he had been acting under the sanction and guarantee of Apollo, indirectly even of Zeus: to both of whom the responsibility of the act really belonged. She then earnestly entreats the Eumenides to renounce their displeasure, and to accept a domicile in Attica, together with the most signal testimonies of worship and reverence from the people. For a long time they refuse: at length they relent, and agree to become inmates along with her in Athens (ἐποικίσειν Ἡρώδης ἐν ἀθήναις. 917—919. ἀποικίσειν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ πείθεσθαι, 1017). Athênê then conducts them, with solemn procession, to the resting-place appointed for them (πρὸς τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν γὰρ Στράβων βυθόφωρος ἀποδείκνυσθαι, 1001).

Now this resting-place, consecrated ever afterwards to the Eumenides, was close by, or actually upon the hill called Areopagus.

(Pausan. i. 28. 6. Schol. ad Thucyd.

i. 126. ἃς (Σεμνάς θεάς) μετὰ τὸν Ὀρέστην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πλῆστον τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου ιδρύσαντο, ἵνα πολλῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἡρώσιν.) The Areopagus is thus made over and consecrated to them: and as a consequence, the procedure against homicide, as there conducted, must be made conformable to their point of view: peremptory condemnation of the guilty person, without admitting either excuse or justification. Athênê, in her bargain with them, engages that they shall never again be exposed to such an humiliation as they have recently undergone by the acquittal of Orestes: that they shall receive the highest measure of reverential worship. In return for this, they promise to ensure abundant blessings to the land (940—985).

Here, then, is the result of the drama of Æschylus, showing how those goddesses became consecrated on or close to the Areopagus, and therefore how their view of homicide became exclusively paramount *on that locality*.

It was not necessary, for the purpose of Æschylus, to say what provision Athênê made to instal Apollo and to deal with his view of homicide, opposed to that of the Eumenides. Apollo, in the case of Orestes, had gained the victory, and required nothing more. Yet his view and treatment of homicide, admitting of certain special justifications, is not to be altogether excluded from Athens, though it is excluded from the Areopagus. This difficulty is solved by providing the new judgement-seat at Delphinium, or the temple of Apollo Delphinus (Plutarch, Theseus, c. 12—14. K. F. Hermann, Gottesdienst. Alterthümer. Griech.

of the rigour, of the old procedure; and these are all that have come down to us, having been preserved unchanged from the religious respect of the Athenians for antiquity on this peculiar matter. The rest of his ordinances are said to have been repealed by Solon, on account of their intolerable severity. So they doubtless appeared, to the Athenians of a later day, who had come to measure offences by a different scale; and even to Solon, who had to calm the wrath of a suffering people in actual mutiny.

That under this eupatrid oligarchy and severe legislation, the people of Attica were sufficiently miserable, we shall presently see when I recount the proceedings of Solon. But the age of democracy had not yet begun, and the government received its first shock from the hands of an ambitious Eupatrid who aspired to the despotism. Such was the phase (as has been remarked in the preceding chapter) through which, during the century now under consideration, a large proportion of the Grecian governments passed.

Kylôn, an Athenian patrician—who superadded, to a great family position, the personal celebrity of a victory at Olympia, as runner in the double stadium—conceived the design of seizing the acropolis and constituting himself despot. Whether any special event had occurred at home to stimulate this project, we do not know: but he obtained both encouragement and valuable aid from his father-in-law Theagenês of Megara, who, by means of his popularity with the people, had already subverted the Megarian oligarchy, and become despot of his native city. Previous to so hazardous an attempt, however, Kylôn consulted the Delphian oracle, and was advised by the god in reply, to take the opportunity of “the greatest festival of Zeus” for seizing the acropolis. Such expressions, in the natural interpretation put upon them by every Greek, designated the Olympic games in Peloponnesus. To Kylôn, moreover, himself an Olympic victor, that interpretation came recommended by an apparent peculiar propriety. But Thucydidês, not indifferent to the

60. 3), where the procedure of Apollo, in contradistinction to that of the Eumenides, is followed, and where justifiable homicide may be put in plea.

The legend of Apollo and the Delphinium thus forms the sequel and complement to that of the Eumenides and the Areopagus.

credit of the oracle, reminds his readers that no question was asked nor any express direction given, *where* the intended "greatest festival of Zeus" was to be sought—whether in Attica or elsewhere—and that the public festival of the Diasia, celebrated periodically and solemnly in the neighbourhood of Athens, was also denominated the "greatest festival of Zeus Meilichius." Probably no such exegetical scruples presented themselves to any one, until after the miserable failure of the conspiracy; least of all to Kylôn himself, who, at the recurrence of the next ensuing Olympic games, put himself at the head of a force, partly furnished by Theagenês, partly composed of his friends at home, and took sudden possession of the sacred rock of Athens. But the attempt excited general indignation among the Athenian people, who crowded in from the country to assist the archons and the prytanes of the Naukrari in putting it down. Kylôn and his companions were blockaded in the Acropolis, where they soon found themselves in straits for want of water and provisions; and though many of the Athenians went back to their homes, a sufficient besieging force was left to reduce the conspirators to the last extremity. After Kylôn himself had escaped by stealth, and several of his companions had died of hunger, the remainder, renouncing all hope of defence, sat down as suppliants at the altar. The archon Megaklês, on regaining the citadel, found these suppliants on the point of expiring with hunger on the sacred ground, and to prevent such a pollution, engaged them to quit the spot by a promise of sparing their lives. No sooner, however, had they been removed into profane ground, than the promise was violated and they were put to death: some even, who, seeing the fate with which they were menaced, contrived to throw themselves upon the altar of the Venerable goddesses (or Eumenides) near the Areopagus, received their death wounds in spite of that inviolable protection.¹

His failure, and massacre of his partisans by order of the Alkmeonids.

Though the conspiracy was thus put down, and the government upheld, these deplorable incidents left behind them a long train of calamity—profound religious remorse mingled with exasperated political antipathies. There still

¹ The narrative is given in Thucyd. i. 126; Herod. v. 71; Plutarch, Solon, 12.

remained, if not a considerable Kylonian party, at least a large body of persons who resented the way in which the Kylonians had been put to death, and who became in consequence bitter enemies of Megaklês the archon, and of the great family of the Alkmæônidæ, to which he belonged. Not only Megaklês himself and his personal assistants were denounced as smitten with a curse, but the taint was supposed to be transmitted to his descendants, and we shall hereafter find the wound re-opened, not only in the second and third generation, but also two centuries after the original event.¹ When we see that the impression left by the proceeding was so very serious, even after the length of time which had elapsed, we may well believe that it was sufficient, immediately afterwards, to poison altogether the tranquillity of the state. The Alkmæônids and their partisans long defied their opponents, resisting any public trial. The dissensions continued without hope of termination, until Solon, then enjoying a lofty reputation for sagacity and patriotism, as well as for bravery, persuaded them to submit to judicial cognizance,—at a moment so far distant

Trial and
condemnation
of the
Alkmæôn-
ids.

from the event, that several of the actors were dead. They were accordingly tried before a special judicature of 300 Eupatrids, Myrôn of the deme Phlyeis being their accuser. In defending themselves against the charge that they had sinned against the reverence due to the gods and the consecrated right of asylum, they alleged that the Kylonian suppliants, when persuaded to quit the holy ground, had tied a cord round the statue of the goddess and clung to it for protection in their march: but on approaching the altar of the Eumenides, the cord accidentally broke—and this critical event (so the accused persons argued) proved that the goddess had herself withdrawn from them her protecting hand and abandoned them to their fate.² Their argument, remarkable as an illustration of the feelings of the time,

¹ Aristophan. *Equit.* 445, and the Scholia; Herodot. v. 70.

² Plutarch, Solon, c. 12. If the story of the breaking of the cord had been true, Thucydides could hardly have failed to notice it; but there is no reason to doubt that it was the real defence urged by the Alkmæônids.

When Ephesus was besieged by Cræsus, the inhabitants sought protection to their town by dedicating it to Artemis; they carried a cord from the walls of the town to the shrine of the goddess, which was situated without the walls (Herod. i. 26). The Samian despot Polykratês, when he con-

was not however accepted as an excuse. They were found guilty, and while such of them as were alive retired into banishment, those who had already died were disinterred and cast beyond the borders. Yet their exile, continuing as it did only for a time, was not held sufficient to expiate the impiety for which they had been condemned. The Alkmæônids, one of the most powerful families in Attica, long continued to be looked upon as a tainted race,¹ and in cases of public calamity were liable to be singled out as having by their sacrilege drawn down the judgement of the gods upon their countrymen.²

The banishment of the guilty parties was not found sufficient to restore tranquillity. Not only did pestilential disorders prevail, but the religious susceptibilities and apprehensions of the Athenian community also remained deplorably excited. They were oppressed with sorrow and despondency, saw phantoms and heard supernatural menaces, and felt the curse of the gods upon them without abatement.³ In particular, it appears that the minds of the women (whose religious impulses were recognised generally by the ancient legislators as requiring watchful control) were thus disturbed and frantic. The sacrifices offered at Athens did not succeed in dissipating the epidemic, nor could the prophets at home, though they recognised that special purifications were required, discover what were the new ceremonies capable of appeasing the divine wrath. The Delphian oracle directed them to invite a higher spiritual influence from abroad, and this produced the memorable visit of the Kretan prophet and sage Epimenidês to Athens.

Pestilence
and suf-
fering at
Athens.

The century between 620 and 500 B.C. appears to have been remarkable for the first diffusion and potent influence of distinct religious brotherhoods, mystic rites, and expiatory ceremonies, none of which (as I have remarked in a former chapter) find any recognition in the Homeric epic. To this age belong Thalêtas, Aristæas, Abaris, Pythagoras,

separated to the Delian Apollo the neighbouring island of Rhêneia, connected it with the island of Delos by means of a chain (Thucyd. iii. 104).

These analogies illustrate the powerful effect of visible or material continuity on the Grecian

imagination.

¹ Herodot. i. 61.

² See Thucyd. v. 16, and his language respecting Pleistoanax of Sparta.

³ Plutarch, Solon, c. 12. Κῆρ τῶν τε γυναικῶν ἐκ δαιμονιασμοῦ ἀνὰ πόλιν κατέχευε καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

Onomakritus, and the earliest proveable agency of the Orphic sect.¹ Of the class of men here noticed, Epimenidês, a native of Phæstus or Knossus in Krete,² was one of the most celebrated—and the old legendary connexion between Athens and Krete, which shows itself in the tales of Theseus and Minos, is here again manifested in the recourse which the Athenians had to this island to supply their spiritual need. Epimenidês seems to have been connected with the worship of the Kretan Zeus, in whose favour he stood so high as to receive the denomination of the new Kurête³ (the Kurêtes having been the primitive ministers and organizers of that worship). He was said to be the son of the nymph Baltê; to be supplied by the nymphs with constant food, since he was never seen to eat; to have fallen asleep in his youth in a cave, and to have continued in this state without interruption for fifty-seven years; though some asserted that he remained all this time a wanderer in the mountains, collecting and studying medicinal botany in the vocation of an Iatromantis, or Leech and Prophet combined. Such narratives mark the idea entertained by antiquity of Epimenidês the Purifier,⁴ who was now called in to heal both the epidemic and the mental affliction prevalent among the Athenian people, in the same manner as his countryman and contemporary Thalêtas had been, a few years before, invited to Sparta to appease a pestilence by the effect of his music and religious hymns.⁵ The favour of Epimenidês with the gods,

¹ Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, ii. p. 313; Hoeckh, *Kreta*, iii. 2. p. 252.

² The statements respecting Epimenidês are collected and discussed in the treatise of Heinrich, *Epimenides aus Kreta*, Leipsic, 1801.

³ Diogen, *Laërt.* i. 114, 115.

⁴ Plutarch, *Solon*, c. 12; Diogen, *Laërt.* i. 109—115; Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 52. *θεσφοδῆς καὶ σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεῖα τῆ, ἐνθουσιαστικῆν καὶ τελεστικῆν σοφίαν*, &c. Maxim. Tyrius, xxxviii. 3. *θεωρῶς τὰ θεῖα, οὐ μόνον ἀλλ' ὅπου αὐτῷ διεγείτο μακρὸν καὶ ὄνειρον διδάσκων*.

Ἰατρομαντῆς, *Æschyl.* *Supplic.* 277; *Κρήνητος*, *Iamblichus*, *Vit.*

Pythagor. c. 28.

Plutarch (*Sept. Sapient. Conviv.* p. 157) treats Epimenidês simply as having lived up to the precepts of the Orphic life, or vegetable diet: to this circumstance, I presume, Plato (*Legg.* iii. p. 677) must be understood to refer, though it is not very clear. See the Fragment of the lost *Krêtes* of Euripides, p. 98, ed. Dindorf.

Karmanor of Tarrha in Krete had purified Apollo himself for the slaughter of Pytho (*Pausan.* ii. 30, 3).

⁵ Plutarch, *De Musicâ*, p. 1134—1146; *Pausanias*, i. 14, 3.

his knowledge of propitiatory ceremonies, and his power of working upon the religious feeling, was completely successful in restoring both health and mental tranquillity at Athens. He is said to have turned out some black and white sheep on the Areopagus, directing attendants to follow and watch them, and to erect new altars to the appropriate local deities on the spots where the animals lay down.¹ He founded new chapels and established various lustral ceremonies; and more especially he regulated the worship paid by the women in such manner as to calm the violent impulses which had before agitated them. We know hardly anything of the details of his proceeding, but the general fact of his visit, and the salutary effects produced in removing the religious despondency which oppressed the Athenians, are well attested. Consoling assurances and new ritual precepts, from the lips of a person supposed to stand high in the favour of Zeus, were the remedy which this unhappy disorder required. Moreover, Epimenidēs had the prudence to associate himself with Solon, and while he thus doubtless obtained much valuable advice, he assisted indirectly in exalting the reputation of Solon himself, whose career of constitutional reform was now fast approaching. He remained long enough at Athens to restore completely a more comfortable tone of religious feeling, and then departed, carrying with him universal gratitude and admiration, but refusing all other reward, except a branch from the sacred olive tree in the acropolis.² His life is said to

Epimenidēs
visits and
purifies
Athens.

¹ Cicero (Legg. ii. 11) states that Epimenidēs directed a temple to be erected at Athens to Ὑβρις and Ἄναιδεια (Violence and Impudence): Clemens said that he had erected altars to the same two goddesses (Protrepticon, p. 22): Theophrastus said that there were altars at Athens (without mentioning Epimenidēs) to the same (ap. Zenobium, Proverb. Cent. iv. 36). Ister spoke of a ἱερὸν Ἀναιδείας at Athens (Istri Fragm. ed. Siebelis, p. 62). I question whether this story has any other foundation than the fact stated by Pausanias, that the stones which were placed before

the tribunal of Areopages, for the accuser and the accused to stand upon, were called by these names — Ὑβρεως, that of the accused; Ἀναιδείας, that of the accuser (i. 28, 5). The confusion between stones and altars is not difficult to be understood. The other story told by Neanthēs of Kyzikus respecting Epimenidēs, that he had offered two young men as human sacrifices, was distinctly pronounced to be untrue by Polemo: and it reads completely like a romance (Athenæus, xiii. p. 602).

² Plutarch, Præcept. Reipubl. Gerend. c. 27, p. 520.

have been prolonged to the unusual period of 154 years, according to a statement which was current during the time of his younger contemporary Xenophanês of Kolophon.¹ The Kretans even ventured to affirm that he lived 300 years. They extolled him not merely as a sage and a spiritual purifier, but also as a poet—very long compositions on religious and mythical subjects being ascribed to him; according to some accounts, they even worshipped him as a god. Both Plato and Cicero considered Epimenidês in the same light in which he was regarded by his contemporaries, as a prophet divinely inspired, and foretelling the future under fits of temporary ecstasy. But according to Aristotle, Epimenidês himself professed to have received from the gods no higher gift than that of divining the unknown phænomena of the past.²

The religious mission of Epimenidês to Athens, and its efficacious as well as healing influence on the public mind, deserve notice as characteristics of the age in which they occurred.³ If we transport ourselves two centuries forward to the Peloponnesian war, when rational influences and positive habits of thought had acquired a durable hold upon the superior minds, and when practical discussions on political and judicial matters were familiar to every Athenian citizen, no such uncontrollable religious misery could well have subdued the entire public; while, if it had, no living man could have drawn to himself such universal veneration as to be capable of effecting a cure. Plato,⁴ admitting the real healing influence of rites and ceremonies, fully believed in Epimenidês as an inspired prophet during the past; but towards those who preferred claims to supernatural power in his own day, he was not so easy of faith. He, as well as Euripidês and Theophrastus, treated with indifference, and even with contempt, the Orpheotelestæ of the later

¹ Diogen. Laërt. l. c.

² Plato, Legg. i. p. 642; Cicero, De Divinat. i. 18. Aristot. Rhet. iii. 17.

Plato places Epimenidês ten years before the Persian invasion of Greece, whereas his real date is near upon 600 B.C.—a remark-

able example of carelessness as to chronology.

³ Respecting the characteristics of this age, see the second chapter of the treatise of Heinrich above alluded to, Kreta und Griechenland in Hinsicht auf Wunderglauben.

⁴ Plato, Kratylus, p. 465; Phædr. p. 244.

times, who advertised themselves as possessing the same patent knowledge of ceremonial rites, and the same means of guiding the will of the gods, as Epimenidês had wielded before them. These Orpheotelestæ unquestionably numbered a considerable tribe of believers, and speculated with great effect, as well as with profit to themselves, upon the timorous consciences of rich men.¹ But they enjoyed no respect with the general public, or with those to whose authority the public habitually looked up. Degenerate as they were, however, they were the legitimate representatives of the prophet and purifier from Knossus, to whose presence the Athenians had been so much indebted two centuries before: and their altered position was owing less to any falling off in themselves, than to an improvement in the mass upon whom they sought to operate. Had Epimenidês himself come to Athens in those days, his visits would probably have been as much inoperative to all public purposes as a repetition of the stratagem of Phylê, clothed and equipped as the goddess Athênê, which had succeeded so completely in the days of Peisistratus—a stratagem which even Herodotus treats as incredibly absurd, although a century before his time, both the city of Athens and the Demes of Attica had obeyed, as a divine mandate, the orders of this magnificent and stately woman to restore Peisistratus.¹

¹ Eurip. *Hippolyt.* 957; Plato, *Republ.* ii. p. 364; Theophrast. *Charact.* c. 16.

² Herodot. i. 60.

CHAPTER XI.

SOLONIAN LAWS AND CONSTITUTION.

WE now approach a new æra in Grecian history—the first known example of a genuine and disinterested constitutional reform, and the first foundation-stone of that great fabric, which afterwards became the type of democracy in Greece. The archonship of the eupatrid Solon dates in 594 B.C., thirty years after that of Drako, and about eighteen years after the conspiracy of Kylôn (assuming the latter event to be correctly placed B.C. 612).

The lives of Solon by Plutarch and Diogenês (especially the former) are our principal sources of information respecting this remarkable man, and while we thank them for what they have told us, it is impossible to avoid expressing disappointment that they have not told us more. For Plutarch certainly had before him both the original poems, and the original laws, of Solon, and the few transcripts, which he gives from one or the other, form the principal charm of his biography. But such valuable materials ought to have been made available to a more instructive result than that which he has brought out. There is hardly anything more to be deplored, amidst the lost treasures of the Grecian mind, than the poems of Solon; for we see by the remaining fragments, that they contained notices of the public and social phænomena before him, which he was compelled attentively to study—blended with the touching expression of his own personal feelings, in the post alike honourable and difficult, to which the confidence of his countrymen had exalted him.

Solon, son of Exekestidês, was a Eupatrid of middling fortune,¹ but of the purest heroic blood, belonging to the gens or family of the Kodrids and Neleids, and tracing his origin to the god Poseidon. His father is said to have

Life, character and poems of Solon.

¹ Plutarch, Solon, i.; Diogen. Laërt. iii. 1; Aristot. Polit. iv. 9, 10.

diminished his substance by prodigality, which compelled Solon in his earlier years to have recourse to trade, and in this pursuit he visited many parts of Greece and Asia. He was thus enabled to enlarge the sphere of his observation, and to provide material for thought as well as for composition. His poetical talents displayed themselves at a very early age, first on light, afterwards on serious, subjects. It will be recollected that there was at that time no Greek prose writing, and that the acquisitions as well as the effusions of an intellectual man, even in their simplest form, adjusted themselves not to the limitations of the period and the semicolon, but to those of the hexameter and pentameter. Nor in point of fact do the verses of Solon aspire to any higher effect than we are accustomed to associate with an earnest, touching, and admonitory prose composition. The advice and appeals which he frequently addressed to his countrymen¹ were delivered in this easy metre, doubtless far less difficult than the elaborate prose of subsequent writers or speakers, such as Thucydidês, Isokratês, or Dêmôsthenês. His poetry and his reputation became known throughout many parts of Greece, so that he was classed along with Thalês of Milêtus, Bias of Priênê, Pittakus of Mitylênê, Periander of Corinth, Kleobulus of Lindus, Cheilôn of Lacedæmon—together forming the constellation afterwards renowned as the seven wise men.

The first particular event in respect to which Solon appears as an active politician, is the possession of the island of Salamis, then disputed between Megara and Athens. Megara was at that time able to contest with Athens, and for some time to contest with success, the occupation of this important island—a remarkable fact, which perhaps may be explained by supposing that the inhabitants of Athens and its neighbourhood carried on the struggle with only partial aid from the rest of Attica. However this may be, it appears that the Megarians had actually established themselves in Salamis, at the time when Solon began his political career, and that the Athenians had experienced so much loss in the struggle, as to have formally prohibited any citizen from ever submitting a proposition for its reconquest. Stung with this dishonourable abnegation, Solon counterfeited a state of ecstatic excitement, rushed into the

War between
Athens and
Megara
about
Salamis.

¹ Plutarch, Solon, v.

agora, and there on the stone usually occupied by the official herald, pronounced to the surrounding crowd a short elegiac poem¹ which he had previously composed on the subject of Salamis. Enforcing upon them the disgrace of abandoning the island, he wrought so powerfully upon their feelings, that they rescinded the prohibitory law:—"Rather (he exclaimed) would I forfeit my native city and become a citizen of Pholegandrus, than be still named an Athenian, branded with the shame of surrendered Salamis!" The Athenians again entered into the war, and conferred upon him the command of it—partly, as we are told, at the instigation of Peisistratus, though the latter must have been at this time (600-594 B.C.) a very young man, or rather a boy.²

The stories in Plutarch, as to the way in which Salamis was recovered, are contradictory as well as apocryphal, ascribing to Solon various stratagems to deceive the Megarian occupiers. Unfortunately no authority is given for any of them. According to that which seems the most plausible, he was directed by the Delphian god first to propitiate the local heroes of the island; and he accordingly crossed over to it by night, for the purpose of sacrificing to the heroes Periphêmus and Kychreus on the Salaminian shore. Five hundred Athenian volunteers were then levied for the attack of the island, under the stipulation that if they were victorious they should hold it in property and citizen-

¹ Plutarch, Solon; viii. It was a poem of 100 lines, *χρεῖντως πάνυ πεποιτημένων*.

Diogenês tells us that "Solon read the verses to the people through the medium of the herald"—a statement not less deficient in taste than in accuracy, and which spoils the whole effect of the vigorous exordium, *Αὐτός κήρυξ ἦλθον ἀπ' ἱερῆς Σαλαμῖνος*, &c.

² Plutarch, *l. c.*; Diogen. Laërt. i. 47. Both Herodotus (i. 59) and some authors read by Plutarch ascribed to Peisistratus an active part in the war against the Megarians, and even the capture of

Nisæa the port of Megara. Now the first usurpation of Peisistratus was in 560 B.C. and we can hardly believe that he can have been prominent and renowned in a war no less than forty years before.

It will be seen hereafter (see the note on the interview between Solon and Kresus towards the end of this chapter) that Herodotus, and perhaps other authors also, conceived the Solonian legislation to date at a period later than it really does; instead of 594 B.C., they placed it nearer to the usurpation of Peisistratus.

ship.¹ They were safely landed on an outlying promontory, while Solon, having been fortunate enough to seize a ship which the Megarians had sent to watch the proceedings, manned it with Athenians and sailed straight towards the city of Salamis, to which the Athenians who had landed also directed their march. The Megarians marched out from the city to repel the latter, and during the heat of the engagement, Solon, with his Megarian ship and Athenian crew, sailed directly to the city. The Megarians, interpreting this as the return of their own crew, permitted the ship to approach without resistance, and the city was thus taken by surprise. Permission having been given to the Megarians to quit the island, Solon took possession of it for the Athenians, erecting a temple to Enyalios, the god of war, on Cape Skiradium, near the city of Salamis.²

The citizens of Megara, however, made various efforts for the recovery of so valuable a possession, so that a war ensued long as well as disastrous to both parties. At last it was agreed between them to refer the dispute to the arbitration of Sparta, and five Spartans were appointed to decide it—Kritolaidas, Amompharetus, Hysêchidas, Anaxilas and Kleomenês. The verdict in favour of Athens was founded on evidence which it is somewhat curious to trace. Both parties attempted to show that the dead bodies buried in the island conformed to their own peculiar mode of interment, and both parties are said to have cited verses from the catalogue of the Iliad³—each accusing the other of error or interpolation. But the Athenians had the advantage on two points; first there were oracles from Delphi, wherein Salamis was mentioned

Settlement
of the dis-
pute by
Spartan
arbitration
in favour of
Athens.

¹ Plutarch, Solon, *χορίους εἶναι τοῦ πολιτεύματος*. The strict meaning of these words refers only to the *government* of the island; but it seems almost certainly implied that they would be established in it as *Klêruchs* or proprietors of land, not meaning necessarily that *all* the pre-existing proprietors would be expelled.

² Plutarch, Solon, 8, 9, 10. Daimachus of Platea, however, denied to Solon any personal share in the

Salaminian war (Plutarch, comp. Solon and Public. c. 4).

Polyenus (i. 20) ascribes a different stratagem to Solon: compare Ælian, V. H. vii. 19. It is hardly necessary to say that the account which the Megarians gave of the way in which they lost the island was totally different: they imputed it to the treachery of some exiles (Pausan. i. 40, 4): compare Justin, ii. 7.

³ Aristot. Rhet. i. 16, 3.

with the epithet Ionian; next Philæus and Eurysakês, sons of the Telamonian Ajax, the great hero of the island, had accepted the citizenship of Athens, made over Salamis to the Athenians, and transferred their own residences to Braurôn and Melitê in Attica, where the deme or gens Philaidæ still worshipped Philæus as its eponymous ancestor. Such a title was held sufficient, and Salamis was adjudged by the five Spartans to Attica,¹ with which it ever afterwards remained incorporated until the days of Macedonian supremacy. Two centuries and a half later, when the orator Æschinês argued the Athenian right to Amphipolis against Philip of Macedon, the legendary elements of the title were indeed put forward, but more in the way of preface or introduction to the substantial political grounds.² But in the year 600 B.C., the authority of the legend was more deep-seated and operative, and adequate by itself to determine a favourable verdict.

In addition to the conquest of Salamis, Solon increased his reputation by espousing the cause of the Delphian temple against the extortionate proceedings of the inhabitants of Kirrha, of which more will be said in a coming chapter; and the favour of the oracle was probably not without its effect in procuring for him that encouraging prophecy with which his legislative career opened.

It is on the occasion of Solon's legislation that we obtain our first glimpse—unfortunately but a glimpse—of the actual state of Attica and its inhabitants. It is a sad and repulsive picture, presenting to us political discord and private suffering combined.

Violent dissensions prevailed among the inhabitants of Attica, who were separated into three factions—the Pedieis, or men of the plain, comprising Athens,

¹ Plutarch, Solon, 10: compare Aristot. Rhet. i. 16. Alkibiadês traced up his γένος to Eurysakês (Plutarch, Alkibiad. c. 1); Miltiadês traced up his to Philæus (Herodot. vi. 35).

According to the statement of Hêreas the Megarian, both his countrymen and the Athenians had the same way of interment: both interred the dead with their faces

towards the west. This statement therefore affords no proof of any peculiarity of Athenian custom in burial.

The Eurysakeium, or precinct sacred to the hero Eurysakês stood in the deme of Melitê (Harpokrat. ad v.), which formed a portion of the city of Athens.

² Æschin. Fals. Legat. p. 250, c. 14.

Eleusis, and the neighbouring territory, among whom the greatest number of rich families were included; the mountaineers in the east and north of Attica, called Diakrii, who were on the whole the poorest party; and the Paralii in the southern portion of Attica from sea to sea, whose means and social position were intermediate between the two.¹ Upon what particular points these intestine disputes turned we are not distinctly informed. They were not however peculiar to the period immediately preceding the archontate of Solon. They had prevailed before, and they reappear afterwards prior to the despotism of Peisistratus; the latter standing forward as the leader of the Diakrii, and as champion, real or pretended, of the poorer population.

But in the time of Solon these intestine quarrels were aggravated by something much more difficult to deal with—a general mutiny of the poorer population against the rich, resulting from misery combined with oppression. The Thêtes, whose condition we have already contemplated in the poems of Homer and Hesiod, are now presented to us as forming the bulk of the population of Attica—the cultivating tenants, metayers, and small proprietors of the country. They are exhibited as weighed down by debts and dependence, and driven in large numbers out of a state of freedom into slavery—the whole mass of them (we are told) being in debt to the rich, who were proprietors of the greater part of the soil.² They had either borrowed money for their own necessities, or they tilled the lands of the rich as dependent tenants, paying a stipulated portion of the produce, and in this capacity they were largely in arrear.

¹ Plutarch, Solon, c. 13. The language of Plutarch, in which he talks of the Pedieis as representing the oligarchical tendency, and the Diakrii as representing the democratical, is not quite accurate when applied to the days of Solon. Democratical pretensions, as such, can hardly be said to have then existed.

² Plutarch, Solon, 13. "Ἄπας μὲν γὰρ ὁ ὄχλος ἦν ὑπόχρεως τῶν πλουσίων ἢ γὰρ ἐγεώργουν ἐκείνοις ἕκτα τῶν γεωμέων τελούντες, ἕκτῃ μορῇ

προσαγορευόμενοι καὶ θῆτες· ἢ χρῆα λαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀγωγίμοι τοῖς δανειζουσιν ἦσαν· οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ δουλεύοντες, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ξένῃ πιπρασκόμενοι. Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἰδίους ἡναγκάζοντο πωλεῖν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν φεύγειν διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν δανειστών. Οἱ δὲ πλείστοι καὶ βωμολεωτατοὶ συνίσταντο καὶ παρεχάλλον ἀλλήλους μὴ περιορᾶν, &c.

Respecting these Hektêmorî, "tenants paying one-sixth portion," we find little or no information; they are just noticed in Hesychius

All the calamitous effects were here seen of the old harsh law of debtor and creditor—once prevalent in Greece, Italy, Asia, and a large portion of the world—combined with the recognition of slavery as a legitimate status, and of the right of one man to sell himself as well as that of another man to buy him. Every debtor unable to fulfil his contract was liable to be adjudged as the slave of his creditor, until he could find means either of paying it or working it out; and not only he himself, but his minor sons and unmarried daughters and sisters also, whom the law gave him the power of selling.¹ The poor man thus borrowed upon the security of his body (to translate literally the Greek phrase) and upon that of the persons in his family. So severely had these oppressive contracts been enforced, that many debtors had been reduced from freedom to slavery in Attica itself,—many others had been sold for exportation,—and some had only hitherto preserved their own freedom by selling their children. Moreover a great number of the smaller properties in Attica were under mortgage, signified (according to the formality usual in the Attic law, and continued down throughout the historical times) by a stone pillar erected on the land, inscribed with the name of the lender and the amount of the loan. The proprietors of these mortgaged lands, in case of an unfavourable turn of events, had no other prospect except that of irremediable slavery for themselves and their families, either in their own native country robbed of all its delights, or in some barbarian region where the Attic accent would never meet their ears.

Slavery of
the debtors
—law of
debtor and
creditor.

(v. Ἐκτίμοροι, Ἐπιμόροι) and in Pollux, vii. 151; from whom we learn that ἐπιμόρος γῆ was an expression which occurred in one of the Solonian laws. Whether they paid to the landlord one-sixth, or retained for themselves only one-sixth, has been doubted (see Photius, Πελάται).

Dionysius Hal. (A. R. ii. 9) compares the Thêtes in Attica to the Roman clients: that both agreed in being relations of personal and proprietary dependence is certain; but we can hardly carry the comparison farther, nor is there any

evidence in Attica of that sanctity of obligation which is said to have bound the Roman patron to his client.

¹ So the Frisii, when unable to pay the tribute imposed by the Roman empire, "primo boves ipsos, mox agros, postremo corpora conjugum et liberorum, servitio tradebant" (Tacit. Annal. iv. 72). About the selling of children by parents, to pay the taxes, in the later times of the Roman empire, see Zosimus, ii. 3^c; Libanius, t. ii. p. 427, ed. Paris 1627.

Some had fled the country to escape legal adjudication of their persons, and earned a miserable subsistence in foreign parts by degrading occupations. Upon several, too, this deplorable lot had fallen by unjust condemnation and corrupt judges; the conduct of the rich, in regard to money sacred and profane, in regard to matters public as well as private, being thoroughly unprincipled and rapacious.

The manifold and long-continued suffering of the poor under this system, plunged into a state of debasement not more tolerable than that of the Gallic plebs¹—and the injustices of the rich in whom all political power was then vested—are facts well attested by the poems of Solon himself, even in the short fragments preserved to us.² It appears that immediately preceding the time of his archonship, the evils had ripened to such a point—and the determination of the mass of sufferers, to extort for themselves some mode of relief, had become so pronounced—that the existing laws could no longer be enforced. According to the profound remark of Aristotle—that seditions are generated by great causes but out of small incidents³—we may conceive that some recent events had occurred as immediate stimulants to the outbreak of the debtors,—like those which lend so striking an interest to the early Roman annals, as the inflaming sparks of violent popular movements for which the train had long before been laid. Condemnations by the archons, of insolvent debtors, may have been unusually numerous; or the maltreatment of some particular debtor, once a respected freeman, in his condition of slavery, may have been brought to act vividly upon the public sympathies—like the case of the old plebeian centurion at Rome⁴ (first impoverished by the plunder of the enemy, then reduced

Injustice
and rapacity of
the rich.

¹ Cesar. Bell. Gall. vi. 13.

² See the Fragment περί τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας, No. 2, Schneidewin. Δόγμα δ' ἡγεμόνων ἀδικίας οὐκ, οἷον ἔποςμας.

Ἰσχυρός ἐκ μεγάλης ἀλγος πολλὰ παύσει.

..... Οὐδ' ἐρῶν κτεάτων οὔτε τι δουλοσύνη.

Θεόμαχον, κλέπτουσι ἐφ' ἁρπαγῇ ἀλλοθεν αἰτίας,

Οὐδὲ φυλάσσονται σεμνὰ δίχως βέμβηα.

..... Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν δήμῳ στρεφεται κατὰ τῶν δὲ πενιχρῶν

Ἰαχέεται πολλοὶ γαῖαν ἐς ἀλλοδαπήν.

Προβήτες, θεσμοῖσι τ' ἀεικελίσσι θεβόντες.

³ Aristot. Polit. γίγνεται δὲ αἰσχύσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν.

⁴ Livy, ii. 23; Dionys. Hal. A. R. vi. 26; compare Livy, vi. 34—36.

⁵ An placet, seniore circumventam plebem, potius quam sorte

to borrow, and lastly adjudged to his creditor as an insolvent), who claimed the protection of the people in the forum, rousing their feelings to the highest pitch by the marks of the slave-whip visible on his person. General mutiny and necessity for a large reform. Some such incidents had probably happened, though we have no historians to recount them. Moreover it is not unreasonable to imagine, that that public mental affliction which the purifier Epimenidês had been invoked to appease, as it sprung in part from pestilence, so it had its cause partly in years of sterility, which must of course have aggravated the distress of the small cultivators. However this may be, such was the condition of things in 594 B.C., through mutiny of the poor freemen and Thêtes, and uneasiness of the middling citizens, that the governing oligarchy, unable either to enforce their private debts or to maintain their political power, were obliged to invoke the well-known wisdom and integrity of Solon. Though his vigorous protest (which doubtless rendered him acceptable to the mass of the people) against the iniquity of the existing system, had already been proclaimed in his poems—they still hoped that he would serve as an auxiliary to help them over their difficulties. They therefore chose him, nominally as archon along with Philombrotus, but with power in substance dictatorial.

It had happened in several Grecian states, that the governing oligarchies, either by quarrels among their own members or by the general bad condition of the people under their government, were deprived of that hold upon the public mind which was essential to their power. Sometimes (as in the case of Pittakus of Mitylênê anterior to the archonship of Solon, and often in the factions of the Italian republics in the middle ages) the collision of

Solon made archon, and invested with full powers of legislation.

creditum solvat, corpus in nervum ac supplicia dare? et gregatim quotidie de foro addictos duci, et repleti vinctis nobiles domos? et ubicunque patricius habitat, ibi carcerem privatum esse?"

The exposition of Niebuhr respecting the old Roman law of debtor and creditor (*Röm. Gesch.* i. p. 102 seq.; Arnold's *Roman Hist.*, ch. viii. vol. i. p. 135), and

the explanation which he there gives of the *Nexi* as distinguished from the *Addicti*, have been shown to be incorrect by M. von Savigny, in an excellent Dissertation *Ueber das Altrömische Schulrecht* (*Abhandlungen Berlin Acad.* 1833, p. 70—73), an abstract of which will be found in an appendix at the close of this chapter.

opposing forces had rendered society intolerable, and driven all parties to acquiesce in the choice of some reforming dictator. Usually, however, in the early Greek oligarchies, this ultimate crisis was anticipated by some ambitious individual, who availed himself of the public discontent to overthrow the oligarchy and usurp the powers of a despot. And so probably it might have happened in Athens, had not the recent failure of Kylôn, with all its miserable consequences, operated as a deterring motive. It is curious to read, in the words of Solon himself, the temper in which his appointment was construed by a large portion of the community, but most especially by his own friends: bearing in mind that at this early day, so far as our knowledge goes, democratical government was a thing unknown in Greece—all Grecian governments were either oligarchical or despotic, the mass of the freemen having not yet tasted of constitutional privilege. His own friends and supporters were the first to urge him, while redressing the prevalent discontents, to multiply partisans for himself personally, and seize the supreme power. They even "chid him as a madman, for declining to haul up the net when the fish were already enmeshed."¹ The mass of the people, in despair with their lot, would gladly have seconded him in such an attempt; while many even among the oligarchy might have acquiesced in his personal government, from the mere apprehension of something worse if they resisted it. That Solon might easily have made himself despot, admits of little doubt. And though the position of a Greek despot was always perilous, he would have had greater facility for maintaining himself in it than Peisistratus possessed after him: so that nothing but the combination of prudence and virtue, which marks his lofty character, restricted him within the trust specially confided to him. To the surprise of every one,—to the dissatisfaction of his own friends,—under the complaints alike (as he says) of various extreme and dissentient parties, who required him to adopt

He refuses to make himself despot.

¹ See Plutarch, Solon, 14; and above all, the Trochaic tetrameters of Solon himself, addressed to Phôkus, Fr. 24-26, Schneidewin:—

Ὅς ἐσσι Σόλων βουβήρων, οὐδέ
βουβήεις στήθερ,

Ἐπὶ δ' ἄρ' ἑσθ' δίδοντας, αὐτὸς οὐκ
ἐδέξατο.

Περὶ γὰρ ὧν δ' ἄγαν, ἀγαθούς οὐκ
ἀνεπαύσατο μέγα

Δίκτυον, θορόν δ' ἀμρσῇ καὶ
φρονῶν ἀποσφάξει.

measures fatal to the peace of society¹—he set himself honestly to solve the very difficult and critical problem submitted to him.

Of all grievances the most urgent was the condition of the poorer class of debtors. To their relief Solon's first measure, the memorable *Seisachtheia*, or shaking off of burthens, was directed. The relief which it afforded was complete and immediate. It cancelled at once all those contracts in which the debtor had borrowed on the security either of his person or of his land: it forbade all future loans or contracts in which the person of the debtor was pledged as security: it deprived the creditor in future of all power to imprison, or enslave, or extort work from, his debtor, and confined him to an effective judgement at law authorizing the seizure of the property of the latter. It swept off all the numerous mortgage pillars from the landed properties in Attica, leaving the land free from all past claims. It liberated and restored to their full rights all debtors actually in slavery under previous legal adjudication: and it even provided the means (we do not know how) of re-purchasing in foreign lands, and bringing back to a renewed life of liberty in Attica, many insolvents who had been sold for exportation.² And while Solon forbade every Athenian to pledge or sell his own person into slavery, he

¹ Aristides, *Περὶ τοῦ Παραφθέγματος*, ii. p. 397; and *Fragm.* 29, Schn. of the *Iambics* of Solon:—

. εἰ γὰρ ἤμελον
Ἄ τοῖς ἐναντίοιςιν ἤδανεν τότε,
Αἰθίς δ' ἄ τοῖςιν ἀτέρους ὀρᾶσαι....
Πολλῶν ἂν ἀνδρῶν ἥδ' ἐχρησθή
πόλις.

² See the valuable fragment of his *Iambics*, preserved by Plutarch and Aristides, the expression of which is rendered more emphatic by the appeal to the *personal Earth*, as having passed by his measures from slavery into freedom (compare Plato, *Legg.* v. p. 740—741):—

Συμπαρτοροίη ταῦτ' ἂν ἐν δίκῃ
Κροῦσθ
Μήτηρ, μεγίστη δαιμονίων Ὀλομ-
πίων

Ἀριστα, Γῇ μέλαινα, τῆς ἐγὼ ποτε
Ὅρους ἀνείλον πολλαχῇ πεπηγότας,
Πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα, νῦν ἐλευ-
θέρα.

Πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθήνας, πατρίδ' εἰς
θεοκτιτον

Ἀνῆγαγον παρθέντας, ἄλλον ἐκ-
δαίως,

Ἄλλον δαικίως· τοὺς δ' ἀναγκάζεις
ὑπο

Χρησάμεν λέγοντας, γ' ὥσσαν οὐκ ἐπ'
Ἀττικῇ

Ἰέντας, ὡς ἂν πολλαχῇ πλανωμέ-
νους·

Τοὺς δ' ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ δουλίην ἀει-
κέα

Ἐχόντας, ἥδη δεσποτας τρομευ-
μένους,

Ἐλευθέρους ἔθηκεν.

also Plutarch, *Solon*, c. 15.

took a step farther in the same direction by forbidding him to pledge or sell his son, his daughter, or an unmarried sister under his tutelage—excepting only the case in which either of the latter might be detected in unchastity.¹ Whether this last ordinance was contemporaneous with the Seisachtheia, or followed as one of his subsequent reforms, seems doubtful.

By this extensive measure the poor debtors—the Thêtes, small tenants, and proprietors—together with their families, were rescued from suffering and peril. But these were not the only debtors in the state: the creditors and landlords of the exonerated Thêtes were doubtless in their turn debtors to others, and were less able to discharge their obligations in consequence of the loss inflicted upon them by the Seisachtheia. It was to assist these wealthier debtors, whose bodies were in no danger—yet without exonerating them entirely—that Solon resorted to the additional expedient of debasing the money standard. He lowered the standard of the drachma in a proportion something more than 25 per cent., so that 100 drachmas of the new standard contained no more silver than 73 of the old, or 100 of the old were equivalent to 135 of the new. By this change the creditors of these more substantial debtors were obliged

Debasing
of the
money-
standard.

¹ Plutarch, Solon, c. 23: compare c. 13. The statement in Sextus Empiricus (Pyrrhon. Hypot. iii. 24, 211) that Solon enacted a law permitting fathers to kill (φονεύειν) their children, cannot be true, and must be copied from some untrustworthy authority: compare Dionys. Hal. A. R. ii. 26, where Dionysius contrasts the prodigious extent of the *patria potestas* among the early Romans, with the restrictions which all the Greek legislators alike—Solon, Pittakus, Charondas—either found or introduced; he says however that the Athenian father was permitted to disinherit legitimate male children, which does not seem to be correct.

Meier (Der Attische Prozess, iii.

2. p. 427) rejects the above-mentioned statement of Sextus Empiricus, and farther contends that the exposure of new-born infants was not only rare, but discountenanced as well by law as by opinion; the evidence in the Latin comedies to the contrary, he considers as manifestations of Roman, and not of Athenian, manners. In this latter opinion I do not think that he is borne out, and I agree in the statement of Schömann (Ant. J. P. Græc. sec. 82), that the practice and feeling of Athens as well as of Greece generally, left it to the discretion of the father whether he would consent, or refuse, to bring up a newborn child.

to submit to a loss, while the debtors acquired an exemption, to the extent of about 27 per cent.¹

Lastly, Solon decreed that all those who had been condemned by the archons to atimy (civil disfranchisement) should be restored to their full privileges of citizens—excepting however from this indulgence those who had been condemned by the Ephetæ, or by the Areopagus, or by the Phylo-Basileis (the four kings of the tribes), after trial in the Prytaneium, on charges either of murder or treason.² So wholesale a measure of amnesty affords strong grounds for believing that the previous judgments of the archons had been intolerably harsh; and it is to be recollected that the Drakonian ordinances were then in force.

Such were the measures of relief with which Solon met the dangerous discontent then prevalent. That the wealthy men and leaders of the people—whose insolence and iniquity he has himself severely denounced in his poems, and whose views in nominating him he had greatly disappointed³—should have detested propositions which robbed them without compensation of many legal rights, it is easy to imagine. But the statement of Plutarch, that the poor emancipated debtors were also dissatisfied, from having expected that Solon would not only remit their debts, but also redivide the soil of Attica, seems utterly incredible; nor is it confirmed by any passage now remaining of the Solonian poems.⁴ Plutarch conceives the poor debtors as having in their minds the comparison with Lykurgus and the equality of property at Sparta, which (as I have already endeavoured to show)⁵ is a fiction; and even had it been true as matter of history long past and antiquated, would not have been likely to work upon the

¹ Plutarch, Solon, c. 15. See the full exposition given of this debasement of the coinage in Boeckh's *Metrologic*, ch. ix. p. 515.

M. Boeckh thinks (ch. xv. s. 2) that Solon not only debased the coin, but also altered the weights and measures. I dissent from his opinion on this latter point, and have given my reason for so doing in a review of his valuable treatise in the *Classical Museum*, No. 1.

² Plutarch, Solon, c. 19. In the general restoration of exiles

throughout the Greek cities, proclaimed first by order of Alexander the Great, afterwards by Polysperchon, exception is made of men exiled for sacrilege or homicide (Diodor. xvii. 109; xviii. 8—46).

³ Plutarch, Solon, c. 15. οὐδὲ μαλακῶς, οὐδ' ὑπείχων τοῖς δυναμένοις, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τῶν ἐλομένων, ἔθετο τοὺς νόμους, &c.

⁴ Plutarch, Solon, c. 16.

⁵ See above, part ii. ch. vi.

minds of the multitude of Attica in the forcible way that the biographer supposes. The Seisachtheia must have exasperated the feelings and diminished the fortunes of many persons; but it gave to the large body of Thêtes and small proprietors all that they could possibly have hoped. We are told that after a short interval it became eminently acceptable in the general public mind, and procured for Solon a great increase of popularity—all ranks concurring in a commonsacrifice of thanksgiving and harmony.¹ One incident there was which occasioned an outcry of indignation. Three rich friends of Solon, all men of great family in the state, and bearing names which will hereafter reappear in this history as borne by their descendants—Konôn, Kleinias and Hipponikus—having obtained from Solon some previous hint of his designs, profited by it, first, to borrow money, and next, to make purchases of lands; and this selfish breach of confidence would have disgraced Solon himself, had it not been found that he was personally a great loser, having lent money to the extent of five talents.²

General popularity of the measure after partial dissatisfaction.

In regard to the whole measure of the Seisachtheia, indeed, though the poems of Solon were open to every one, ancient authors gave different statements both of its purport and of its extent. Most of them construed it as having cancelled indiscriminately all money contracts; while Androtion and others thought that it did nothing more than lower the rate of interest and depreciate the currency to the extent of 27 per cent., leaving the letter of the contracts unchanged. How Androtion came to maintain such an opinion we cannot easily understand. For the fragments now remaining from Solon seem distinctly to refute it, though, on the other hand, they do not go so far as to substantiate the full extent of the opposite view entertained by many writers,—that all money contracts indiscriminately were rescinded:³ against which

Different statements afterwards as to the nature and extent of the Seisachtheia.

¹ Plutarch, *l. c.* ἐθυσάν τε κοινῇ Σεσάχθειαν τῇ θυσίᾳ διαμάρζοντες, &c.

² The Anecdote is noticed, but without specification of the names of the friends, in Plutarch, *Reipub.* Gerend. Præcep. p. 807.

³ Plutarch, Solon, c. 15. The statement of Dionysius of Halic. in regard to the bearing of the Seisachtheia is in the main accurate—χρεῶν ἀρεσιν ψηφισμένην τοῖς ἀπόροις (v. 65)—to the debtors who were liable on the security

there is also a farther reason, that if the fact had been so, Solon could have had no motive to debase the money standard. Such debasement supposes that there must have been *some* debtors at least whose contracts remained valid, and whom nevertheless he desired partially to assist. His poems distinctly mention three things:—1. The removal of the mortgage-pillars. 2. The enfranchisement of the land. 3. The protection, liberation, and restoration, of the persons of endangered or enslaved debtors. All these expressions point distinctly to the Thêtes and small proprietors, whose sufferings and peril were the most urgent, and whose case required a remedy immediate as well as complete. We find that his repudiation of debts was carried far enough to exonerate them, but no farther.

It seems to have been the respect entertained for the character of Solon which partly occasioned these various misconceptions of his ordinances for the relief of debtors. Androtion in ancient, and some eminent critics in modern times, are anxious to make out that he gave relief without loss or injustice to any one. But this opinion seems inadmissible. The loss to creditors by the wholesale abrogation of numerous pre-existing contracts, and by the partial depreciation of the coin, is a fact not to be disguised. The Seisachtheia of Solon, unjust so far as it rescinded previous agreements, but

Necessity
of the
measure—
mischiev-
ous con-
tracts to
which the
previous
law had
given rise.

of their bodies and their lands, and who were chiefly poor—not to *all* debtors.

Herakleidês Pontic. (Πολιτ. c. 1) and Dio Chrysostom (Or. xxxi. p. 331) express themselves loosely.

Both Wachsmuth (Hell. Alterth. v. i. p. 259) and K. F. Hermann (Gr. Staatsalter. s. 106) quote the Heliastic oath and its energetic protest against repudiation, as evidence of the bearing of the Solonian Seisachtheia. But that oath is referable only to a later period; it cannot be produced in proof of any matter applicable to the time of Solon; the mere mention of the senate of Five Hundred in it, shows that it belongs to times subsequent to the Kleisthenean re-

volution. Nor does the passage from Plato (Legg. iii. p. 684) apply to the case.

Both Wachsmuth and Hermann appear to me to narrow too much the extent of Solon's measure in reference to the clearing of debtors. But on the other hand, they enlarge the effect of his measures in another way, without any sufficient evidence—they think that he raised the *villein tenants* into *free proprietors*. Of this I see no proof, and think it improbable. A large proportion of the small debtors whom Solon exonerated were probably free proprietors before; the existence of the *ἑρποι* or mortgage pillars upon their land proves this.

highly salutary in its consequences, is to be vindicated by showing that in no other way could the bonds of government have been held together, or the misery of the multitude alleviated. We are to consider, first, the great personal cruelty of these pre-existing contracts, which condemned the body of the free debtor and his family to slavery; next, the profound detestation created by such a system in the large mass of the poor, against both the judges and the creditors by whom it had been enforced, which rendered their feelings unmanageable, so soon as they came together under the sentiment of a common danger and with the determination to ensure to each other mutual protection. Moreover, the law which vests a creditor with power over the person of his debtor, so as to convert him into a slave, is likely to give rise to a class of loans which inspire nothing but abhorrence—money lent with the foreknowledge that the borrower will be unable to repay it, but also in the conviction that the value of his person as a slave will make good the loss; thus reducing him to a condition of extreme misery, for the purpose sometimes of aggrandizing, sometimes of enriching, the lender. Now the foundation on which the respect for contracts rests, under a good law of debtor and creditor, is the very reverse of this. It rests on the firm conviction that such contracts are advantageous to both parties as a class, and that to break up the confidence essential to their existence would produce extensive mischief throughout all society. The man whose reverence for the obligation of a contract is now the most profound, would have entertained a very different sentiment if he had witnessed the dealings of lender and borrower at Athens under the old ante-Solonian law. The oligarchy had tried their best to enforce this law of debtor and creditor with its disastrous series of contracts; and the only reason why they consented to invoke the aid of Solon, was because they had lost the power of enforcing it any longer, in consequence of the newly awakened courage and combination of the people. That which they could not do for themselves, Solon could not have done for them, even had he been willing. Nor had he in his position the means either of exempting or compensating those creditors who, separately taken, were open to no reproach: indeed, in following his proceedings, we see plainly that he thought compensation due, not to

the creditors, but to the past sufferings of the enslaved debtors, since he redeemed several of them from foreign captivity, and brought them back to their home. It is certain that no measure, simply and exclusively prospective, would have sufficed for the emergency. There was an absolute necessity for overruling all that class of pre-existing rights which had produced so violent a social fever. While, therefore, to this extent, the *Seisachtheia* cannot be acquitted of injustice, we may confidently affirm that the injustice inflicted was an indispensable price paid for the maintenance of the peace of society, and for the final abrogation of a disastrous system as regarded insolvents.¹ And the feeling as well as the legislation universal in the modern European world, by interdicting beforehand all contracts for selling a man's person or that of his children into slavery, goes far to sanction practically the Solonian repudiation.

One thing is never to be forgotten in regard to this measure, combined with the concurrent amendments introduced by Solon in the law—it settled finally the question to which it referred. Never again do we hear of the law of debtor and creditor as disturbing Athenian tranquillity. The general sentiment which grew up at Athens, under the Solonian money-law and under the democratical govern-

Solon's law finally settled the question—no subsequent complaint as to private debts—respect for contracts unbroken under the democracy.

ment, was one of high respect for the sanctity of contracts. Not only was there never any demand in the Athenian democracy for new tables or a depreciation of the money standard, but a formal abnegation of any such projects was inserted in the solemn oath taken annually by the numerous *Dikasts*, who formed the popular judicial body called *Hêliæa* or the *Hêlistic* jurors—the same oath which pledged them to uphold the democratical constitution, also

¹ That which Solon did for the Athenian people in regard to debts, is less than what was *promised* to the Roman plebs (at the time of its secession to the Mons Sacer in 491 B.C.) by Menenius Agrippa, the envoy of the senate, to appease them, though it does not seem to have been ever *realized* (Dionys. Halic. vi. 83). He promised an

abrogation of all the debts of debtors unable to pay, without exception—if the language of Dionysius is to be trusted, which probably it cannot be.

Dr. Thirlwall justly observes respecting Solon, "He must be considered as an arbitrator to whom all the parties interested submitted their claims, with the avowed

bound them to repudiate all proposals either for an abrogation of debts or for a redivision of the lands.¹ There can be little doubt that under the Solonian law, which enabled the creditor to seize the property of his debtor, but gave him no power over the person, the system of money-lending assumed a more beneficial character. The old noxious contracts, mere snares for the liberty of a poor freeman and his children, disappeared, and loans of money took their place, founded on the property and prospective earnings of the debtor, which were in the main useful to both parties, and therefore maintained their place in the moral sentiment of the public. And though Solon had found himself compelled to rescind all the mortgages on land subsisting in his time, we see money freely lent upon

intent that they should be decided by him, not upon the footing of legal right, but according to his own view of the public interest. It was in this light that he himself regarded his office, and he appears to have discharged it faithfully and discreetly." (History of Greece, ch. xi. vol. ii. p. 42.)

¹ Dêmosthen. cont. Timokrat. p. 746. οὐδὲ τῶν χρεῶν τῶν ἰδίῳ ἀποκαπᾶς, οὐδὲ γῆς ἀναδασμὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίων, οὐδ' οἰκιῶν (ψυχροῦμαι): compare Dio Chrysostom, Orat. xxxi. p. 332, who also dwells upon the anxiety of various Grecian cities to fix a curse upon all propositions for χρεῶν ἀποκοπή and γῆς ἀναδασμός. What is not less remarkable is, that Dio seems not to be aware of any well-authenticated case in Grecian history in which a redivision of lands had ever actually taken place—ὁ μὲν δ' ἦν ὁ ἔμμεν εἰ ποτε συνέβη. (l. c.)

For the law of debtor and creditor as it stood during the times of the Orators at Athens, see Heraldus, Animadv. ad Salsasium, p. 174—286; Meier and Schömann, Der Attische Prozess, b. iii. c. 2. p. 497 seqq. (though I doubt the distinction which they there draw

between χρέος and δανείον); Platner, Prozess und Klagen, B. ii. Absch. 11. pp. 349, 361.

There was one exceptional case, in which the Attic law always continued to the creditor that power over the person of the insolvent debtor which all creditors had possessed originally—it was when the creditor had lent money for the express purpose of ransoming the debtor from captivity (Dêmosthen. cont. Nikostr. p. 1249)—analogous to the *Actio Depensi* in the old Roman law.

Any citizen who owed money to the public treasury and whose debt became overdue, was deprived for the time of all civil rights until he had cleared it off.

Diodorus (i. 79) gives us an alleged law of the Egyptian king Bocchoris releasing the persons of debtors and rendering their properties only liable, which is affirmed to have served as an example for Solon to copy. If we can trust this historian, lawgivers in other parts of Greece still retained the old severe law enslaving the debtor's person: compare a passage in Isokratês (Orat. xiv. Plataicus, p. 305; p. 414 Bek.).

this same security, throughout the historical times of Athens, and the evidentiary mortgage pillars remaining ever after undisturbed.

In the sentiment of an early society, as in the old Roman law, a distinction is commonly made between the principal and the interest of a loan, though the creditors have sought to blend them indissolubly together. If the borrower cannot fulfil his promise to repay the principal, the public will regard him as having committed a wrong which he must make good by his person. But there is not the same unanimity as to his promise to pay interest: on the contrary, the very exaction of interest will be regarded by many in the same light in which the English law considers usurious interest, as tainting the whole transaction. But in the modern mind, principal, and interest within a limited rate, have so grown together, that we hardly understand how it can ever have been pronounced unworthy of an honourable citizen to lend money on interest. Yet such is the declared opinion of Aristotle and other superior men of antiquity; while at Rome, Cato the censor went so far as to denounce the practice as a heinous crime.¹ It was comprehended by them among the worst of the tricks of trade—and they held that all trade, or profit derived from interchange, was unnatural, as being made by one man at the expense of another: such pursuits therefore could not be commended, though they might be tolerated to a certain extent as a matter of necessity, but they belonged essentially to an inferior order of citizens.² What

¹ Aristot. Polit. i. 4, 23; Cato ap. Cicero. de Offic. ii. 25. Plato in his treatise de Legg. (v. p. 742) forbids all lending on interest; indeed he forbids any private citizen to possess either gold or silver.

To illustrate the marked difference made in the early Roman law, between the claim for the principal and that for the interest, I insert in an Appendix at the end of this Chapter the explanation given by M. von Savigny of the treatment of the *Nexi* and *Addicti* connected as it is by analogy with the Solo-

nian *Seisachtheia*.

² Aristot. Polit. i. 4, 23. Τῆς δὲ μεταβλητικῆς ψευδομένης δεικνύω (ὃ γὰρ κατ'ἀφ᾽ ἑνὸς, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἔστιν), ἐλλογώτατα μισεῖται ἢ ὁβριότατα. &c. Compare Ethic. Nikom. iv. 1.

Plutarch borrows from Aristotle the quibble derived from the word *τόκος* (the Greek expression for interest), which has given birth to the well-known dictum of Aristotle—that money being naturally *barren*, to extract *offspring* from it must necessarily be *contrary* to

is remarkable in Greece is, that the antipathy of a very early state of society against traders and money-lenders lasted longer among the philosophers than among the mass of the people—it harmonised more with the social *idéal* of the former, than with the practical instincts of the latter.

In a rude condition such as that of the ancient Germans described by Tacitus, loans on interest are unknown. Habitually careless of the future, the Germans were gratified both in giving and receiving presents, but without any idea that they thereby either imposed or contracted an obligation.¹ To a people in this state of feeling, a loan on interest presents the repulsive idea of making profit out of the distress of the borrower. Moreover, it is worthy of remark, that the first borrowers must have been for the most part men driven to this necessity by the pressure of want, and contracting debt as a desperate resource, without any fair prospect of ability to repay: debt and famine run together in the mind of the poet Hesiod.² The borrower

nature (see Plutach, De Vit. Ær. Al. p. 829).

¹ Tacit. Germ. 26. "Fœnus agitare et in usuras extendere, ignotum; ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset." (c. 21.) "Gaudent muneribus: sed nec data imputant, nec acceptis obligantur."

² Hesiod, Opp. Di. 647, 404. Βούλῃσι χρέα τε προσφύγειν, καὶ λιμὸν ἀτερπῆ. Some good observations on this subject are to be found in the excellent treatise of M. Turgot, written in 1763, "Mémoire sur les Prêts d'Argent":—

"Les causes qui avoient autrefois rendu odieux le prêt à intérêt, ont cessé d'agir avec tant de force . . . De toutes ces circonstances réunies, il est résulté que les emprunts faits par le pauvre pour subsister ne sont plus qu'un objet à peine sensible dans la somme totale d'emprunts: que la plus grande partie des prêts se font à l'homme riche, ou du moins à l'homme industriel, qui espère se procurer de grands profits par l'emploi de l'argent

qu'il emprunte . . . Les prêteurs sur gage à gros intérêt, les seuls qui prêtent véritablement au pauvre pour ses besoins journaliers et non pour le mettre en état de gagner, ne font point le même mal que les anciens usuriers qui conduisoient par degrés à la misère et à l'esclavage les pauvres citoyens auxquels ils avoient procuré des secours funestes . . . Le créancier qui pouvoit réduire son débiteur en esclavage y trouvoit un profit: c'étoit un esclave qu'il acquéroit: mais aujourd'hui le créancier sait qu'en privant son débiteur de la liberté, il n'y gagnera autre chose que d'être obligé de le nourrir en prison: aussi ne s'avise-t-on pas de faire contracter à un homme qui n'a rien, et qui est réduit à emprunter pour vivre, des engagements qui emportent la contrainte par corps. La seule sûreté vraiment solide contre l'homme pauvre est le gage: et l'homme pauvre s'estime heureux de trouver un secours pour le moment sans autre danger que

is, in this unhappy state, rather a distressed man soliciting aid, than a solvent man capable of making and fulfilling a contract. If he cannot find a friend to make him a free gift in the former character, he will not, under the latter character, obtain a loan from a stranger, except by the promise of exorbitant interest,¹ and by the fullest eventual power over his person which he is in a condition to grant. In process of time a new class of borrowers rise up who demand money for temporary convenience or profit,

de perdre ce gage. Aussi le peuple a-t-il plutôt de la reconnaissance pour ces petits usuriers qui le secourent dans son besoin, quoiqu'ils lui vendent assez cher ce secours." (Mémoire sur les Prêts d'Argent, in the collection of Œuvres de Turgot, by Dupont de Nemours, vol. v. sect. xxx. xxxi. pp. 326, 327, 329.

¹ "In Bengal (observes Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, b. i. ch. 9. p. 143, ed. 1812) money is frequently lent to the farmers at 40, 50, and 60 per cent., and the succeeding crop is mortgaged for the payment."

Respecting this commerce at Florence in the middle ages, M. Depping observes:—"Il semblait que l'esprit commercial fût inné chez les Florentins: déjà aux 12^{me} et 13^{me} siècles, on les voit tenir des banques et prêter de l'argent aux princes. Ils ouvrirent partout des maisons de prêt, marchèrent de pair avec les Lombards, et, il faut le dire, ils furent souvent maudits, comme ceux-ci, par leurs débiteurs, à cause de leur rapacité. Vingt pour cent par an était le taux ordinaire des prêteurs Florentins: et il n'était pas rare qu'ils en prisent trente et quarante." Depping, Histoire du Commerce entre le Levant et l'Europe, vol. i. p. 235.

Boeckh (Public Economy of Athens, book i. ch. 22) gives from 12 to 18 per cent. per annum as

the common rate of interest at Athens in the time of the orators.

The valuable Inscription (No. 1845 in his Corpus Inscr. Pars viii. p. 23. sect. 3) proves that at Korkyra a rate of 2 per cent. per month, or 24 per cent. per annum, might be obtained from perfectly solvent and responsible borrowers. For this is a decree of the Korkyræan government, prescribing what shall be done with a sum of money given to the state for the Dionysiac festivals—placing that money under the care of certain men of property and character, and directing them to lend it out exactly at 2 per cent. per month, *neither more nor less*, until a given sum shall be accumulated. This Inscription dates about the third or second century B.C., according to Boeckh's conjecture.

The Orchomenian Inscription, No. 1569, to which Boeckh refers in the passage above alluded to, is unfortunately defective in the words determining the rate of interest payable to Eubulus: but there is another, the Theraean Inscription (No. 2446), containing the Testament of Epiktêta, wherein the annual sum payable in lieu of a principal sum bequeathed, is calculated at 7 per cent.; a rate which Boeckh justly regards as moderate, considered in reference to ancient Greece.

but with full prospect of repayment—a relation of lender and borrower quite different from that of the earlier period, when it presented itself in the repulsive form of misery on the one side, set against the prospect of very large profit on the other. If the Germans of the time of Tacitus looked to the condition of the poor debtors in Gaul, reduced to servitude under a rich creditor, and swelling by hundreds the crowd of his attendants, they would not be disposed to regret their own ignorance of the practice of money-lending.¹ How much the interest of money was then regarded as an undue profit extorted from distress, is powerfully illustrated by the old Jewish law; the Jew being permitted to take interest from foreigners (whom the law-

¹ Caesar, B. G. i. 4, respecting the Gallic chiefs and plebs: "Die constitutâ causæ dictionis, Orgetorix ad iudicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum millia decem, undique coëgit: et omnes clientes, obervatosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit: per eos, ne causam diceret, se eripuit." Ibid. vi. 13: "Plerique, cum aut *ære alieno*, aut magnitudine tributorum, aut injuriâ potentiorum, premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus. In hos eadem omnia sunt jura, quæ dominis in servos." The wealthy Romans cultivated their large possessions partly by the hands of adjudged debtors, in the time of Columella (i. 3, 14): "more præpotentium, qui possident fines gentium, quos . . . aut occupatos nexu civium, aut ergastulis, tenent."

According to the Teutonic codes also, drawn up several centuries subsequently to Tacitus, it seems that the insolvent debtor falls under the power of his creditor and is subject to personal fetters and chastisement (Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 612—615): both he and Von Savigny assimilate it to the terrible process of personal execution and addiction in the old

law of Rome, against the insolvent debtor on loan. King Alfred exhorts the creditor to lenity (Laws of King Alfred, Thorpe, *Ancient Laws of England*, vol. i. p. 53. law 35).

A striking evidence of the alteration of the character and circumstances of debtors, between the age of Solon and that of Plutarch, is afforded by the treatise of the latter, "*De Vitando Ære Alieno*," wherein he sets forth in the most vehement manner the miserable consequences of getting into debt. "*The poor*," he says, "*do not get into debt, for no one will lend them money* (τοῖς γὰρ ἀπόροις οὐ δανείζουσιν, ἀλλὰ βουλομένοις εὐπορίαν τινὰ ἑαυτοῖς κτᾶσθαι καὶ μάρτυρα δίδωσι καὶ βεβηλώτην ἄξιον, ὅτι ἔχει πιστεύεσθαι): the borrowers are men who have still some property and some security to offer, but who wish to keep up a rate of expenditure beyond what they can afford, and become utterly ruined by contracting debts." (Plut. p. 827, 830.) This shows how intimately the multiplication of poor debtors was connected with the liability of their persons to enslavement. Compare Plutarch, *De Cupidine Divitiarum*, c. 2. p. 523.

giver did not think himself obliged to protect), but not from his own countrymen.¹ The Koran follows out this point of view consistently, and prohibits the taking of

¹ Levitic. xxv. 35—36; Deuteron. xxiii. 20. This enactment seems sufficiently intelligible: yet M. Salvador (*Histoire des Institutions de Moïse*, liv. iii. ch. 6) puzzles himself much to assign to it some far-sighted commercial purpose. "Unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon *usury*, but unto a stranger thou mayst lend upon *usury*." It is of more importance to remark that the word here translated *usury* really means *any interest* for money, great or small—see the opinion of the Sanhedrim of seventy Jewish doctors, assembled at Paris in 1807, cited in M. Salvador's work, l. c.

The Mosaic law therefore (as between Jew and Jew, or even as between Jew and the *μέτοικος* or *resident stranger*, distinguished from the *foreigner*) went as far as the Koran in prohibiting all taking of interest. That its enactments were not much observed, we have one proof at least in the proceeding of Nehemiah at the building of the second temple—which presents so curious a parallel in many respects to the Solonian *Seisachtheia*, that I transcribe the account of it from Prideaux, *Connection of Sacred and Profane History*, part i. b. 6. p. 290:—

"The burden which the people underwent in the carrying on of this work, and the incessant labour which they were enforced to undergo to bring it to so speedy a conclusion, being very great . . . care was taken to relieve them from a much greater burden, the oppression of usurers; which they then in great misery lay under, and had much greater reason to complain of. For the rich, taking

advantage of the necessities of the meaner sort, had exacted heavy usury of them, making them pay the *centesima* for all moneys lent them, that is, 1 per cent. for every month, which amounted to 12 per cent. for the whole year; so that they were forced to mortgage their lands, and sell their children into servitude, to have wherewith to buy bread for the support of themselves and their families: which being a manifest breach of the law of God, given them by Moses (for that forbids all the race of Israel to take usury of any of their brethren), Nehemiah, on his hearing hereof, resolved forthwith to remove so great an iniquity; in order whereto he called a general assembly of all the people, where having set forth unto them the nature of the offence, how great a breach it was of the divine law, and how heavy an oppression upon their brethren, and how much it might provoke the wrath of God against them, he caused it to be enacted by the general suffrage of that whole assembly, that all should return to their brethren whatsoever had been exacted of them upon usury, and also *release all the lands, vineyards, olive-yards, and houses*, which had been taken of them upon *mortgage* on the account hereof."

The measure of Nehemiah appears thus to have been not merely a *Seisachtheia* such as that of Solon, but also a *παλινοποίησις* or refunding of interest paid by the debtor in past time—analogous to the proceeding of the Megarians on emancipating themselves from their oligarchy, as recounted above, Chapter ix.

interest altogether. In most other nations, laws have been made to limit the rate of interest, and at Rome especially, the legal rate was successively lowered—though it seems, as might have been expected, that the restrictive ordinances were constantly eluded. All such restrictions have been intended for the protection of debtors; an effect which large experience proves them never to produce, unless it be called protection to render the obtaining of money on loan impracticable for the most distressed borrowers. But there was another effect which they *did* tend to produce—they softened down the primitive antipathy against the practice generally, and confined the odious name of usury to loans lent above the fixed legal rate.

In this way alone could they operate beneficially, and their tendency to counterwork the previous feeling was at that time not unimportant, coinciding as it did with other tendencies arising out of the industrial progress of society, which gradually exhibited the relation of lender and borrower in a light more reciprocally beneficial, and less repugnant to the sympathies of the bystander.¹

At Athens the more favourable point of view prevailed throughout all the historical times. The march of industry and commerce, under the mitigated law which prevailed subsequently to Solon, had been sufficient to bring it about at a very early period and to suppress all public antipathy against lenders at interest.² We may remark too, that this more equitable tone of opinion grew up spontaneously, without any legal restriction on the rate of interest,—no such restriction having ever been imposed and the rate being expressly declared free by a law ascribed to Solon himself.³ The same may probably be said of

¹ In every law to limit the rate of interest, it is of course implied that the law not only ought to fix, but *can* fix, the maximum rate at which money is to be lent. The tribunes at Rome followed out this proposition with perfect consistency: they passed successive laws for the reduction of the rate of interest, until at length they made it illegal to take any interest at all: "Genucium, tribunum plebis, tulisse ad populum, ne fœnerari liceret." (Liv. vii. 42.) History

shows that the law, though passed, was not carried into execution.

² Boeckh (Public Econ. of Athens, b. i. ch. 22. p. 128) thinks differently—in my judgment, contrary to the evidence: the passages to which he refers (especially that of Theophrastus) are not sufficient to sustain his opinion, and there are other passages which go far to contradict it.

³ Lysias cont. Theomnest. A. c. 5. p. 360.

the communities of Greece generally—at least there is no information to make us suppose the contrary. But the feeling against lending money at interest remained in the bosoms of the philosophical men long after it had ceased to form a part of the practical morality of the citizens, and long after it had ceased to be justified by the appearances of the case as at first it really had been. Plato, Aristotle, Cicero,¹ and Plutarch, treat the practice as a branch of that commercial and money-getting spirit which they are anxious to discourage; and one consequence of this was, that they were less disposed to contend strenuously for the inviolability of existing money-contracts. The conservative feeling on this point was stronger among the mass than among the philosophers. Plato even complains of it as inconveniently preponderant,² and as arresting the legislator in all comprehensive projects of reform. For the most part indeed schemes of cancelling debts and redividing lands were never thought of except by men of desperate and selfish ambition, who made them stepping-stones to despotic power. Such men were denounced alike by the practical sense of the community and by the speculative thinkers: but when we turn to the case of the Spartan king Agis III., who proposed a complete extinction of debts and an equal redivision of the landed property of the state, not with any selfish or personal views, but upon pure ideas of patriotism, well or ill understood, and for the purpose of renovating the lost ascendancy of Sparta—we find Plutarch³ expressing the most unqualified admiration

¹ Cicero, *De Officiis*, i. 42.

² Plato, *Legg.* iii. p. 684. ὥς ἐπιχειροῦντι δὴ νομοθέτῃ κινεῖν τῶν τοιούτων τι πᾶς ἀπαντᾷ, λόγων, μὴ κινεῖν τὰ ἀκίνητα, καὶ ἐπαρᾷται γῆς τε ἀνάδυσσιν εἰσληγόμενον καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς, ὥστ' εἰς ἀπορίαν καθίστασθαι πάντα ἄνδρα, &c.: compare also v. p. 736—737, where similar feelings are intimated not less emphatically.

Cicero lays down very good principles about the mischief of destroying faith in contracts; but his admonitions to this effect seem to be accompanied with an in-

practicable condition: the lawgiver is to take care that debts shall not be contracted to an extent hurtful to the state—"Quamobrem ne sit res alienum, quod reipublicæ noceat, providendum est (quod multis rationibus cavere potest): non, si fuerit, ut locupletes suum perdant, debitores lucentur alienum," &c. What the *multæ rationes* were, which Cicero had in his mind, I do not know. Compare his opinion about *feneratores*, *Offic.* i. 42; ii. 25.

³ See Plutarch's *Life of Agis*, especially ch 13, about the bonfire

of this young king and his projects, and treating the opposition made to him as originating in no better feelings than meanness and cupidity. The philosophical thinkers on politics conceived (and to a great degree justly, as I shall show hereafter) that the conditions of security, in the ancient world, imposed upon the citizens generally the absolute necessity of keeping up a military spirit and willingness to brave at all times personal hardship and discomfort; so that increase of wealth, on account of the habits of self-indulgence which it commonly introduces, was regarded by them with more or less of disfavour. If in their estimation any Grecian community had become corrupt, they were willing to sanction great interference with pre-existing rights for the purpose of bringing it back nearer to their ideal standard. And the real security for the maintenance of these rights lay in the conservative feelings of the citizens generally, much more than in the opinions which superior minds imbibed from the philosophers.

Such conservative feelings were in the subsequent Athenian democracy peculiarly deep-rooted. The mass of the Athenian people identified inseparably the maintenance of property in all its various shapes with that of their laws and constitution. And it is a remarkable fact, that though the admiration entertained at Athens for Solon was universal, the principle of his *Seisachtheia* and of his money-depreciation was not only never imitated, but found the strongest tacit reprobation; whereas at Rome, as well as in most of the kingdoms of modern Europe, we know that one debasement of the coin succeeded another. The temptation, of thus partially eluding the pressure of financial embarrassments, proved, after one successful trial, too strong to be resisted, and brought down the coin by successive depreciations from the full pound of twelve ounces to the standard of one half ounce. It is of some importance to take notice of this fact, when we reflect how much "Grecian faith" has been degraded by the Roman writers into a byword for duplicity in pecuniary dealings.¹ The democracy of Athens (and indeed the cities of Greece generally, both oligarchies and

Solonian
Seisach-
theia never
imitated at
Athens—
money-
standard
honestly
maintained
afterwards.

in which the *κτίσματα* or mortgage compare also the comparison of deeds of the creditors were all A.L.S. with Græchus, c. 2.
baunt, in the agora of Sparta; Græchus the younger." P. Lybrius

democracies) stands far above the senate of Rome, and far above the modern kingdoms of France and England until comparatively recent times, in respect of honest dealing with the coinage.¹ Moreover, while there occurred at Rome several political changes which brought about new tables² or at least a partial depreciation of contracts, no phænomenon of the same kind ever happened at Athens, during the three centuries between Solon and the end of

puts the Greeks greatly below the Romans in point of veracity and good faith (vi. 56); in another passage he speaks not quite so confidently (xviii. 17). Even the testimony of the Roman writers is sometimes given in favour of Attic good faith, not against it—"ut semper et in omni re, quicquid sincerâ fide gereretur, id Romani, *Atticâ fieri*, prædicarent." (Velleius Paterc. ii. 23.)

The language of Heffter (*Athenäische Gerichtsverfassung*, p. 466), especially, degrades very undeservedly the state of good faith and credit at Athens.

The whole tone and argument of the Oration of Demosthenês against Leptinês is a remarkable proof of the respect of the Athenian Dikastery for vested interests, even under less obvious forms than that of pecuniary possession. We may add a striking passage of Demosthenês cont. Timokrat. where in he denounces the rescinding of past transactions (*τὰ παρὰ γράμματα λῦσαι*, contrasted with prospective legislation) as an injustice peculiar to oligarchy, and repugnant to the feelings of a democracy (cont. Timokrat. c. 20. p. 724; c. 36, 747).

¹ A similar credit, in respect to monetary probity, may be claimed for the republic of Florence. M. Sismondi says, "Au milieu des révolutions monétaires de tous les pays voisins et tandis que la mauvaise foi des gouvernemens altéroit le numéraire d'une extrémité à

l'autre de l'Europe, le florin ou séquin de Florence est toujours resté le même: il est du même poids, du même titre; il porte la même empreinte que celui qui fut battu en 1252." (*Républiques Italiennes*, vol. iii. ch. 18. p. 176.)

M. Boeckh (*Public Econ. of Athens*, i. 6; iv. 19), while affirming justly and decidedly, that the Athenian republic always set a high value on maintaining the integrity of their silver money—yet thinks that the gold pieces which were coined in Olymp. 93. 2. (408 B.C.) under the archonship of Antigenês (out of the golden ornaments in the acropolis, and at a time of public embarrassments) were debased and made to pass for more than their value. The only evidence in support of this position appears to be the passage in Aristophanês (*Ran.* 719-737) with the Scholia; but this very passage seems to me rather to prove the contrary. "The Athenian people (says Aristophanês) deal with their public servants as they do with their coins: they prefer the new and bad to the old and good." If the people were so exceedingly, and even extravagantly, desirous of obtaining the new coins, this is a strong proof that they were not depreciated, and that no loss was incurred by giving the old coins in exchange for them. They might perhaps be carelessly executed.

² "Sane vetus Urbi fœnebre ma-

the free working of the democracy. Doubtless there were fraudulent debtors at Athens; while the administration of private law, though not in any way conniving at their proceedings, was far too imperfect to repress them as effectually as might have been wished. But the public sentiment on the point was just and decided. It may be asserted with confidence that a loan of money at Athens was quite as secure as it ever was at any time or place of the ancient world,—in spite of the great and important superiority of Rome with respect to the accumulation of a body of authoritative legal precedent, the source of what was ultimately shaped into the Roman jurisprudence. Among the various causes of sedition or mischief in the Grecian communities,¹ we hear little of the pressure of private debt.

By the measures of relief above described,² Solon had accomplished results surpassing his own best hopes. He had healed the prevailing discontents; and such was the confidence and gratitude which he had inspired, that he was now called upon to draw up a constitution and laws for the better working of the government in future. His constitutional changes were great and valuable: respecting his laws, what we hear is rather curious than important.

Solon is empowered to modify the political constitution.

It has been already stated that, down to the time of Solon, the classification received in Attica was that of the four Ionic tribes, comprising in one scale the Phratries and Gentes, and in another scale the three Trittyes and forty-eight Naukraries—while the Eupatridæ, seemingly a few specially respected gentes, and perhaps a few distinguished families in all the gentes, had in their hands all the powers

lum (says Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 16) et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa," &c.: compare Appian, *Bell. Civil.* Prefat.; and Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, L. xxii. c. 22.

The constant hopes and intrigues of debtors at Rome, to get rid of their debts by some political movement, are nowhere more forcibly brought out than in the second Catilinarian Oration of Cicero, c. 59: read also the striking harangue of Catiline to his fellow-conspirators (*Sallust*, *B. Catilin.* c. 20-21).

¹ The insolvent debtor in some

of the Bœotian towns was condemned to sit publicly in the agora with a basket on his head, and then disfranchised (*Nikolaus Damaskenus*, *Frag.* p. 152, ed. Orelli).

According to Diodorus, the old severe law against the body of a debtor, long after it had been abrogated by Solon at Athens, still continued in other parts of Greece (i. 79).

² Solon, *Frag.* 27, ed. Schneid.—

"Α μὲν ἀέκπτα σὺν θεοῖσι, ἥρωσ',
ἀλλὰ δ' οὐ μάρτυρ

Ἔσθλα.

of government. Solon introduced a new principle of classification—called in Greek the timocratic principle. He distributed all the citizens of the tribes, without any reference to their gentes or phratries, into four classes, according to the amount of their property, which he caused to be assessed and entered in a public schedule. Those whose annual income was equal to 500 medimni of corn (about 700 Imperial bushels) and upwards—one medimnus being considered equivalent to one drachma in money—he placed in the highest class: those who received between 300 and 500 medimni or drachms formed the second class; and those between 200 and 300, the third.¹ The fourth and most

numerous class comprised all those who did not possess land yielding a produce equal to 200 medimni. The first class, called Pentakosio-medimni, were alone eligible to the archonship and to all commands: the second were called the knights or horsemen of the state, as possessing enough to enable them to keep a horse and perform military service in that capacity: the third class, called the Zeugitæ, formed the heavy-armed infantry, and were bound to serve, each with his full panoply. Each of these three classes was entered in the public schedule as possessed of a taxable capital calculated with a certain reference to his annual income, but in a proportion diminishing according to the scale of that income—and a man paid taxes to the state according to the sum for which he stood rated in the schedule; so that this direct taxation acted really like a graduated income-tax. The rateable property of the citizen belonging to the richest class (the Pentakosio-medimnus) was calculated and entered on the state-schedule at a sum of capital equal to twelve times his annual income: that of the Hippeus, Horseman or knight, at a sum equal to ten times his annual income: that of the Zeugite, at a sum equal to five times his annual income. Thus a Pentakosio-medim-

¹ Plutarch, Solon, 18—23; Pollux, xiii. 130; Aristot. Polit. ii. 9, 4; Aristot. Fragm. περὶ Πολιτικῶν, Fr. 51, ed. Neumann; Harpokration and Photius, v. ἱππᾶς; Etymolog. Mag. Ζευγίτων, ἑταίρων; the Etym. Mag. Ζευγίτων, and the Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 627, recognise only three classes.

He took a medimnus (of wheat or barley?) as equivalent to a drachm, and a sheep at the same value (*ib.* c. 23).

The medimnus seems equal to about 1²/₅ (1.4) English Imperial bushel: consequently 500 medimni = 700 English Imperial bushels, or 57¹/₂ quarters.

nus whose income was exactly 500 drachms (the minimum qualification of his class), stood rated in the schedule for a taxable property of 6000 drachms or one talent, being twelve times his income—if his annual income were 1000 drachms, he would stand rated for 12,000 drachms or two talents, being the same proportion of income to rateable capital. But when we pass to the second class, Horsemen or knights, the proportion of the two is changed. The Horseman possessing an income of just 300 drachms (or 300 medimni) would stand rated for 3000 drachms, or ten times his real income, and so in the same proportion for any income above 300 and below 500. Again, in the third class, or below 300, the proportion is a second time altered—the Zeugite possessing exactly 200 drachms of income was rated upon a still lower calculation, at 1000 drachms, or a sum equal to five times his income; and all incomes of this class (between 200 and 300 drachms) would in like manner be multiplied by five in order to obtain the amount of rateable capital. Upon these respective sums of scheduled capital, all direct taxation was levied. If the state required one per cent. of direct tax, the poorest Pentakosiomedimnus would pay (upon 6000 drachms) 60 drachms; the poorest Hippeus would pay (upon 3000 drachms) 30; the poorest Zeugite would pay upon 1000 drachms) 10 drachms. And thus this mode of assessment would operate like a *graduated* income-tax, looking at it in reference to the three different classes—but as an *equal* income-tax, looking at it in reference to the different individuals comprised in one and the same class.¹

Graduated liability to income-tax of the three richest classes, one compared with the other.

¹ The excellent explanation of the Solonian (τιμημα) property-schedule and graduated qualification, first given by Boeckh in his Staats-haushaltung der Athener (b.iii. c.5), has elucidated a subject which was, before him, nothing but darkness and mystery. The statement of Pollux (viii. 130), given in very loose language, had been, before Boeckh, erroneously apprehended: ἀνῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἑκατόσιον, does not mean the sums which the Pentakosiomedimnus, the Hippeus, or the Zeugite, *actually paid* to the state, but the sums for which each was rated, or which each was *liable* to

pay if called upon: of course the state does not call for *the whole* of a man's rated property, but exacts an equal proportion of it from each.

On one point I cannot concur with Boeckh. He fixes the pecuniary qualification of the third class, or Zeugites, at 150 drachms, not at 200. All the positive testimonies (as he himself allows, p. 31) agree in fixing 200, and not 150; and the inference drawn from the old law, quoted in Dēmostenēs (cont. Markartat. p. 1067) is too uncertain to outweigh this concurrence of authorities.

All persons in the state whose annual income amounted to less than 200 medimni or drachms were placed in the fourth class, and they must have constituted the large majority of the community. They were not liable to any direct taxation, and perhaps were not at first even entered upon the taxable schedule, more especially as we do not know that any taxes were actually levied upon this schedule during the Solonian times. It is said that they were all called *Thêtes*, but this appellation is not well sustained, and cannot be admitted: the fourth compartment in the descending scale was indeed termed the *Thetic* census, because it contained all the *Thêtes*, and because most of its members were of that humble description; but it is not conceivable that a proprietor whose land yielded to him a clear annual return of 100, 120, 140, or 180 drachms, could ever have been designated by that name.¹

Moreover the whole Solonian schedule becomes clearer and more symmetrical if we adhere to the statement of 200 drachms, and not 150, as the lowest scale of Zeugite income; for the scheduled capital is then, in all the three scales, a definite and exact multiple of the income returned—in the richest class it is twelve times—in the middle class, ten times—in the poorest, five times the income. But this correspondence ceases, if we adopt the supposition of Boeckh, that the lowest Zeugite income was 150 drachms; for the sum of 1000 drachms (at which the lowest Zeugite was rated in the schedule) is no exact multiple of 150 drachms. In order to evade this difficulty, Boeckh employs a way both roundabout and including nice fractions: he thinks that the income of each was converted into capital by multiplying by twelve, and that in the case of the richest class, or *Pentakosiomedimni*, the *whole* sum so obtained was entered in the schedule—in the case of the second class, or *Hippeis*, $\frac{5}{6}$ of the sum—and in the case of the third class, or *Zeugites*, $\frac{5}{12}$ of the sum. Now this

process seems to me rather complicated, and the employment of a fraction such as $\frac{5}{6}$, (both difficult and not much above the simple fraction of one-half) very improbable: moreover Boeckh's own table (p. 41) gives fractional sums in the third class, when none appear in the first or second.

Such objections, of course, would not be admissible, if there was any positive evidence to prove the point. But in this case they are in harmony with all the positive evidence, and are amply sufficient (in my judgement) to countervail the presumption arising from the old law on which Boeckh relies.

¹ See Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, *ut supra*. Pollux gives an Inscription describing Anthemion son of Diphilus,—*Θητικῷ ἀντὶ τέλους ἐπὶ ἀδ' ὑμειψόμενος*. The word *τελεῖν* does not necessarily mean *actual* payment, but "the being included in a class with a certain aggregate of duties and liabilities,"—equivalent to *censeri* (Boeckh, p. 36).

Plato in his treatise *De Legibus* admits a quadripartite census of citizens, according to more or less

Such were the divisions in the political scale established by Solon, called by Aristotle a Timocracy, in which the rights, honours, functions, and liabilities of the citizens were measured out according to the assessed property of each. The highest honours of the state—that is, the places of the nine archons annually chosen, as well as those in the senate of Areopagus, into which the past archons always entered—perhaps also the posts of Prytanes of the Naukrari—were reserved for the first class: the poor Eupatrids became ineligible, while rich men not Eupatrids were admitted. Other posts of inferior distinction were filled by the second and third classes, who were moreover bound to military service, the one on horseback, the other as heavy-armed soldiers on foot. Moreover, the Liturgies of the state, as they were called—unpaid functions such as the trierarchy, chorêgy, gymnasiarchy, &c., which entailed expense and trouble on the holder of them—were distributed in some way or other between the members of the three classes, though we do not know how the distribution was made in these early times. On the other hand, the members of the fourth or lowest class were disqualified from holding any individual office of dignity. They performed no liturgies, served in case of war only as light-armed or with a panoply provided by the state, and paid nothing to the direct property-tax or Eisphora. It would be incorrect to say that they paid *no* taxes, for indirect taxes, such as duties on imports, fell upon them in common with the rest; and we must recollect that these latter were, throughout a long period of Athenian history, in steady operation, while the direct taxes were only levied on rare occasions.

Admea-
surement
of political
rights and
franchises
according
to this
scale—a
Timocracy.

Fourth or
poorest
class—
exercised
powers
only in
assembly—
chose mag-
istrates
and held
them to
account-
ability.

But though this fourth class, constituting the great numerical majority of the free people, were shut out from individual office, their collective importance was in another way greatly increased. They were invested with the right of choosing the annual archons, out of the class of Pentakosiomedimni: and what was of more importance still, the archons and the magis-

of property (Legg. v. p. 741; vi. 653; K. F. Hermann, *Lehrbuch* p. 756). Compare Tittmann, *Griechische Staatsverfassungen*, p. 618; der Gr. Staatsalt. § 1 2.

trates generally, after their year of office, instead of being accountable to the senate of Areopagus, were made formally accountable to the public assembly sitting in judgment upon their past conduct. They might be impeached and called upon to defend themselves, punished in case of misbehaviour, and debarred from the usual honour of a seat in the senate of Areopagus.

Had the public assembly been called upon to act alone without aid or guidance, this accountability would have proved only nominal. But Solon converted it into a reality by another new institution, which will hereafter be found of great moment in the working out of the Athenian democracy. He created the pro-bouleutic or pre-considering senate of Four Hundred. Pro-bouleutic or pre-considering Senate of Four Hundred. to the public assembly—to prepare matters for its discussion, to convoke and superintend its meetings, and to ensure the execution of its decrees. The senate, as first constituted by Solon, comprised 400 members, taken in equal proportions from the four tribes,—not chosen by lot (as they will be found to be in the more advanced stage of the democracy), but elected by the people, in the same way as the archons then were,—persons of the fourth or poorest class of the census, though contributing to elect, not being themselves eligible.

But while Solon thus created the new pre-considering senate, identified with and subsidiary to the popular assembly, he manifested no jealousy of the pre-existing Areopagitic senate. On the contrary, he enlarged its powers, gave to it an ample supervision over the execution of the laws generally, and imposed upon it the censorial duty of inspecting the lives and occupation of the citizens, as well as of punishing men of idle and dissolute habits. He was himself, as past archon, a member of this ancient senate, and he is said to have contemplated that by means of the two senates, the state would be held fast, as it were with a double anchor, against all shocks and storms.¹

Such are the only new political institutions (apart from the laws to be noticed presently) which there are grounds for ascribing to Solon, when we take proper care

¹ Plutarch, Solon, 18, 19, 23; Athenæus, iv. p. 168; Valer. Maxim. Philochorus, Frag. 60, ed. Didot. ii. 6.

to discriminate what really belongs to Solon and his age, from the Athenian constitution as afterwards remodelled. It has been a practice common with many able expositors of Grecian affairs, and followed partly even by Dr. Thirlwall,¹ to connect the name of Solon with the whole political and judicial state of Athens as it stood between the age of Periklês and that of Dêmôsthenês,—the regulations of the senate of five hundred, the numerous public dikasts or jurors taken by lot from the people, as well as the body annually selected for law-revision, and called Nomothets, and the prosecution (called the Graphê Paranomôn) open to be instituted against the proposer of any measure illegal, unconstitutional or dangerous. There is indeed some countenance for this confusion between Solonian and post-Solonian Athens, in the usage of the orators themselves. For Dêmôsthenês and Æschinês employ the name of Solon in a very loose manner, and treat him as the author of institutions belonging evidently to a later age: for example the striking and characteristic oath of the Heliastic jurors, which Dêmôsthenês² ascribes to Solon, proclaims itself in

Confusion frequently seen between Solonian and post-Solonian institutions.

Loose language of the Athenian orators on this point.

¹ Meursius, Solon, *passim*; Sigonius, De Republ. Athen. i. p. 39 (though in some passages he makes a marked distinction between the time before and after Kleisthenês, p. 28). See Wachsmuth, Hellenische Alterthumskunde, vol. i. sect. 46, 47; Tittmann, Griechische Staatsverfassungen, p. 146; Platner, Der Attische Prozess, book ii. ch. 5. p. 28—38; Dr. Thirlwall, History of Greece, vol. ii. ch. xi, p. 46—57.

Niebuhr, in his brief allusions to the legislation of Solon, keeps duly in view the material difference between Athens as constituted by Solon, and Athens as it came to be after Kleisthenês; but he presumes a closer analogy between the Roman patricians and the Athenian Eupatridæ than we are entitled to count upon.

² Demosthen. cont. Timokrat. p. 746. Æschinês ascribes this oath

to ὁ νομοθέτης (c. Ktesiphon. p. 389).

Dr. Thirlwall notices the oath as prescribed by Solon (History of Greece, vol. ii. ch. xi. p. 47).

So again Dêmôsthenês and Æschinês, in the orations against Leptinês (c. 21. p. 486) and against Timokrat. p. 706, 707—compare Æschin. c. Ktesiph. p. 429—in commenting upon the formalities enjoined for repealing an existing law and enacting a new one, while ascribing the whole to Solon—say, among other things, that Solon directed the proposer “to post up his project of law before the Eponymi” (ἐκθέσθαι πρόθεν των Ἐπωνύμων): now the Eponymi were (the statues of) the heroes from whom the ten Kleisthenean tribes drew their names, and the law making mention of these statues, proclaims itself as of a

many ways as belonging to the age after Kleisthenês, especially by the mention of the senate of five hundred, and not of four hundred. Among the citizens who served as jurors or dikasts, Solon was venerated generally as the author of the Athenian laws. An orator therefore might well employ his name for the purpose of emphasis, without provoking any critical inquiry whether the particular institution, which he happened to be then impressing upon his audience, belonged really to Solon himself or to the

date subsequent to Kleisthenês. Even the law defining the treatment of the condemned murderer who returned from exile, which both Dêmosthenês and Doxopater (ap. Walz. Collect. Rhetor. vol. ii. p. 223) call a law of Drako, is really later than Solon, as may be seen by its mention of the ἀζωυ (Dêmosth. cont. Aristok. p. 629).

Andokidês is not less liberal in his employment of the name of Solon (see Orat. i. De Mysteriis, p. 13), where he cites as a law of Solon, an enactment which contains the mention of the tribe Æantis and the senate of five hundred (obviously therefore subsequent to the revolution of Kleisthenês), besides other matters which prove it to have been passed even subsequent to the oligarchical revolution of the four hundred, towards the close of the Peloponnesian war. The Prytanes, the Proëdri, and the division of the year into ten portions of time, each called by the name of a *prytany*—so interwoven with all the public proceedings of Athens—do not belong to the Solonian Athens, but to Athens as it stood after the ten tribes of Kleisthenês.

Schömann maintains emphatically, that the sworn Nomothetæ as they stood in the days of Dêmosthenês were instituted by Solon; but he admits at the same time that the allusions of the orators to this institution include both

words and matters essentially post-Solonian, so that modifications subsequent to Solon must have been introduced. This admission seems to me fatal to the cogency of his proof: see Schömann, De Comitibus, ch. vii. p. 266—268; and the same author, Antiq. J. P. Att. sect. xxxii. His opinion is shared by K. P. Hermann, Lehrbuch der Griech. Staatsalterth. sect. 131; and Platner, Attischer Prozess, vol. ii. p. 38.

Meier, De Bonis Damnatorum, p. 2, remarks upon the laxity with which the orators use the name of Solon: "Oratores Solonis nomine saepe utuntur, ubi omnino legislatorem quemquam significare volunt, etiamsi a Solone ipso lex lata non est." Hermann Schelling, in his Dissertation de Solonis Legibus ap. Oratt. Attic. (Berlin, 1842), has collected and discussed the references to Solon and to his laws in the orators. He controverts the opinion just cited from Meier, but upon arguments no way satisfactory to me (p. 6—8); the more so as he himself admits that the dialect in which the Solonian laws appear in the citation of the orators can never have been the original dialect of Solon himself (p. 3—5), and makes also substantially the same admission as Schömann, in regard to the presence of post-Solonian matters in the supposed Solonian law (p. 23—27).

subsequent periods. Many of those institutions, which Dr. Thirlwall mentions in conjunction with the name of Solon, are among the last refinements and elaborations of the democratical mind of Athens—gradually prepared, doubtless, during the interval between Kleisthenês and Periklês, but not brought into full operation until the period of the latter (460-429 B. c.). For it is hardly possible to conceive these numerous dikasteries and assemblies in regular, frequent, and long standing operation, without an assured payment to the dikasts who composed them. Now such payment first began to be made about the time of Periklês, if not by his actual proposition;¹ and Dêmosthenês had good reason for contending that if it were suspended, the judicial as well as the administrative system of Athens would at once fall to pieces.² It would be a marvel, such as nothing short of strong direct evidence would justify us in believing, that in an age when even partial democracy was yet untried, Solon should conceive the idea of such institutions; it would be a marvel still greater that the half-emancipated Thêtes and small proprietors, for whom he legislated—yet trembling under the rod of the Eupatrid archons, and utterly inexperienced in collective business—should have been found suddenly competent to fulfil these ascendent functions, such as the citizens of conquering Athens in the days of Periklês—full of the sentiment of force and actively identifying themselves with the dignity of their community—became gradually competent, and not more than competent, to exercise with effect. To suppose that Solon contemplated and provided for the periodical revision of his laws by establishing a Nomothetic jury or dikastery, such as that which we find in operation during the time of Dêmosthenês, would be at variance (in my judgement) with any reasonable estimate either of the man or of the age. Herodotus says that Solon, having exacted from the Athenians solemn oaths that *they* would not rescind any of his laws for ten years, quitted Athens for that period, in order that he might not be compelled to rescind them himself: Plutarch informs us that he gave to his laws force for a

Solon
never con-
templated
the future
change or
revision
of his
own laws.

¹ See Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, book ii. c. 15.

² Dêmosthen. cont. *Timokrat.* c. 26. p. 731: compare Aristophanês, *Ekklesiiazus.* 302.

century absolute.¹ Solon himself, and Drako before him, had been lawgivers evoked and empowered by the special emergency of the times: the idea of a frequent revision of laws, by a body of lot-selected dikasts, belongs to a far more advanced age, and could not well have been present to the minds of either. The wooden rollers of Solon, like the tables of the Roman decemvirs,² were doubtless intended as a permanent "fons omnis publici privatique juris."

If we examine the facts of the case, we shall see that Solon laid nothing more than the bare foundation of the democracy of Athens as it stood in the time of Periklês, can reasonably be ascribed to Solon. "I gave to the people (Solon says in one of his short remaining fragments³) as much strength as sufficed for their needs, without either enlarging or diminishing their dignity: for those too who possessed power and were noted for wealth, I took care that no unworthy treatment should be reserved. I stood with the strong shield cast over both parties, so as not to allow an unjust triumph to either." Again, Aristotle tells us that Solon bestowed upon the people as much power as was indispensable, but no more:⁴ the power to elect their

¹ Herodot. i. 29; Plutarch, Solon, c. 25. Aulus Gellius affirms that the Athenians swore under strong religious penalties to observe them for ever (ii. 12).

² Livy, iii. 34.

³ Solon, Fragm. ii. 3, ed. Schneidewin:—

Δῆμον μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον κράτος,
ὅσον ἐπαρκεῖ,

Τιμῆς οὐτ' ἀφελών, οὐτ' ἐπορε-
ξάμενος·

Οἱ δ' εἶχον δόναμιν καὶ χρήμασιν
ἦσαν ἀγῆστοι,

Καὶ τοῖς ἐπρὸς αὐτὸν μηδὲν αἰεὶ
ἔχον.

"Ἔστην δ' ἀκριβοῦς κρατερόν σά-
κος ἀμφοτεροῖσι,

Νικᾶν δ' οὐκ εἰσὶ οὐδ' ἄλλως
ἀδίκως.

The reading *ἐπαρκεῖ* in the first line is not universally approved: Brunk adopts *ἐπαρκεῖν*, which Niebuhr approves. The latter construes it to mean— "I gave to the

people only so much power as could not be withheld from them." (Röm. Geschichte t. ii. p. 346, 2nd ed.) Taking the first two lines together, I think Niebuhr's meaning is substantially correct, though I give a more literal translation myself. Solon seems to be vindicating himself against the reproach of having been too democratical, which was doubtless addressed to him in every variety of language.

⁴ Aristot. Polit. ii. 9. 4. Ἐπεὶ Σόλων γ' ἔθηκε τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην ἀποδοῖναι τῷ δήμῳ δόναμιν. τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀρεῖσθαι καὶ εὐδύναι· μηδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο κέρως ὦν ὁ δῆμος, δοῦλος ὅν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

In this passage respecting Solon (containing sections 2, 3, 4 of the edition of M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire) Aristotle first gives the opinion of certain critics who praised Solon, with the reasons upon which it is founded; next, the opinion

magistrates and hold them to accountability: if the people had had less than this, they could not have been expected to remain tranquil—they would have been in slavery and hostile to the constitution. Not less distinctly does Herodotus speak, when he describes the revolution subsequently operated by Kleisthenês—the latter (he tells us) found “the Athenian people excluded from everything.”¹ These passages seem positively to contradict the supposition, in itself sufficiently improbable, that Solon is the author of the peculiar democratical institutions of Athens, such as the constant and numerous dikasts for judicial trials and revision of laws. The genuine and forward democratical movement of Athens begins only with Kleisthenês, from the moment when that distinguished Alkmæônid, either spontaneously or from finding himself worsted in his party strife with Isagoras, purchased by large popular concessions the hearty co-operation of the multitude under very dangerous circumstances. While Solon, in his own statement as well as in that of Aristotle, gave to the people as much power as was strictly needful, but no more—Kleisthenês (to use the significant phrase of Herodotus), “being vanquished in the party contest with his rival, *took the people into partnership.*”² It was, thus, to the interests of the weaker section, in a strife of contending nobles, that the Athenian people owed their first admission to political ascendancy—in part, at least, to this cause, though the proceedings of Kleisthenês indicate a hearty and spon-

of certain critics who blamed him, with *their* reasons; thirdly, his own judgement. The first of these three contains sect. 2 (from Σόλωνα δ' ἔπειτα, down to τὰ δικαστήρια πάλιν αὖ πάλιν). The second contains the greater part of sect. 3 (from Διὸς καὶ θεμεριότητος ἕνεκα, down to τῇ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ). The remainder is his own judgement. I notice this, because sections 2 and 3 are not to be taken as the opinion of Aristotle himself, but of those upon whom he was commenting, who considered Solon as the author of the dikasteries selected by lot.

¹ Herodot. v. 69. τὸν Ἀθηναίων

δῆμον, πρῶτον ἀποτρίβειν πάντων, &c.

² Herodot. v. 66-69. Οὗτοι αὖ ἄνδρες (Kleisthenês and Isagoras) ἐστάσαντα περὶ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ σέβαστος δὲ ὁ Kleisthenês τοῦ δῆμου προσεταιρίσσειν Ω: γὰρ δὲ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δῆμου, πρῶτον ἠπάσαντων πάντων, τότε πρὸς τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ προσεβήκατον. (Kleisthenês) τῶς πολὺς μετῴκησεν ἣν δὲ, τὸν δῆμον προσέβασεν, πολλὴν καταρχὴν τῶν συνστάσιωτων.

As to the marked democratical tendency of the proceedings of Kleisthenês, see Aristot. Polit. vi. 2, 11; iii. 1, 10.

taneous popular sentiment. But such constitutional admission of the people would not have been so astonishingly fruitful in positive results, if the course of public events for the half century after Kleisthenês had not been such as to stimulate most powerfully their energy, their self-reliance, their mutual sympathies, and their ambition. I shall recount in a future chapter these historical causes,

which, acting upon the Athenian character, gave such efficiency and expansion to the great democratical impulse communicated by Kleisthenês: at present it is enough to remark that that impulse commences properly with Kleisthenês, and not with Solon.

But the Solonian constitution, though only the foundation, was yet the indispensable foundation, of the subsequent democracy. And if the discontents of the miserable Athenian population, instead of experiencing his disinterested and healing management, had fallen at once into the hands of selfish power-seekers like Kylôn or Pisi-stratus—the memorable expansion of the Athenian mind during the ensuing century would never have taken place, and the whole subsequent history of Greece would probably have taken a different course. Solon left the essential powers of the state still in the hands of the oligarchy. The party combats (to be recounted hereafter) between Peisistratus, Lykurgus and Megaklês, thirty years after his legislation, which ended in the despotism of Peisistratus, will appear to be of the same purely oligarchical character as they had been before Solon was appointed archon. But the oligarchy which he established was very different from the unmitigated oligarchy which he found, so teeming with oppression and so destitute of redress, as his own poems testify.

It was he who first gave both to the citizens of middling property and to the general mass, a *locus standi* against the Eupatrids. He enabled the people partially to protect themselves, and familiarised them with the idea of protecting themselves, by the peaceful exercise of a constitutional franchise. The new force, through which this protection was carried into effect, was the public assembly called *Heliæa*,¹

¹ Lysias cont. Theomnest. A. c. 5. p. 357, who gives *ἐάν μὴ προσ-* *τιμύσῃ ἡ Ἡλιεία* as a Solonian phrase; though we are led to doubt

regularised and armed with enlarged prerogatives and farther strengthened by its indispensable ally—the probouleutic or preconsidering senate. Under the Solonian constitution, this force was merely secondary and defensive, but after the renovation of Kleisthenês it became paramount and sovereign. It branched out gradually into those numerous popular dikasteries which so powerfully modified both public and private Athenian life, drew to itself the undivided reverence and submission of the people, and by degrees rendered the single magistracies essentially subordinate functions. The popular assembly, as constituted by Solon, appearing in modified efficiency and trained to the office of reviewing and judging the general conduct of a past magistrate—forms the intermediate stage between the passive Homeric agora, and those omnipotent assemblies and dikasteries which listened to Periklês or Dêmosthênês. Compared with these last, it has in it but a faint streak of democracy—and so it naturally appeared to Aristotle, who wrote with a practical experience of Athens in the time of the orators; but compared with the first, or with the ante-Solonian constitution of Attica, it must doubtless have appeared a concession eminently democratical. To impose upon the Eupatrid archon the necessity of being elected,

whether Solon can ever have employed it, when we find Pollux (vii. 5, 22) distinctly stating that Solon used the word ἐπαίτια to signify what the orators called προσημύματα.

The original and proper meaning of the word Ἡλία is, the public assembly (see Tittmann, Griech. Staatsverfass. p. 215—216): in subsequent times we find it signifying at Athens—1. The aggregate of 6000 dikasts chosen by lot annually and sworn, or the assembled people considered as exercising judicial functions; 2. Each of the separate fractions into which this aggregate body was in practice subdivided for actual judicial business. Ἐκκλησία became the term for the public deliberative assembly properly so called, which could never be held on the same day that the

dikasteries sat (Dêmosthen. cont. Timokrat. c. 21, p. 726): every dikastery is in fact always addressed as if it were the assembled people engaged in a specific duty.

I imagine the term Ἡλία in the time of Solon to have been used in its original meaning—the public assembly, perhaps with the implication of employment in judicial proceeding. The fixed number of 6000 does not date before the time of Kleisthenês, because it is essentially connected with the ten tribes: while the subdivision of this body of 6000 into various bodies of jurors for different courts and purposes did not commence, probably, until after the first reforms of Kleisthenês. I shall revert to this point when I touch upon the latter and his times.

or put upon his trial of after-accountability, by the *rabble* of freemen (such would be the phrase in Eupatrid society), would be a bitter humiliation to those among whom it was first introduced; for we must recollect that this was the most extensive scheme of constitutional reform yet propounded in Greece, and that despots and oligarchies shared between them at that time the whole Grecian world. As it appears that Solon, while constituting the popular assembly with its pro-bouleutic senate, had no jealousy of the senate of Areopagus, and indeed even enlarged its powers—we may infer that his grand object was, not to weaken the oligarchy generally, but to improve the administration and to repress the misconduct and irregularities of the individual archons; and that too, not by diminishing their powers, but by making some degree of popularity the condition both of their entry into office, and of their safety or honour after it.

It is, in my judgement, a mistake to suppose that Solon transferred the judicial power of the archons to a popular dikastery. These magistrates still continued self-acting judges, deciding and condemning without appeal—not mere presidents of an assembled jury, as they afterwards came to be during the next century.¹ For the general exercise of such power they were accountable after their year of office. Such accountability was the

The archons still continued to be judges until after the time of Kleisthenes.

¹ The statement of Plutarch, that Solon gave an appeal from the decision of the archon to the judgement of the popular dikastery (Plutarch, Solon, 18), is distrusted by most of the expositors, though Dr. Thirlwall seems to admit it, justifying it by the analogy of the Epheta or judges of appeal constituted by Drako (Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. ch. xi. p. 46).

To me it appears that the Draconian Epheta were not really judges in *appeal*: but be that as it may, the supposition of an appeal from the judgement of the archon is inconsistent with the known course of Attic procedure, and has apparently arisen in Plutarch's

mind from confusion with the Roman *provocatio*, which really was an appeal from the judgement of the consul to that of the people. Plutarch's comparison of Solon with Publicola leads to this suspicion—Καὶ τοῖς παύουσι δίκεν, ἐπιχαλεῖσθαι τὸν δήμον, ὥσπερ ὁ Σόλων τοῖς δικασταῖς, ἐδῶκε (Publicola). The Athenian archon was first a judge without appeal; and afterwards, ceasing to be a judge, he became president of a dikastery, performing only those preparatory steps which brought the case to an issue fit for decision: but he does not seem ever to have been a judge subject to appeal.

It is hardly just to Plutarch to

security against abuse—a very insufficient security, yet not wholly inoperative. It will be seen however presently, that these archons, though strong to coerce, and perhaps to oppress, small and poor men—had no means of keeping down rebellious nobles of their own rank, such as Peisistratus, Lykurgus, and Megaklês, each with his armed followers. When we compare the drawn swords of these ambitious competitors, ending in the despotism of one of them, with the vehement parliamentary strife between Themistoklês and Aristeidês afterwards, peaceably decided by the vote of the sovereign people and never disturbing the public tranquillity—we shall see that the democracy of the ensuing century fulfilled the conditions of order, as well as of progress, better than the Solonian constitution.

To distinguish this Solonian constitution from the democracy which followed it, is essential to a due comprehension of the progress of the Greek mind, and especially of Athenian affairs. That democracy was achieved by gradual steps, which will be hereafter described. Dêmosthenês and Æschinês lived under it as a system consummated and in full activity, when the stages of its previous growth were no longer matter of exact memory; and the dikasts then assembled in judgement were pleased to hear their constitution associated with the names either of Solon or of Theseus. Their inquisitive contemporary Aristotle was not thus misled: but even commonplace Athenians of the century preceding would have escaped the same delusion. For during the whole course of the democratical movement from the Persian invasion down to the Peloponnesian war, and especially during the changes proposed by Periklês and Ephialtês, there was always a strenuous party of resistance, who would not suffer the people to forget that they had already forsaken, and were on the point of forsaking still more, the orbit marked out by Solon. The illustrious Periklês underwent innumerable

After-changes in the Athenian constitution overlooked by the orators, but understood by Aristotle, and strongly felt at Athens during the time of Periklês.

make him responsible for the absurd remark that Solon rendered his laws intentionally obscure, in order that the dikasts might have more to do and greater power. He gives the remark, himself, only

with the saving expression λέγεται, "it is said;" and we may well doubt whether it was ever seriously intended even by its author, whoever he may have been.

attacks both from the orators in the assembly and from the comic writers in the theatre. And among these sarcasms on the political tendencies of the day, we are probably to number the complaint, breathed by the poet Kratinus, of the desuetude into which both Solon and Drako had fallen—"I swear (said he in a fragment of one of his comedies) by Solon and Drako, whose wooden tablets (of laws) are now employed by people to roast their barley."¹ The laws of Solon respecting penal offences, respecting inheritance and adoption, respecting the private relations generally, &c., remained for the most part in force: his quadripartite census also continued, at least for financial purposes, until the archonship of Nausinikus in 377 B.C.—so that Cicero and others might be warranted in affirming that his laws still prevailed at Athens: but his political and judicial arrangements had undergone a revolution² not less complete and memorable than the character and spirit of the Athenian people generally. The choice, by way of lot, of archons and other magistrates—and the distribution by lot of the general body of dikasts or jurors into pannels for judicial business—may be decidedly considered as not belonging to Solon, but adopted after the revolution of Kleisthenês;³ probably the choice of senators by lot also. The lot was a symptom of pronounced democratical spirit, such as we must not seek in the Solonian institutions.

¹ Kratinus ap. Plutarch. Solon. 25.—

Πρὸς τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ Δράκοντος,
οἷσι νῦν

Φρύγουσιν ἤδη τὰς κάχρους ταῖς
κῶρυβεντιν.

Isokratês praises the moderate democracy in early Athens, as compared with that under which he lived; but in the Orat. vii. (Areopagitic.) he connects the former with the names of Solon and Kleisthênes, while in the Orat. xii. (Panathenaic.) he considers the former to have lasted from the days of Theseus to those of Solon and Peisistratus. In this latter oration he describes pretty exactly the power which the people pos-

sessed under the Solonian constitution,—τοῦ τὰς ἀρχάς καταστήσαι καὶ λαβεῖν δίκην παρὰ τῶν ἐξαμαρτανόντων, which coincides with the phrase of Aristotle—τὰς ἀρχάς αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν,—supposing ἀρχόντων to be understood as the substantive of ἐξαμαρτανόντων.

Compare Isokratês, Or. vii. p. 143 (p. 192 Bek.) and p. 150 (202 Bek.), and Orat. xii. p. 260—264 (351—356 Bek.).

² Cicero, Orat. pro Sext. Roscio, c. 25; Ælian, V. H. viii. 10.

³ This seems to be the opinion of Dr. Thirlwall, against Wachsmuth; though he speaks with doubt (History of Greece, vol. ii. ch. 11, p. 48, 2nd ed.).

It is not easy to make out distinctly what was the political position of the ancient Gentes and Phratries, as Solon left them. The four tribes consisted altogether of gentes and phratries, in-
 somuch that no one could be included in any one of the tribes who was not also a member of some gens and phratry. Now the new probouleutic or preconsidering senate consisted of 400 members,—100 from each of the tribes: persons not included in any gens or phratry could therefore have had no access to it. The conditions of eligibility were similar, according to ancient custom, for the nine archons—of course, also, for the senate of Areopagus. So that there remained only the public assembly, in which an Athenian not a member of these tribes could take part: yet he was a citizen, since he could give his vote for archons and senators, and could take part in the annual decision of their accountability, besides being entitled to claim redress for wrong from the archons in his own person—while the alien could only do so through the intervention of an avouching citizen or Prostatês. It seems therefore that all persons not included in the four tribes, whatever their grade of fortune might be, were on the same level in respect to political privilege as the fourth and poorest class of the Solonian census. It has already been remarked, that even before the time of Solon, the number of Athenians not included in the gentes or phratries was probably considerable: it tended to become greater and greater, since these bodies were close and unexpansive, while the policy of the new lawgiver tended to invite industrious settlers from other parts of Greece to Athens. Such great and increasing inequality of political privilege helps to explain the weakness of the government in repelling the aggressions of Peisistratus, and exhibits the importance of the revolution afterwards wrought by Kleisthenês, when he abolished (for all political purposes) the four old tribes, and created ten new comprehensive tribes in place of them.

Gentes and Phratries under the Solonian constitution—status of persons not included in them.

In regard to the regulations of the senate and the assembly of the people, as constituted by Solon, we are altogether without information: nor is it safe to transfer to the Solonian constitution the information, comparatively ample, which we possess respecting these bodies under the later democracy.

The laws of Solon were inscribed on wooden rollers and triangular tablets, in the species of writing called Boustrophêdon (lines alternating first from left to right, and next from right to left, like the course of the ploughman), and preserved first in the Akropolis, subsequently in the Prytaneium. On the tablets, called Kyrbeis, were chiefly commemorated the laws respecting sacred rites and sacrifices:¹ on the pillars or rollers, of which there were at least sixteen, were placed the regulations respecting matters profane. So small are the fragments which have come down to us, and so much has been ascribed to Solon by the orators which belongs really to the subsequent times, that it is hardly possible to form any critical judgement respecting the legislation as a whole, or to discover by what general principles or purposes he was guided.

He left unchanged all the previous laws and practices respecting the crime of homicide, connected as they were intimately with the religious feelings of the people. The laws of Drako on this subject, therefore, remained, but on other subjects, according to Plutarch, they were altogether abrogated:² there is however room for supposing, that the repeal cannot have been so sweeping as this biographer represents.

The Drakonian laws about homicide retained; the rest abrogated.

The Solonian laws seem to have borne more or less

¹ Plutarch, Solon, 23—25. He particularly mentions the sixteenth αζων: we learn also that the thirteenth αζων contained the eighth law (c. 19): the twenty-first law is alluded to in Harpokration, v. Ὅτι οἱ ποιητοί.

Some remnants of these wooden rollers existed in the days of Plutarch in the Athenian Prytaneium. See Harpokration and Photius, v. κόρβεις; Aristot. περὶ Πολιτειῶν, Frag. 35, ed. Neumann; Euphorion ap. Harpokrat. Ὁ χάτωθεν νόμος. Bekker, Anecdota, p. 413.

What we read respecting the αζῶνες and the κόρβεις does not convey a clear idea of them. Besides Aristotle, both Seleukus and Diodymus are named as having

written commentaries expressly about them (Plutarch, Solon, i.; Suidas, v. Ὁζγῶνες; compare also Meursius, Solon, c. 24; Vit. Aristotelis ap. Westermann. Vitarum Scriptt. Græc. p. 404), and the collection in Stephan. Thesaur. p. 1095.

² Plutarch, Solon, c. 17; Cyrill. cont. Julian. v. p. 169, ed. Spanheim. The enumeration of the different admitted justifications for homicide, which we find in Dêmosth. cont. Aristokrat. p. 637, seems rather too copious and systematic for the age of Drako: it may have been amended by Solon, or perhaps in an age subsequent to Solon.

upon all the great departments of human interest and duty. We find regulations political and religious, public and private, civil and criminal, commercial, agricultural, sumptuary, and disciplinarian. Solon provides punishment for crimes, restricts the profession and status of the citizen, prescribes detailed rules for marriage as well as for burial, for the common use of springs and wells, and for the mutual interest of conterminous farmers in planting or hedging their properties. As far as we can judge from the imperfect manner in which his laws come before us, there does not seem to have been any attempt at a systematic order or classification. Some of them are mere general and vague directions, while others again run into the extreme of speciality.

Multifarious character of Solon: no appearance of classification.

By far the most important of all was the amendment of the law of debtor and creditor which has already been adverted to, and the abolition of the power of fathers and brothers to sell their daughters and sisters into slavery. The prohibition of all contracts on the security of the body was itself sufficient to produce a vast improvement in the character and condition of the poorer population,—a result which seems to have been so sensibly obtained from the legislation of Solon, that Boeckh and some other eminent authors suppose him to have abolished villenage and conferred upon the poor tenants a property in their lands, annulling the seigniorial rights of the landlord. But this opinion rests upon no positive evidence, nor are we warranted in ascribing to him any stronger measure in reference to the land than the annulment of the previous mortgages.¹

The first pillar of his laws contained a regulation respecting exportable produce. He forbade the exportation of all produce of the Attic soil, except olive-oil alone. And the sanction employed to enforce observance of this law deserves notice, as an illustration of the ideas of the time—the archon was bound on pain of forfeiting 100 drachms, to pronounce solemn curses against every

¹ See Boeckh, *Public Economy of the Athenians*, book iii. sect. 5. Tittmann (*Griechische Staatsverfassung*, p. 651) and others have supposed (from *Aristot. Polit. ii. 4, 4*)

that Solon enacted a law to limit the quantity of land which any individual citizen might acquire. But the passage does not seem to me to bear out such an opinion.

offender.¹ We are probably to take this prohibition in conjunction with other objects said to have been contemplated by Solon, especially the encouragement of artisans and manufacturers at Athens. Observing (we are told) that many new immigrants were just then flocking into Attica to seek an establishment, in consequence of its greater security, he was anxious to turn them rather to manufacturing industry than to the cultivation of a soil naturally poor.² He forbade the granting of citizenship to any immigrants, except to such as had quitted irrevocably their former abodes, and come to Athens for the purpose of carrying on some industrious profession; and in order to prevent idleness, he directed the senate of Areopagus to keep watch over the lives of the citizens generally, and punish every one who had no course of regular labour to support him. If a father had not taught his son some art or profession, Solon relieved the son from all obligation to maintain him in his old age. And it was to encourage the multiplication of these artisans, that he ensured, or sought to ensure, to the residents in Attica the exclusive right of buying and consuming all its landed produce except olive-oil, which was raised in abundance more than sufficient for their wants. It was his wish that the trade with foreigners should be carried on by exporting the produce of artisan labour, instead of the produce of land.³

¹ Plutarch, Solon, 24. The *first law*, however, is said to have related to the ensuring of a maintenance to wives and orphans (Harpokration, v. Σίτρος).

By a law of Athens (which marks itself out as belonging to the century after Solon, by the fulness of its provisions and by the number of steps and official persons named in it), the rooting up of an olive-tree in Attica was forbidden, under a penalty of 200 drachms for each tree so destroyed—except for sacred purposes, or to the extent of two trees per annum for the convenience of the proprietor (Démosten. cont. Makartat. c. 16. p. 10.4).

² Plutarch, Solon, 22. τῆς τέχνης ἀξίωμα περιέθρε.

³ Plutarch, Solon, 22–24. According to Herodotus, Solon had enacted that the authorities should punish every man with death who could not show a regular mode of industrious life (Herod. ii. 177; Diodor. i. 77).

So severe a punishment is not credible; nor is it likely that Solon borrowed his idea from Egypt.

According to Pollux (viii. 6), idleness was punished by atimý (civil disfranchisement) under Draco: under Solon, this punishment only took effect against the person who had been convicted of it on three successive occasions. See Meur-

This commercial prohibition is founded on principles substantially similar to those which were acted upon in the early history of England, with reference both to corn and to wool, and in other European countries also. In so far as it was at all operative it tended to lessen the total quantity of produce raised upon the soil of Attica, and thus to keep the price of it from rising,—a purpose less objectionable (if we assume that the legislator is to interfere at all) than that of our late Corn Laws, which were destined to prevent the price of grain from falling. But the law of Solon must have been altogether inoperative, in reference to the great articles of human subsistence; for Attica imported, both largely and constantly, grain and salt-provisions,—probably also wool and flax for the spinning and weaving of the women, and certainly timber for building. Whether the law was ever enforced with reference to figs and honey, may well be doubted; at least these productions of Attica were in after-times generally consumed and celebrated throughout Greece. Probably also in the time of Solon, the silver-mines of Laureium had hardly begun to be worked: these afterwards became highly productive, and furnished to Athens a commodity for foreign payments not less convenient than lucrative.¹

It is interesting to notice the anxiety, both of Solon and of Drako, to enforce among their fellow citizens industrious and self-maintaining habits;² and we shall find the same sentiment proclaimed by Periklês, at the time when Athenian power was at its maximum. Nor ought we to pass over this early manifestation in Attica of an opinion equitable and tolerant towards sedentary industry, which in most other parts of Greece was regarded as comparatively dishonourable. The general tone of Grecian sentiment recognised no occupations as perfectly worthy of a free citizen except arms, agriculture, and athletic and musical exercises; and the proceedings of the Spartans, who kept aloof even from

The prohibition of little or no effect.

Encouragement to artisans and industry.

sus, Solon, c. 17; and the 'Areopagus' of the same author, c. 8 and 9; and Taylor, Lectt. Lysiac. cap. 10.

¹ Xenophon, De Vectigalibus, iii. 2.

² Thucyd. ii. 40 (the funeral oration delivered by Periklês)—καὶ το πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινα ἀσχρόν, ἀλλ' οὐ διαφεύγειν ἔργα αἰσχρόν.

agriculture and left it to their Helots, were admired, though they could not be copied, throughout most part of the Hellenic world. Even minds like Plato, Aristotle and Xenophon concurred to a considerable extent in this feeling, which they justified on the ground that the sedentary life and unceasing house-work of the artisan were inconsistent with military aptitude. The town-occupations are usually described by a word which carries with it contemptuous ideas, and though recognised as indispensable to the existence of the city, are held suitable only for an inferior and semi-privileged order of citizens. This, the received sentiment among Greeks, as well as foreigners, found a strong and growing opposition at Athens, as I have already said—corroborated also by a similar feeling at Corinth.¹ The trade of Corinth, as well as of Chalkis in Eubœa, was extensive, at a time when that of Athens had scarce any existence. But while the despotism of Periander can hardly have failed to operate as a discouragement to industry at Corinth, the contemporaneous legislation of Solon provided for traders and artisans a new home at Athens, giving the first encouragement to that numerous town-population both in the city and in the Peiræus, which we find actually residing there in the succeeding century. The multiplication of such town residents, both citizens and metics, (*i. e.* resident persons, not citizens, but enjoying an assured position and civil rights) was a capital fact in the onward march of Athens, since it determined not merely the extension of her trade, but also the pre-eminence of her naval force—and thus, as a farther consequence, lent extraordinary vigour to her democratical government. It seems moreover to have been a departure from the primitive temper of Atticism, which tended both to cantonal residence and rural occupation. We have therefore the greater interest in noting the first mention of it as a consequence of the Solonian legislation.

To Solon is first owing the admission of a power of testamentary bequest at Athens, in all cases in which a

¹ Herodot. ii. 167—177; compare Xenophon, *Economic*. iv. 3.

The unbounded derision, however, which Aristophanes heaps upon Kleôn as a tanner, and upon Hyperbolus as a lamp-maker,

proves that if any manufacturer engaged in politics, his party opponents found enough of the old sentiment remaining to turn it to good account against him.

man had no legitimate children. According to the pre-existing custom, we may rather presume that if a deceased person left neither children nor blood relations, his property descended (as at Rome) to his gens and phratry.¹ Throughout most rude states of society the power of willing is unknown, as among the ancient Germans—among the Romans prior to the twelve tables—in the old laws of the Hindus,² &c. Society limits a man's interest or power of enjoyment to his life, and considers his relatives as having joint reversionary claims to his property, which take effect, in certain determinate proportions, after his death. Such a view was the more likely to prevail at Athens, since the perpetuity of the family sacred rites, in which the children and near relatives partook of right, was considered by the Athenians as a matter of public as well as of private concern. Solon gave permission to every man dying without children to bequeathe his property by will as he should think fit; and the testament was maintained unless it could be shown to have been procured by some compulsion or improper seduction. Speaking generally, this continued to be the law throughout the historical times of Athens. Sons, wherever there were sons, succeeded to the property of their father in equal shares, with the obligation of giving out their sisters in marriage along with a certain dowry. If there were no sons, then the daughters succeeded, though the father might by will, within certain limits, determine the person to whom they should be married, with their rights of succession attached to them; or might, with the consent of his daughters, make by will certain other arrangements about his property. A person who had no children or direct lineal descendants might bequeathe his property at pleasure: if he died without a will, first his father, then his brother or brother's children, next his sister or sister's children succeeded: if none such existed, then the cousins by the father's side, next the cousins by the mother's side,—the male line of descent having preference over the female. Such was the principle of the Solonian laws of suc-

Power of testamentary bequest—first sanctioned by Solon.

¹ This seems the just meaning of the words, ἐν τῷ γένει τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἔδει τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸν οἶκον καταμενεῖν, for that early day (Plutarch, Solon, 21): compare

Meier, De Gentilitate Atticâ, p. 33.

² Tacitus, German. c. 20; Halhed, Preface to Gentoo Code, p. i. iii.; Mill's History of British India, b. ii. ch. iv. p. 214.

cession, though the particulars are in several ways obscure and doubtful.¹ Solon, it appears, was the first who gave power of superseding by testament the rights of agnates and gentiles to succession,—a proceeding in consonance with his plan of encouraging both industrious occupation and the consequent multiplication of individual acquisitions.²

It has been already mentioned that Solon forbade the sale of daughters or sisters into slavery by fathers or brothers; a prohibition which shows how much females had before been looked upon as articles of property. And it would seem that before his time the violation of a free woman must have been punished at the discretion of the magistrates; for we are told that he was the first who enacted a penalty of 100 drachms against the offender, and twenty drachms against the seducer of a free woman.³ Moreover it is said that he forbade a bride when given in marriage to carry with her any personal ornaments and appurtenances, except to the extent of three robes and certain matters of furniture not very valuable.⁴ Solon farther imposed upon women several restraints in regard to proceeding at the obsequies of deceased relatives. He forbade profuse demonstrations of sorrow, singing of composed dirges, and costly sacrifices and contributions. He limited strictly the quantity of meat and drink admissible for the funeral banquet, and prohibited nocturnal exit, except in a car and with a light. It appears that both in Greece and Rome, the feelings of duty and affection on the part of surviving relatives prompted them to ruinous expense in

¹ See the Dissertation of Bunsen, *De Jure Hereditario Atheniensium*, pp. 28, 29; and Hermann Schelling, *De Solonis Legibus ap. Oratt. Atticos*, ch. xvii.

The adopted son was not allowed to bequeathe by will that property of which adoption had made him the possessor: if he left no legitimate children, the heirs at law of the adopter claimed it as of right (*Dêmosthen. cont. Leochar. p. 1100; cont. Stephan. B. p. 1133; Bunsen, ut sup. p. 55—58.*)

² Plutarch, Solon, 21. *τα γρηναῖα, γρηναῖα τῶν ἐγγόνων ἐποτρύνει.*

³ According to Æschines (*cont. Timarch. pp. 16—78*), the punishment enacted by Solon against the *προσχωρῶς*, or procurer, in such cases of seduction, was death.

⁴ Plutarch, Solon, 20. These *ἐσθῆται* were independent of the dowry of the bride, for which the husband, when he received it, commonly gave security, and repaid it in the event of his wife's death: see Bunsen, *De Jure Hered. Ath. p. 43.*

a funeral, as well as to unmeasured effusions both of grief and conviviality; and the general necessity experienced for legal restriction is attested by the remark of Plutarch, that similar prohibitions to those enacted by Solon were likewise in force at his native town of Chæroneia.¹

¹ Plutarch, *l. c.* The Solonian restrictions on the subject of funerals were to a great degree copied in the twelve tables at Rome: see Cicero, *De Legg.* ii. 23, 24. He esteems it a right thing to put the rich and the poor on a level in respect to funeral ceremonies. Plato follows an opposite idea, and limits the expense of funerals upon a graduated scale according to the census of the deceased (*Legg.* xii. p. 959).

Dēmostenēs (cont. Makartat. p. 1071) gives what he calls the Solonian law on funerals, different from Plutarch on several points.

Ungovernable excesses of grief among the female sex are sometimes mentioned in Grecian towns: see the *μαυρίζον πένθος* among the Milesian women (*Polyæn.* viii. 63): the Milesian women, however, had a tinge of Karian feeling.

Compare an instructive inscription recording a law of the Greek city of Gambreion in Æolic Asia Minor, wherein the dress, the proceedings, and the time of allowed mourning, for men, women and children who had lost their relatives, are strictly prescribed under severe penalties (*Franz, Fünf Inschriften und fünf Städte in Kleinasien*, Berlin, 1840, p. 17). Expensive ceremonies in the celebration of marriage are forbidden by some of the old Scandinavian laws (*Wilda, Das Gildenwesen im Mittelalter*, p. 18).

And we may understand the motives whether we approve the wisdom or not, of sumptuary restrictions on these ceremonies, when we read the account given by Colonel Sleeman of the ruinous ex-

penses incurred to this day among the Hindoos, in the celebration of marriage. (*Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, vol. i. ch. vi. p. 51—53.)

"I do not believe there is a country upon earth, in which a larger portion of the wealth of the community is spent in the ceremonies of marriage. . . . One of the evils which press most upon Indian society, is, the necessity which long usage has established of squandering large sums of money in marriage ceremonies. Instead of giving what they can to their children to establish them, and enable them to provide for their families, parents everywhere feel bound to squander all they have, and all they can borrow, in the festivities of marriage. . . . Every man feels himself bound to waste all his stock and capital, and exhaust all his credit, in feeding idlers during the ceremonies which attend the marriage of his children, because his ancestors squandered similar sums, and he would sink in the estimation of society if he were to allow his children to be married with less. There is nothing which husband and wife recollect through life with so much pride and pleasure as the cost of their marriage, if it happen to be large for their condition in life; it is their *Amoku*, their title of nobility. Nothing is now more common than to see an individual in the humblest rank, spending all he has or can borrow, in the marriage of one out of many daughters, and trusting to Providence for the means of marrying the others."

Other penal enactments of Solon are yet to be mentioned. He forbade absolutely evil-speaking with respect to the dead. He forbade it likewise with respect to the living, either in a temple or before judges or archons, or at any public festival—on pain of a forfeit of three drachms to the person aggrieved, and two more to the public treasury. How mild the general character of his punishments was, may be judged by this law against foul language, not less than by the law before-mentioned against rape. Both the one and the other of these offences were much more severely dealt with under the subsequent law of democratical Athens. The peremptory edict against speaking ill of a deceased person, though doubtless springing in a great degree from disinterested repugnance, is traceable also in part to that fear of the wrath of the departed which strongly possessed the early Greek mind.

It seems generally that Solon determined by law the outlay for the public sacrifices, though we do not know what were his particular directions. We are told that he reckoned a sheep and a medimnus (of wheat or barley?) as equivalent, either of them, to a drachm, and that he also prescribed the prices to be paid for first-rate oxen intended for solemn occasions. But it astonishes us to see the large recompense which he awarded out of the public treasury to a victor at the Olympic or Isthmian games: to the former 500 drachms, equal to one year's income of the highest of the four classes on the census; to the latter 100 drachms. The magnitude of these rewards strikes us the more when we compare them with the fines on rape and evil speaking. We cannot be surprised that the philosopher Xenophanês noticed, with some degree of severity, the extravagant estimate of this species of excellence, current among the Grecian cities.¹ At the same time, we must remember both that these Pan-Hellenic sacred games presented the chief visible evidence of peace and sympathy among the numerous communities of Greece, and that in the time of Solon, factitious reward was still needful to encourage them. In respect to land and agriculture Solon

¹ Plutarch, Solon, 23. Xenophanês, Frag. 2, ed. Schneidewin. If Diogenês is to be trusted, the rewards were even larger anterior to Solon: he reduced them (Diog. L. i. 55).

proclaimed a public reward of five drachms for every wolf brought in, and one drachm for every wolf's cub: the extent of wild land has at all times been considerable in Attica. He also provided rules respecting the use of wells between neighbours, and respecting the planting in contentious olivegrounds. Whether any of these regulations continued in operation during the better-known period of Athenian history cannot be safely affirmed.¹

In respect to theft, we find it stated that Solon repealed the punishment of death which Drako had annexed to that crime, and enacted as a penalty, Theft. compensation to an amount double the value of the property stolen. The simplicity of this law perhaps affords ground for presuming that it really does belong to Solon. But the law which prevailed during the time of the orators respecting theft² must have been introduced at some later period, since it enters into distinctions and mentions both places and forms of procedure, which we cannot reasonably refer to the forty-sixth Olympiad. The public dinners at the Prytaneium, of which the archons and a select few partook in common, were also either first established, or perhaps only more strictly regulated, by Solon. He ordered barley-cakes for their ordinary meals, and wheaten loaves for festival days, prescribing how often each person should dine at the table.³ The honour of dining at the table of

¹ Plutarch, Solon, c. 23. See Suidas, v. Φεισόμεθα.

² See the laws in Dêmosthen. cont. Timokrat. p. 733—736. Notwithstanding the opinion both of Heraldus (Animadversion. in Salmas. iv. 8) and of Meier (Attischer Prozess, p. 356), I cannot imagine anything more than the basis of these laws to be Solonian—they indicate a state of Attic procedure too much elaborated for that day (Lysias c. Theomn. p. 356). The word ποδωάxxxη belongs to Solon, and probably the penalty, of five days' confinement in the stocks, for the thief who had not restored what he had stolen.

Aulus Gell. (xi. 18) mentions the simple *pœna dupli*: in the authors from whom he copied, it

is evident that Solon was stated to have enacted this law generally for all thefts; we cannot tell from whom he copied, but in another part of his work, he copies a Solonian law from the wooden ἀρχαῖος on the authority of Aristotle (ii. 12).

Plato, in his Laws, prescribes the *pœna dupli* in all cases of theft without distinction of circumstances (Legg. ix. p. 857; xii. p. 941): it was also the primitive law of Rome: "posuerunt furem duplo condemnari, fœneratorem quadruplo." (Cato, De Re Rusticâ, Proœmium)—that is to say, in cases of *furtum nec manifestum* (Walter, Geschichte des Römisch. Rechts. sect. 757a).

³ Plutarch, Solon, 24; Ath. c.

the Prytaneium was maintained throughout as a valuable reward at the disposal of the government.

Among the various laws of Solon, there are few which have attracted more notice than that which pronounces the man, who in a sedition stood aloof and took part with

neither side, to be dishonoured and disfranchised.¹
 Censure pronounced by Solon upon citizens neutral in a sedition. Strictly speaking, this seems more in the nature of an emphatic moral denunciation, or a religious curse, than a legal sanction capable of being formally applied in an individual case and after judicial trial,—though the sentence of Atimy,

under the more elaborated Attic procedure, was both definite in its penal consequences and also judicially delivered. We may however follow the course of ideas under which Solon was induced to write this sentence on his tables, and we may trace the influence of similar ideas in later Attic institutions. It is obvious that his denunciation is confined to that special case in which a sedition has already broken out: we must suppose that Kylon has seized the Akropolis, or that Peisistratus, Megaklès, and Lykurgus, are in arms at the head of their partisans. Assuming these leaders to be wealthy and powerful men, which would in all probability be the fact, the constituted authority—such as Solon saw before him in Attica, even after his own organic amendments—was not strong enough to maintain the peace; it became in fact itself one of the contending parties. Under such given circumstances, the sooner every citizen publicly declared his adherence to some one of them, the earlier this suspension of legal authority was likely to terminate. Nothing was so mischievous as the indifference of the mass, or their disposition to let the combatants fight out the matter among themselves, and then to submit to the victor.² Nothing was more likely to encourage aggression on the part of an ambitious malcontent, than the conviction, that if he could once overpower the small amount of physical force which surrounded the archons, and exhibit himself in armed possession of the Prytaneium or the Akropolis, he might immediately count upon passive submission

iv. p. 137: Diogen. Laërt. i. 58: Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 550; καὶ πρῶτος τῇ συνγωγῇ τῶν Aulus Gell. ii. 12.
 ἐνὲς ἀρχόντων ἐποίησεν, εἰς τὸ
 σὺνείπειν.

¹ Plutarch, Solon, 20, and De in Plutarch's Life of Aratus, c. 27.

² See a case of such indifference manifested by the people of Argos

on the part of all the freemen without. Under the state of feeling which Solon inculcates, the insurgent leader would have to calculate that every man who was not actively in his favour would be actively against him, and this would render his enterprise much more dangerous. Indeed he could then never hope to succeed, except on the double supposition of extraordinary popularity in his own person, and wide-spread detestation of the existing government. He would thus be placed under the influence of powerful deterring motives; so that ambition would be less likely to seduce him into a course which threatened nothing but ruin, unless under such encouragements from the pre-existing public opinion as to make his success a result desirable for the community. Among the small political societies of Greece—especially in the age of Solon, when the number of despots in other parts of Greece seems to have been at its maximum—every government, whatever might be its form, was sufficiently weak to make its overthrow a matter of comparative facility. Unless upon the supposition of a band of foreign mercenaries—which would render the government a system of naked force, and which the Athenian lawgiver would of course never contemplate—there was no other stay for it except a positive and pronounced feeling of attachment on the part of the mass of citizens. Indifference on their part would render them a prey to every daring man of wealth who chose to become a conspirator. That they should be ready to come forward, not only with voice but with arms—and that they should be known beforehand to be so—was essential to the maintenance of every good Grecian government. It was salutary, in preventing mere personal attempts at revolution; and pacific in its tendency, even where the revolution had actually broken out—because in the greater number of cases the proportion of partisans would probably be very unequal, and the inferior party would be compelled to renounce their hopes.

Necessity, under the Grecian city-governments, of some positive sentiment on the part of the citizens.

It will be observed that in this enactment of Solon, the existing government is ranked merely as one of the contending parties. The virtuous citizen is enjoined, not to come forward in its support, but to come forward at all events, either for it or against it. Positive and early action is all which is prescribed to him as

matter of duty. In the age of Solon there was no political idea or system yet current which could be assumed as an unquestionable datum —no conspicuous standard to which the citizens could be pledged under all circumstances to attach themselves. The option lay only, between a mitigated oligarchy in possession, and a despot in possibility; a contest wherein the affections of the people could rarely be counted upon in favour of the established government. But this neutrality in respect to the constitution was at an end after the revolution of Kleisthenês, when the idea of the sovereign people and the democratical institutions became both familiar and precious to every individual citizen. We shall hereafter find the Athenians binding themselves by the most sincere and solemn oaths to uphold their democracy against all attempts to subvert it; we shall discover in them a sentiment not less positive and uncompromising in its direction, than energetic in its inspirations. But while we notice this very important change in their character, we shall at the same time perceive that the wise precautionary recommendation of Solon, to obviate sedition by an early declaration of the impartial public between two contending leaders, was not lost upon them. Such, in point of fact, was the purpose of that salutary and protective institution which is called the Ostracism. When two party-leaders, in the early stages of the Athenian democracy, each powerful in adherents and influence, had become passionately embarked in bitter and prolonged opposition to each other, such opposition was likely to conduct one or other to violent measures. Over and above the hopes of party triumph, each might well fear that if he himself continued within the bounds of legality, he might fall a victim to aggressive proceedings on the part of his antagonists. To ward off this formidable danger, a public vote was called for to determine which of the two should go into temporary banishment, retaining his property and unvisited by any disgrace. A number of citizens not less than 6000, voting secretly and therefore independently, were required to take part, pronouncing upon one or other of these eminent rivals a sentence of exile for ten years. The one who remained became of course more powerful, yet less in a situation to be driven into anti-con-

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stitutional courses, than he was before. I shall in a future chapter speak again of this wise precaution and vindicate it against some erroneous interpretations to which it has given rise. At present I merely notice its analogy with the previous Solonian law, and its tendency to accomplish the same purpose of terminating a fierce party-feud, by artificially calling in the votes of the mass of impartial citizens against one or other of the leaders,—with this important difference, that while Solon assumed the hostile parties to be actually in arms, the ostracism averted that grave public calamity by applying its remedy to the premonitory symptoms.

I have already considered, in a previous chapter, the directions given by Solon for the more orderly recital of the Homeric poems; and it is curious to contrast his reverence for the old epic with the unqualified repugnance which he manifested towards Thespis and the drama—then just nascent, and holding out little promise of its subsequent excellence. Tragedy and comedy were now beginning to be grafted on the lyric and choric song. First one actor was provided to relieve the chorus; next two actors were introduced to sustain fictitious characters and carry on a dialogue, in such manner that the songs of the chorus and the interlocution of the actors formed a continuous piece. Solon, after having heard Thespis acting (as all the early composers did, both tragic and comic) in his own comedy, asked him afterwards if he was not ashamed to pronounce such falsehoods before so large an audience. And when Thespis answered that there was no harm in saying and doing such things merely for amusement, Solon indignantly exclaimed, striking the ground with his stick,¹ "If once we come to praise and esteem such amusement as this, we shall quickly find the effects of it in our daily transactions." For the authenticity of this anecdote it would be rash to vouch, but we may at least treat it as the protest of some early philosopher against the deceptions of the drama; and it is interesting as marking the incipient struggles of that literature in which Athens afterwards attained such unrivalled excellence.

It would appear that all the laws of Solon were proclaimed, inscribed, and accepted without either discussion

¹ Plutarch, Solon, 29; Diogen. Laërt. i. 59.

or resistance. He is said to have described them, not as the best laws which he could himself have imagined, but as the best which he could have induced the people to accept. He gave them validity for the space of ten years during which period¹ both the senate collectively and the archons individually swore to observe them with fidelity; under penalty, in case of non-observance, of a golden statue as large as life to be erected at Delphi. But though the acceptance of the laws was accomplished without difficulty, it was not found so easy either for the people to understand and obey, or for the framer to explain them. Every day persons came to Solon either with praise, or criticism, or suggestions of various improvements, or questions as to the construction of particular enactments; until at last he became tired of this endless process of reply and vindication, which was seldom successful either in removing obscurity or in satisfying complainants. Foreseeing that if he remained he would be compelled to make changes, he obtained leave of absence from his countrymen for ten years, trusting that before the expiration of that period they would have become accustomed to his laws. He quitted his native city, in the full certainty that his laws would remain unrepealed until his return; for (says Herodotus) "the Athenians *could not* repeal them, since they were bound by solemn oaths to observe them for ten years." The unqualified manner in which the historian here speaks of an oath, as if it created a sort of physical necessity and shut out all possibility of a contrary result, deserves notice as illustrating Grecian sentiment.²

On departing from Athens, Solon first visited Egypt, where he communicated largely with Psenôphis of Heliopolis and Sonchis of Saïs, Egyptian priests who had much to tell respecting their ancient history, and from whom he learnt matters real or

¹ Plutarch, Solon, 15.

² Herodot. i. 29. Σόλων, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσσει ποιήσαι, ἀπεδύμησε ἔτα δέκα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκάσθῃ λῦσαι τῶν ἔθετο· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἶσι τε ἤσαν αὐτὸ

ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁρξίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι· κατεῖχοντο, δέκα ἔτα χρῆσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄσφι Σόλων ἔηται.

One hundred years is the term stated by Plutarch (Solon, 25).

pretended, far transcending in alleged antiquity the oldest Grecian genealogies—especially the history of the vast submerged island of Atlantis, and the war which the ancestors of the Athenians had successfully carried on against it, 9000 years before. Solon is said to have commenced an epic poem upon this subject, but he did not live to finish it, and nothing of it now remains. From Egypt he went to Cyprus, where he visited the small town of *Æpeia*, said to have been originally founded by Demophôn son of Theseus, and ruled at this period by the prince Philokyprus—each town in Cyprus having its own petty prince. It was situated near the river Klarius in a position precipitous and secure, but inconvenient and ill-supplied. Solon persuaded Philokyprus to quit the old site and establish a new town down in the fertile plain beneath. He himself staid and became *Ækist* of the new establishment, making all the regulations requisite for its safe and prosperous march, which was indeed so decisively manifested, that many new settlers flocked into the new plantation, called by Philokyprus *Soli*, in honour of Solon. To our deep regret, we are not permitted to know what these regulations were; but the general fact is attested by the poems of Solon himself, and the lines, in which he bade farewell to Philokyprus on quitting the island, are yet before us. On the dispositions of this prince his poem bestowed unqualified commendation.¹

Besides his visit to Egypt and Cyprus, a story was also current of his having conversed with the Lydian king Cræsus at Sardis. The communication said to have taken place between them has been woven by Herodotus into a sort of moral tale which forms one of the most beautiful episodes in his whole history. Though this tale has been told and retold as if it were genuine history, yet as it now stands, it is irreconcilable with chronology—although very possibly Solon may at some time or other have visited Sardis, and seen Cræsus as hereditary prince.²

Alleged
interview
and con-
versation of
Solon with
Cræsus at
Sardis.

¹ Plutarch, Solon, 26; Herodot. v. 113. The statement of Diogenês that Solon founded Soli in Kilikia, and that he died in Cyprus, are not worthy of credit (Diog. Laërt. i. 51—62).

² Plutarch tells us that several authors rejected the reality of this interview as being chronologically impossible. It is to be recollected that the question all turns upon the interview as described by Hero-

But even if no chronological objections existed, the moral purpose of the tale is so prominent, and pervades it

dotus and its alleged sequel; for that there may have been an interview between Solon and Cræsus at Sardis, at some period between B.C. 594 and 560, is possible, though not shown.

It is evident that Solon made no mention of any interview with Cræsus in his poems; otherwise the dispute would have been settled at once. Now this, in a man like Solon, amounts to negative evidence of some value, for he noticed in his poems both Egypt and the prince Philokyprus in Cyprus, and had there been any conversation so impressive as that which Herodotus relates, between him and Cræsus, he could hardly have failed to mention it.

Wesseling, Larcher, Volney, and Mr. Clinton, all try to obviate the chronological difficulties, and to save the historical character of this interview, but in my judgment unsuccessfully. See Mr. Clinton's *F. H. ad ann. 546 B.C.*, and Appendix, c. 17. p. 298. The chronological data are there—Cræsus was born in 595 B.C., one year before the legislation of Solon: he succeeded to his father at the age of thirty-five, in 560 B.C.: he was overthrown, and Sardis captured, in 546 B.C., by Cyrus.

Mr. Clinton, after Wesseling and the others, supposes that Cræsus was king jointly with his father Halyattès, during the lifetime of the latter, and that Solon visited Lydia and conversed with Cræsus during this joint reign in 570 B.C. "We may suppose that Solon left Athens in B.C. 575, about twenty years after his archonship, and returned thither in B.C. 565, about five years before the usurpation of Peisistratus" (p. 300). Upon which

hypothesis we may remark,—

1. The arguments whereby Wesseling and Mr. Clinton endeavour to show that Cræsus was king jointly with his father, do not sustain the conclusion. The passage of Nicolaus Damascenus, which is produced to show that it was Halyattès (and not Cræsus) who conquered Karia, only attests that Halyattès *marched* with an armed force against Karia (ἐπὶ Καρίαν στρατεύων): this same author states, that Cræsus was deputed by Halyattès to govern *Adramyttium and the plain of Thèbè* (ἄρχαιν ἀποδεδειγμένος), but Mr. Clinton stretches this testimony to an inadmissible extent when he makes it tantamount to a conquest of *Æolis* by Halyattès ("so that *Æolis* is already conquered"). Nothing at all is said about *Æolis* or the cities of the *Æolic* Greeks in this passage of Nikolaus, which represents Cræsus as governing a sort of satrapy under his father Halyattès, just as Cyrus the younger did in after-times under Artaxerxes. And the expression of Herodotus, ἐπεὶ τε, δότος τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐπάρησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, appears to me, when taken along with the context, to indicate a bequest or nomination of successor, and not a donation during life.

2. The hypothesis therefore that Cræsus was king 570 B.C., during the life-time of his father, is one purely gratuitous, resorted to on account of the chronological difficulties connected with the account of Herodotus. But it is quite insufficient for such a purpose. It does not save us from the necessity of contradicting Herodotus in most of his particulars; there may perhaps have been an *interview* between Solon and Cræsus in B.C.

so systematically from beginning to end, that these internal grounds are of themselves sufficiently strong to impeach its credibility as a matter of fact, unless such doubts

570, but it cannot be *the interview* described by Herodotus. That interview takes place within ten years after the promulgation of Solon's laws—at the maximum of the power of Cræsus, and after numerous conquests effected by himself as king—at a time when Cræsus had a son old enough to be married and to command armies (Herod. i. 35)—at a time moreover immediately preceeding the turn of his fortunes from prosperity to adversity, first in the death of his son, succeeded by two years of mourning, which were put an end to (πένης ἀπέπαυσε, Herod. i. 46) by the stimulus of war with the Persians. That war, if we read the events of it as described in Herodotus, cannot have lasted more than three or four years,—so that the interview between Solon and Cræsus, as *Herodotus conceived it*, may be fairly stated to have occurred within seven years before the capture of Sardis.

If we put together all these conditions, it will appear that the interview recounted by Herodotus is a chronological impossibility: and Niebuhr (Röm. Gesch. vol. i. p. 579) is right in saying that the historian has fallen into a mistake of ten olympiads or forty years; his recital would consist with chronology, if we suppose that the Solonian legislation were referable to 554 B.C., and not to 594.

In my judgement, this is an illustrative tale, in which certain real characters—Cræsus and Solon—and certain real facts—the great power and succeeding ruin of the former by the victorious arm of Cyrus—together with certain facts

probably altogether fictitious, such as the two sons of Cræsus, the Phrygian Adrastus and his history, the hunting of the mischievous wild boar on Mount Olympus, the ultimate preservation of Cræsus, &c., are put together so as to convey an impressive moral lesson. The whole adventure of Adrastus and the son of Cræsus is depicted in language eminently beautiful and poetical.

Plutarch treats the impressiveness and suitableness of this narrative as the best proof of its historical truth, and puts aside the chronological tables as unworthy of trust. Upon which reasoning Mr. Clinton has the following very just remarks:—"Plutarch must have had a very imperfect idea of the nature of historical evidence, if he could imagine that the suitableness of a story to the character of Solon was a better argument for its authenticity than the number of witnesses by whom it is attested. Those who invented the scene (assuming it to be a fiction) would surely have had the skill to adapt the discourse to the character of the actors" (p. 300).

To make this remark quite complete, it would be necessary to add the words "*trustworthiness and means of knowledge*," in addition to the "*number*" of attesting witnesses. And it is a remark the more worthy of notice, inasmuch as Mr. Clinton here pointedly adverts to the existence of *plausible fiction*, as being completely distinct from attested matter of fact—a distinction of which he took no account in his vindication of the historical credibility of the early Greek legends.

happen to be outweighed—which in this case they are not—by good contemporary testimony. The narrative of Solon and Cræsus can be taken for nothing else but an illustrative fiction, borrowed by Herodotus from some philosopher, and clothed in his own peculiar beauty of expression, which on this occasion is more decidedly poetical than is habitual with him. I cannot transcribe, and I hardly dare to abridge it. The vain-glorious Cræsus, at the summit of his conquests and his riches, endeavours to win from his visitor Solon an opinion that he is the happiest of mankind. The latter, after having twice preferred to him modest and meritorious Grecian citizens, at length reminds him that his vast wealth and power are of a tenure too precarious to serve as an evidence of happiness—that the gods are jealous and meddlesome, and often make the show of happiness a mere prelude to extreme disaster—and that no man's life can be called happy until the whole of it has been played out, so that it may be seen to be out of the reach of reverses. Cræsus treats this opinion as absurd, but “a great judgement from God fell upon him, after Solon was departed—probably (observes Herodotus) because he fancied himself the happiest of all men.” First he lost his favourite son Atys, a brave and intelligent youth (his only other son being dumb). For the Mysians of Olympus, being ruined by a destructive and formidable wild boar which they were unable to subdue, applied for aid to Cræsus, who sent to the spot a chosen hunting force, and permitted—though with great reluctance, in consequence of an alarming dream—that his favourite son should accompany them. The young prince was unintentionally slain by the Phrygian exile Adrastus, whom Cræsus had sheltered and protected.¹ Hardly had the latter recovered from the anguish of this misfortune, when the

¹ Herod. i. 32. Ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπιστάμενός με το θεῖον, πᾶν ἔον φθονερόν τε καὶ παραώδες, ἐπειρωτῆς με ἀνθρώπων πραγμάτων περὶ. i. 34. Μετὰ δὲ Σολωνα οἰχόμενον, ἔλαβεν ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖστον, ὡς εἰχάσαι ὅτι ἐνόμισε ζωῶτον εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον.

The hunting-match, and the terrible wild-boar with whom the Mysians cannot cope, appear to be

borrowed from the legend of Kalydon.

The whole scene of Adrastus, returning after the accident in a state of desperate remorse, praying for death with outstretched hands, spared by Cræsus, and then killing himself on the tomb of the young prince, is deeply tragic (Herod. i. 44—45).

rapid growth of Cyrus and the Persian power induced him to go to war with them, against the advice of his wisest counsellors. After a struggle of about three years he was completely defeated, his capital Sardis taken by storm, and himself made prisoner. Cyrus ordered a large pile to be prepared, and placed upon it Crœsus in fetters, together with fourteen young Lydians, in the intention of burning them alive, either as a religious offering, or in fulfilment of a vow, "or perhaps (says Herodotus) to see whether some of the gods would not interfere to rescue a man so pre-eminently pious as the king of Lydia."¹ In this sad extremity, Crœsus bethought him of the warning which he had before despised, and thrice pronounced, with a deep groan, the name of Solon. Cyrus desired the interpreters to inquire whom he was invoking, and learnt in reply the anecdote of the Athenian lawgiver, together with the solemn memento which he had offered to Crœsus during more prosperous days, attesting the frail tenure of all human greatness. The remark sunk deep into the Persian monarch as a token of what might happen to himself: he repented of his purpose, and directed that the pile, which had already been kindled, should be immediately extinguished. But the orders came too late. In spite of the most zealous efforts of the bystanders, the flame was found unquenchable, and Crœsus would still have been burnt, had he not implored with prayers and tears the succour of Apollo, to whose Delphian and Theban temples he had given such munificent presents. His prayers were heard, the fair sky was immediately overcast and a profuse rain descended, sufficient to extinguish the flames.² The life of Crœsus was thus saved, and he became afterwards the confidential friend and adviser of his conqueror.

Such is the brief outline of a narrative which Herodotus has given with full development and with impressive effect. It would have served as a show-lecture to the youth of Athens not less admirably than the well-known fable of the Choice of Hēraklēs, which the philosopher Prodikus,³ a junior

Moral lesson arising out of the narrative.

¹ Herodot. i. 85.

² Herodot. i. 86, 87; compare Plutarch, Solon, 27-28. See a similar story about Gyges king of Lydia (Valerius Maxim. vii. 1, 2).

³ Xenoph. Memorab. ii. 1. 21. Παροξύνει δὲ σφόδρ᾽ ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι τὸ περὶ Ἡρακλέους, ὅτι περὶ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδεδεικνύται, &c.

contemporary of Herodotus, delivered with so much popularity. It illustrates forcibly the religious and ethical ideas of antiquity; the deep sense of the jealousy of the gods, who would not endure pride in any one except themselves;¹ the impossibility, for any man, of realising to himself more than a very moderate share of happiness; the danger from reactionary Nemesis, if at any time he had overpassed such limit; and the necessity of calculations taking in the whole of life, as a basis for rational comparison of different individuals. And it embodies, as a practical consequence from these feelings, the often-repeated protest of moralists against vehement impulses and unrestrained aspirations. The more valuable this narrative appears, in its illustrative character, the less can we presume to treat it as a history.

It is much to be regretted that we have no information

State of Attica after the Solonian legislation. respecting events in Attica immediately after the Solonian laws and constitution, which were promulgated in 594 B.C., so as to understand better the practical effect of these changes.

What we next hear respecting Solon in Attica refers to a period immediately preceding the first usurpation of Peisistratus in 560 B.C., and after the return of Solon

Return of Solon to Athens. from his long absence. We are here again introduced to the same oligarchical dissensions as

are reported to have prevailed before the Solonian legislation: the *Pedieis*, or opulent proprietors of the plain round Athens, under *Lykurgus*; the *Parali* of the south of Attica, under *Megaklès*; and the *Diakrii* or mountaineers of the eastern cantons, the poorest of the three classes, under *Peisistratus*, are in a state of violent intestine dispute. The account of *Plutarch* represents *Solon* as returning to Athens during the height of this sedition. He was treated with respect by all parties, but his recommendations were no longer obeyed, and he was disqualified by age from acting with effect in public. He employed his best efforts to mitigate party animosities, and applied himself particularly to restrain the ambition of *Peisistratus*, whose ulterior projects he quickly detected.

The future greatness of *Peisistratus* is said to have

¹ Herodot. vii. 10. Φίλειται γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅταν ἴδῃ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἰσχυρίαν, καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐὰν φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλῃ ἢ ἐν ὅσῳ.

been first portended by a miracle which happened, even before his birth, to his father Hippokratês at the Olympic games. It was realised, partly by his bravery and conduct, which had been displayed in the capture of Nisæa from the Megarians¹—partly by his

¹ Herodot. i. 59. I record this allusion to Nisæa and the Megarian war, because I find it distinctly stated in Herodotus; and because it *may* possibly refer to some other *later* war between Athens and Megara than that which is mentioned in Plutarch's Life of Solon as having taken place before the Solonian legislation (that is, before 594 B.C.), and therefore nearly forty years before this movement of Peisistratus to acquire the despotism. Peisistratus must then have been so young that he could not with any propriety be said to have "captured Nisæa" (Νισαίων τὴν ἐπόλιν): moreover the public reputation, which was found useful to the ambition of Peisistratus in 560 B.C., must have rested upon something more recent than his bravery displayed about 597 B.C.—just as the celebrity which enabled Napoleon to play the game of successful ambition on the 18th Brumaire (Nov. 1799) was obtained by victories gained within the preceding five years, and could not have been represented by any historian as resting upon victories gained in the Seven Years' war, between 1756-1763.

At the same time my belief is, that the words of Herodotus respecting Peisistratus do really refer to the Megarian war mentioned in Plutarch's Life of Solon, and that Herodotus supposed that Megarian war to have been much more near to the despotism of Peisistratus than it really was. In the conception of Herodotus, and by what (after Niebuhr) I venture to

call a mistake in his chronology, the interval between (600-560 B.C. shrinks from forty years to little or nothing. Such mistake appears, not only on the present occasion, but also upon two others; first, in regard to the alleged dialogue between Solon and Cræsus, described and commented upon a few pages above; next, in regard to the poet Alkæus and his inglorious retreat before the Athenian troops at Sigeium and Achilleium, where he lost his shield, when the Mityleneans were defeated. The reality of this incident is indisputable, since it was mentioned by Alkæus himself in one of his songs; but Herodotus represents it to have occurred in an Athenian expedition directed by Peisistratus. Now the war in which Alkæus incurred this misfortune, and which was brought to a close by the mediation of Periander of Corinth, must have taken place earlier than 584 B.C., and probably took place before the legislation of Solon; long before the time when Peisistratus had the direction of Athenian affairs—though the latter may have carried on, and probably did carry on, another and a later war against the Mityleneans in those regions, which led to the introduction of his illegitimate son Hegesistratus as despot of Sigeium (Herod. v. 94, 95).

If we follow the representation given by Herodotus of these three different strings of events, we shall see that the same chronological mistake pervades all of them—he jumps over nearly ten olympiads,

popularity of speech and manners, his championship of the poor,¹ and his ostentatious disavowal of all selfish pretensions—partly by an artful mixture of stratagem and force. Solon, after having addressed fruitless remonstrances to Peisistratus himself, publicly denounced his designs in verses addressed to the people. The deception, whereby Peisistratus finally accomplished his design, is memorable in Grecian tradition.² He appeared one day in the agora

His memorable stratagem to procure a guard from the people.

of Athens in his chariot with a pair of mules: he had intentionally wounded both his person and the mules, and in this condition he threw himself upon the compassion and defence of the people, pretending that his political enemies had violently attacked him. He implored the people to grant him a guard, and at the moment when their sympathies were freshly aroused both in his favour and against his supposed assassins, Aristo proposed formally to the Ekklesia (the pro-bouleutic senate, being composed of friends of Peisistratus, had previously authorised the proposition)³ that a company of fifty club-men should be assigned as a permanent body-guard for the defence of Peisistratus. To this motion Solon opposed a strenuous resistance,⁴ but found himself overborne, and even treated as if he had lost his senses. The poor were earnest in favour of it, while the rich were afraid to express their dissent; and he could only comfort himself after the fatal vote had been passed, by exclaiming that he was wiser than the former and more determined than the latter. Such was one of the first known instances in which this memorable stratagem was played off against the liberty of a Grecian community.

The unbounded popular favour which had procured the passing of this grant was still farther manifested by

or forty years. Alkæus is the contemporary of Pittakus and Solon.

I have already remarked, in the previous chapter respecting the despots of Sikyôn (Ch. ix.), another instance of confused chronology in Herodotus respecting the events of this period—respecting Cræsus, Megaklès, Alkmæôn and Kleisthenès of Sikyôn.

¹ Aristot. Politic. v. 4, 5; Plutarch, Solon, 29.

² Plato, Republic, viii. p. 565. τὸ τυραννικὸν αἶτημα τὸ πολυθροῦλῆ-
τόν . . . αἰτεῖν τὸν δῆμον φύλακὰς
τινας τοῦ σώματος, ἵνα σῶς αὐτοῖς
ᾖ ὁ τοῦ δῆμου βροτός.

³ Diog. Laërt. i. 49. ἡ βουλή,
Πεισιπρατίζειν οὐτες, &c.

⁴ Plutarch, Solon, 29, 30; Diog. Laërt. i. 50, 51.

the absence of all precautions to prevent the limits of the grant from being exceeded. The number of the body-guard was not long confined to fifty, and probably their clubs were soon exchanged for sharper weapons. Peisistratus thus found himself strong enough to throw off the mask and seize the Akropolis. His leading opponents, Megaklês and the Alkmæônids, immediately fled the city, and it was left to the venerable age and undaunted patriotism of Solon to stand forward almost alone in a vain attempt to resist the usurpation. He publicly presented himself in the market-place, employing encouragement, remonstrance and reproach, in order to rouse the spirit of the people. To prevent this despotism from coming (he told them) would have been easy; to shake it off now was more difficult, yet at the same time more glorious.¹ But he spoke in vain, for all who were not actually favourable to Peisistratus listened only to their fears, and remained passive; nor did any one join Solon, when, as a last appeal, he put on his armour and planted himself in military posture before the door of his house. "I have done my duty (he exclaimed at length); I have sustained to the best of my power my country and the laws:" and he then renounced all farther hope of opposition—though resisting the instances of his friends that he should flee, and returning for answer, when they asked him on what he relied for protection, "On my old age." Nor did he even think it necessary to repress the inspirations of his Muse. Some verses yet remain, composed seemingly at a moment when the strong hand of the new despot had begun to make itself sorely felt, in which he tells his countrymen—"If ye have endured sorrow from your own baseness of soul, impute not the fault of this to the gods. Ye have yourselves put force and dominion into the hands of these men, and have thus drawn upon yourselves wretched slavery."

Peisistratus seizes the Akropolis—
courageous
resistance
of Solon.

It is gratifying to learn that Peisistratus, whose conduct throughout his despotism was comparatively mild, left Solon untouched. How long this distinguished man survived the practical subversion of his own constitution, we cannot certainly determine: but according to the most probable statement

Death of
Solon—his
character.

¹ Plutarch, Solon, 30; Diogen. Laërt. i. 49; Diodor. Excerpta, lib. vii.-x., ed. Maii. Fr. xix.-xxiv.

he died during the very next year, at the advanced age of eighty.

We have only to regret that we are deprived of the means of following more in detail his noble and exemplary character. He represents the best tendencies of his age, combined with much that is personally excellent; the improved ethical sensibility; the thirst for enlarged knowledge and observation, not less potent in old age than in youth; the conception of regularised popular institutions, departing sensibly from the type and spirit of the governments around him, and calculated to found a new character in the Athenian people; a genuine and reflecting sympathy with the mass of the poor, anxious not merely to rescue them from the oppressions of the rich, but also to create in them habits of self-relying industry; lastly, during his temporary possession of a power altogether arbitrary, not merely an absence of all selfish ambition, but a rare discretion in seizing the mean between conflicting exigencies. In reading his poems we must always recollect that what now appears common-place was once new, so that to his comparatively unlettered age, the social pictures which he draws were still fresh, and his exhortations calculated to live in the memory. The poems composed on moral subjects generally inculcate a spirit of gentleness towards others and moderation in personal objects. They represent the gods as irresistible, retributive, favouring the good and punishing the bad, though sometimes very tardily. But his compositions on special and present occasions are usually conceived in a more vigorous spirit; denouncing the oppressions of the rich at one time, and the timid submission to Peisistratus at another—and expressing in emphatic language his own proud consciousness of having stood forward as champion of the mass of the people. Of his early poems hardly anything is preserved. The few lines remaining seem to manifest a jovial temperament which we may well conceive to have been overlaid by such political difficulties as he had to encounter—difficulties arising successively out of the Megarian war, the Kylonian sacrilege, the public despondency healed by Epimenidês, and the task of arbiter between a rapacious oligarchy and a suffering people. In one of his elegies addressed to Mimnermus, he marked out the sixtieth year as the longest desirable period of life, in preference to the eightieth year,

which that poet had expressed a wish to attain.¹ But his own life, as far as we can judge, seems to have reached the longer of the two periods; and not the least honourable part of it (the resistance to Peisistratus) occurs immediately before his death.

There prevailed a story, that his ashes were collected and scattered around the island of Salamis, which Plutarch treats as absurd—though he tells us at the same time that it was believed both by Aristotle and by many other considerable men. It is at least as ancient as the poet Kratinus, who alluded to it in one of his comedies, and I do not feel inclined to reject it.² The inscription on the statue of Solon at Athens described him as a Salaminian: he had been the great means of acquiring the island for his country: and it seems highly probable that among the new Athenian citizens, who went to settle there, he may have received a lot of land and become enrolled among the Salaminian demots. The dispersion of his ashes connecting him with the island as its *Ekist*, may be construed, if not as the expression of a public vote, at least as a piece of affectionate vanity on the part of his surviving friends.³

We have now reached the period of the usurpation of Peisistratus (B.C. 560), whose dynasty governed Athens (with two temporary interruptions during the life of Peisistratus himself) for fifty years. The history of this despotism, milder than Grecian despotism generally, and productive of important consequences to Athens, will be reserved for a succeeding chapter.

¹ Solon, Fragment 22, ed. Bergk. Isokratês affirms that Solon was the first person to whom the appellation *Sophist* (in later times carrying with it so much obloquy) was applied (Isokratês, Or. xv. De Permutatione, p. 344; p. 496 Bek.).

² Plutarch, Solon, 32; Kratinus ap. Diogen. Laërt. i. 62.

³ Aristidês, in noticing this story of the spreading of the ashes of Solon in Salamis, treats him as *Ἀρχηγέτης* of the island (Orat. xlv.).

Ἰνσὶς τῶν τεττάρων, p. 172; p. 230 Dindorf). The inscription on his statue, which describes him as born in Salamis, can hardly have been literally true; for when he was born, Salamis was not incorporated in Attica. But it may have been true by a sort of adoption (see Diogen. Laërt. i. 62). The statue seems to have been erected by the Salaminians themselves, a long time after Solon: see Menage ad Diogen. Laërt. l. c.

APPENDIX.

The explanation which M. von Savigny gives of the *Nexi* and *Addicti* under the old Roman law of debtor and creditor (after he has refuted the elucidation of Niebuhr on the same subject), while it throws great light on the historical changes in Roman legislation on that important matter, sets forth at the same time the marked difference made in the procedure of Rome, between the demand of the creditor for repayment of *principal*, and the demand for payment of *interest*.

The primitive Roman law distinguished a debt arising from money lent (*pecunia certa credita*) from debts arising out of contract, delict, sale, &c., or any other source: the creditor on the former ground had a quick and easy process, by which he acquired the fullest power over the person and property of his debtor. After the debt on loan was either confessed or proved before the magistrate, thirty days were allowed to the debtor for payment: if payment was not made within that time, the creditor laid hold of him (*manūs injectio*) and carried him before the magistrate again. The debtor was now again required either to pay or to find a surety (*vindez*); if neither of these demands were complied with, the creditor took possession of him and carried him home, where he kept him in chains for two months; during which interval he brought him before the prætor publicly on three successive nundinæ. If the debt was not paid within these two months, the sentence of addiction was pronounced, and the creditor became empowered either to put his debtor to death, or to sell him for a slave (p. 81), or to keep him at forced work, without any restriction as to the degree of ill-usage which might be inflicted upon him. The judgement of the magistrate authorised him, besides, to seize the property of his debtor wherever he could find any, within the limits sufficient for payment: this was one of the points which Niebuhr had denied.

Such was the old law of Rome, with respect to the consequences of an action for money had and received, for more than a century after the Twelve Tables. But the law did not apply this stringent personal execution to any debt except that arising from loan—and even in that debt only to the principal money, not to the interest—which latter had to be claimed by a process both more gentle and less efficient, applying to the property only and not to the person of the debtor. Accordingly it was to the advantage of the creditor to devise some means for bringing his claim of interest under the same stringent process as his claim for the principal: it was also to his advantage, if his claim arose, not out of money lent, but out of sale, compensation for injury, or any other source, to give to it the *form* of an action for money lent. Now the *Nexum*, or *Nexi obligatio*, was an artifice—a fictitious loan—whereby this purpose was accomplished. The severe process which legally belonged only to the recovery of the principal money, was extended by the *Nexum* so as to comprehend the interest; and so as to comprehend also claims for money arising from all other sources (as well as from loan), wherein the law gave no direct recourse except against the property of a debtor. The Debtor *Nexus* was made liable by this legal artifice to pass into the condition of an *Addictus*, either without having borrowed money at all, or for the interest as well as for the principal of that which he had borrowed.

The Lex Pœtelia, passed about B.C. 325, liberated all the Nexi then under liability, and interdicted the Nexi obligatio for ever afterwards (Cicero, De Republ. ii. 34; Livy, viii. 28). Here, as in the Seisachtheia of Solon, the existing contracts were cancelled, at the same time that the whole class of similar contracts were forbidden for the future.

But though the Nexi obligatio was thus abolished, the old stringent remedy still continued against the debtor on loan, as far as the principal sum borrowed, apart from interest. Some mitigations were introduced: by Lex Julia, the still more important provision was added, that the debtor by means of a Cessio Bonorum might save his person from seizure. But this Cessio Bonorum was coupled with conditions which could not always be fulfilled, nor was the debtor admitted to the benefit of it, if he had been guilty of carelessness or dishonesty. Accordingly the old stringent process, and the addition in which it ended, though it became less frequent, still continued throughout the course of Imperial Rome, and even down to the time of Justinian. The private prison, with adjudicated debtors working in it, was still the appendage to a Roman moneylender's house, even in the third and fourth centuries after the Christian æra, though the practice seems to have become rarer and rarer. The status of the *Addictus Debitor*, with its peculiar rights and obligations, is discussed by Quintilian (vii. 3); and Aulus Gellius (A.D. 160) observes—“*Addici namque nunc et vinciri multos videmus, quia vinculorum pœnam deterimi homines contemnunt.*” (xx. 1.)

If the *Addictus Debitor* was adjudged to several creditors, they were allowed by the Twelve Tables to divide his body among them. No example was known of this power having been ever carried into effect, but the law was understood to give the power distinctly.

It is useful to have before us the old Roman law of debtor and creditor, partly as a point of comparison with the ante-Solonian practice in Attica, partly to illustrate the difference drawn in an early state of society between the claim for the principal and the claim for the interest.

See the Abhandlung of Von Savigny in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1833, p. 70—103; the subject is also treated by the same admirable expositor in his *System des heutigen Römischen Rechts*, vol. v. sect. 19, and in Beilage xi. 10, 11 of that volume.

The same peculiar stringent process, which was available in the case of an action for *pecunia certa credita*, was also specially extended to the surety, who had paid down money to liquidate another man's debt: the debtor, if insolvent, became his *Addictus*—this was the *Actio Depensi*. I have already remarked in a former note, that in the Attic law, a case analogous to this was the only one in which the original remedy against the person of the debtor was always maintained. When a man had paid money to redeem a citizen from captivity, the latter, if he did not repay it, became the slave of the party who had advanced the money.

Walter (*Geschichte des Römischen Rechts*, sect. 583—715, 2nd ed.) calls in question the above explanation of Von Savigny, on grounds which do not appear to me sufficient.

How long the feeling continued, that it was immoral and irreligious to receive any interest at all for money lent, may be seen from the follow-

ing notice respecting the state of the law in France even down to 1789:—

“Avant la Révolution Française (de 1789) le prêt à intérêt n'était pas également admis dans les diverses parties du royaume. Dans les pays de droit écrit, il était permis de stipuler l'intérêt des deniers prêtés: mais la jurisprudence des parlements résistait souvent à cet usage. Suivant le droit commun des pays coutumiers, on ne pouvait stipuler aucun intérêt pour le prêt appelé en droit *mutuum*. On tenait pour maxime que l'argent ne produisant rien par lui-même, un tel prêt devait être gratuit: que la perception d'intérêts était une usure: à cet égard, on admettait assez généralement les principes du droit canonique. Du reste, la législation et la jurisprudence variaient suivant les localités et suivant la nature des contrats et des obligations.” (Carette, Lois Annotées, ou Lois, Décrets, Ordonnances, Paris 1843; Note sur le Décret de l'Assemblée Nationale concernant le Prêt et Intérêt, Août 11, 1789.)

The National Assembly declared the legality of all loans on interest, “suivant le taux déterminé par la loi,” but did not then fix any special rate. “Le décret du 11 Avril 1793 défendit la vente et l'achat du numéraire.” “La loi du 6 floréal, an III, déclara que l'or et l'argent sont marchandises; mais elle fut rapportée par le décret du 2 prairial suivant. Les articles 1905 et 1907 du Code Civil permettent le prêt à intérêt, mais au taux fixé ou autorisé par la loi. La loi du 3 Sept. 1807 a fixé le taux d'intérêt à 5 per cent. en matière civile et à 6 per cent. en matière commerciale.”

The article on Lending-houses, in Beckmann's History of Inventions (vol. iii. pp. 9—50), is highly interesting and instructive on the same subject. It traces the gradual calling in question, mitigation, and disappearance, of the ancient antipathy against taking interest for money; an antipathy long sanctioned by the ecclesiastics as well as by the jurists. Lending-houses, or Monts de Piété, were first commenced in Italy about the middle of the fifteenth century, by some Franciscan monks, for the purpose of rescuing poor borrowers from the exorbitant exactions of the Jews: Pope Pius II. (Æneas Silvius, one of the ablest of the Popes, about 1458—1464) was the first who approved of one of them at Perugia, but even the papal sanction was long combated by a large proportion of ecclesiastics. At first it was to be purely charitable; not only neither giving interest to those who contributed money, nor taking interest from the borrowers—but not even providing fixed pay to the administrators: interest was tacitly taken, but the popes were a long time before they would formally approve of such a practice. “At Vicenza, in order to avoid the reproach of usury, the artifice was employed of not demanding any interest, but admonishing the borrowers that they should give a remuneration according to their piety and ability.” (p. 31.) The Dominicans, partisans of the old doctrine, called these establishments *Montes Impietatis*. A Franciscan monk, Bernardinus, one of the most active promoters of the Monts de Piété, did not venture to defend, but only to excuse as an unavoidable evil, the payment of wages to the clerks and administrators: “Speciosius et religiosius fatebatur Bernardinus fore, si absque ullo penitus obolo et pretio mutuum daretur et commodaretur libere pecunia, sed pium opus et pauperum subsidium exiguo sic dura-

turum tempore. Non enim (inquit) tantus est ardor hominum, ut gubernatores et officiales, Montium ministerio necessarii, velint laborem hunc omnem gratis subire: quod si remunerandi sint ex sorte principali, vel ipso deposito, seu exili Montium arario, brevi exhaurietur, et commodum opportunumque istud pauperum refugium ubique peribit." (p. 33.)

The council of Trent, during the following century, pronounced in favour of the legality and usefulness of these lending-houses, and this has since been understood to be the sentiment of the Catholic church generally.

To trace this gradual change of moral feeling is highly instructive—the more so, as that general basis of sentiment, of which the antipathy against lending money on interest is only a particular case, still prevails largely in society and directs the current of moral approbation and disapprobation. In some nations, as among the ancient Persians before Cyrus, this sentiment has been carried so far as to repudiate and despise all buying and selling. (Herodot. i. 153.) With many, the principle of reciprocity in human dealings appears, when conceived in theory, odious and contemptible, and goes by some bad name, such as egoism, selfishness, calculation, political economy, &c.: the only sentiment which they will admit in theory, is, that the man who has, ought to be ready at all times to give away to him who has not; while the latter is encouraged to expect and require such gratuitous donation.

CHAPTER XII.

EUBŒA.—CYCLADES.

Among the Ionic portion of Hellas are to be reckoned (besides Athens) Eubœa, and the numerous group of islands included between the southernmost Eubœan promontory, the eastern coast of Peloponnesus and the north-western coast of Krête. Of these islands some are to be considered as outlying prolongations, in a south-easterly direction, of the mountain-system of Attica; others, of that of Eubœa; while a certain number of them lie apart from either system, and seem referable to a volcanic origin.¹ To the first class belong Keôs, Kythnus, Serîphus, Pholegandrus, Sikinus, Gyarus, Syra, Paros, and Antiparos; to the second class, Andros, Tênos, Mykonos, Dêlos, Naxos, Amorgos; to the third class, Kimôlus, Mêlos, Thêra. These islands passed amongst the ancients by the general names of Cyclades and Sporades; the former denomination being commonly understood to comprise those which immediately surrounded the sacred island of Dêlos,—the latter being given to those which lay more scattered and apart. But the names are not applied with uniformity or steadiness even in ancient times: at present, the whole group are usually known by the title of Cyclades.

The population of these islands was called Ionic—with the exception of Styra and Karystus in the southern part of Eubœa, and the island of Kythnus, which were peopled by Dryopes,² the same tribe as those who have been already remarked in the Argolic peninsula; and with the exception also of Mêlos and Thêra, which were colonies from Sparta.

The island of Eubœa, long and narrow like Krête, and exhibiting a continuous backbone of lofty mountains from northwest to south-east, is separated from Bœotia at one point by a strait so narrow

¹ See Fiedler, *Reisen durch Griechenland*, vol. ii. p. 87.

² Herodot. viii. 46; Thucyd. vii. 57.

(celebrated in antiquity under the name of the Eurīpus), that the two were connected by a bridge for a large portion of the historical period of Greece, erected during the later times of the Peloponnesian war by the inhabitants of Chalkis.¹ Its general want of breadth leaves little room for plains. The area of the island consists principally of mountain, rock, dell, and ravine, suited in many parts for pasture, but rarely convenient for grain-culture or town habitations. Some plains there were, however, of great fertility, especially that of Lelantum,² bordering on the sea near Chalkis, and continuing from that city in a southerly direction towards Eretria. Chalkis and Eretria, both situated on the western coast, and both occupying parts of this fertile plain, were the two principal places in the island: the domain of each seems to have extended across the island from sea to sea.³ Towards the northern end of the island were situated Histiaæ, afterwards called Oreus—as well as Kêrinthus and Dium: Athênæ Diades, Ædêpus, Ægæ, and Orobiaæ, are also mentioned on the north-western coast over against Lokris. Dystus, Styra, and Karystus are made known to us in the portion of the island south of Eretria—the two latter opposite to the Attic demes Ilalæ Araphênides and Prasîæ.⁴ The wide extent of the island of Eubœa was thus distributed between six or seven cities, the larger and central portion belonging to Chalkis and Eretria. But the extensive mountain lands, applicable only for pastures in the summer—for the most part public lands, let out for pasture to such proprietors as had the means of providing winter sustenance elsewhere for their cattle,—were never visited by any one except the shepherds. They were hardly better known to the citizens resident in

Its six or
seven
towns—
Chalkis,
Eretria, &c

¹ Diodor. xiii. 47.

² Kallimachus, Hymn. ad Delum, 289, with Spanheim's note; Theognis, v. 888; Theophrast. Hist. Plant. 8, 5.

See Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, vol. ii. ch. 14. p. 254, *seq.* The passage of Theognis leads to the belief that Kêrinthus formed part of the territory of Chalkis.

³ Strabon (c. 59) treats the island

of Skyrus as opposite to Eretria, the territory of which must therefore have included a portion of the eastern coast of Eubœa, as well as the western. He recognises only four cities in the island—Karystus, Eretria, Chalkis, and Hestiaæ.

⁴ Mannert, Geograph. der Gr. u. Röm. part. viii. book. i. c. 16. p. 248; Strabo, x. p. 415-419.

Chalkis and Eretria than if they had been situated on the other side of the *Ægean*.¹

The towns above enumerated in Eubœa, excepting Athenæ Diades, all find a place in the *Iliad*. Of their history we know no particulars until considerably after 776 B. C. They are first introduced to us as Ionic, though in Homer the population are called Abantes. The Greek authors are never at a loss to give us the etymology of a name. While Aristotle tells us that the Abantes were Thracians who had passed over into the island from Abæ in Phokis, Hesiod deduces the name of Eubœa from the cow *Iô*.² Hellopia, a district near Histiaæ, was said to have been founded by Hellops son of Ion: according to others, *Æklus* and *Kothus*, two Athenians,³ were the founders, the former of Eretria, the latter of Chalkis and Kêrinthus: and we are told, that among the demes of Attica, there were two named Histiaæ and Eretria, from whence some contended that the appellations of the two Eubœan towns were derived. Though Herodotus represents the population of Styra as Dryopian, there were others who contended that the town had originally been peopled from Marathon and the Tetrapolis of Attica, partly from the deme called Steireis. The principal writers whom

¹ The seventh Oration of Dio Chrysostom, which describes his shipwreck near Cape Kaphareus, on the island of Eubœa, and the shelter and kindness which he experienced from a poor mountain huntsman, presents one of the most interesting pictures remaining, of this purely rustic portion of the Greek population (*Or. vii. p. 221 seq.*)—men who never entered the city, and were strangers to the habits, manners, and dress there prevailing—men who drank milk and were clothed in skins (*γαλακτοπότας ἀνὴρ, οὐραιβάτας*, Eurip. *Elektr.* 169), yet nevertheless (as it seems) possessing right of citizenship (*p. 238*) which they never exercised. The industry of the poor men visited by Dion had brought into cultivation a little garden and field in a desert spot near Kaphareus.

Two-thirds of the territory of this Euboic city consisted of barren mountain (*p. 232*); it must probably have been *Karystus*.

The high lands of Eubœa were both uninhabited and difficult of approach, even at the time of the battle of Marathon, when Chalkis and Eretria had not greatly declined from the maximum of their power: the inhabitants of Eretria looked to τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίας as a refuge against the Persian force under Datis (*Herod. vii. 100*).

² Strabo, *x. p. 445*.

³ Plutarch, *Quest. Græc. p. 296*: Strab. *x. p. 446* (whose statements are very perplexed): Velleius Patercul. *i. 4*.

According to Skymnus the Chian (*v. 572*), Chalkis was founded by Pandôrus son of Erechtheus, and Kêrinthus by Kothôn, from Athens.

Strabo consulted seem to trace the population of Eubœa, by one means or another, to an Attic origin; though there were peculiarities in the Eretrian dialect which gave rise to the supposition that they had been joined by settlers from Elis, or from the Triphylian Makistus.

Our earliest historical intimations represent Chalkis and Eretria as the wealthiest, most powerful, and most enterprising Ionic cities in European Greece—apparently surpassing Athens, and not inferior to Samos or Miletus. Besides the fertility of the plain Lelantum, Chalkis possessed the advantage of copper and iron ore—obtained in immediate proximity both to the city and to the sea—which her citizens smelted and converted into arms and other implements, with a very profitable result. The Chalkidic sword acquired a distinctive renown.¹ In this mineral source of wealth several of the other islands shared: iron ore is found in Keôs, Kythnus, and Seriphus, and traces are still evident in the latter island of extensive smelting formerly practised.² Moreover in Siphnus, there were in early times veins of silver and gold, by which the inhabitants were greatly enriched; though their large acquisitions, attested by the magnitude of the tithe³ which they offered at the Delphian temple, were only of temporary duration, and belong principally to the seventh and sixth centuries before the Christian æra. The island of Naxos too was at an early day wealthy and populous. Andros, Ténos, Keôs, and several other islands, were at one time reduced to dependence upon Eretria:⁴ other islands seem to have been in like manner dependent upon Naxos, which at the time immediately preceding the Ionic

Early
power of
Chalkis,
Eretria,
Naxos, &c.

¹ Strabo, x. p. 446.—Πόλις δὲ Χαλκιδεὺς σ-ἀλμα (Alkæus, Fragm. 7, Schneidewin)—Χαλκιδεὺς ποτήριον (Aristophan. Equit. 237)—certainly belongs to the Euboic Chalkis, not to the Thracian Chalkidikê. Boeckh, Staatshaushalt der Athener, vol. ii. p. 284. App. xi., cites Χαλκιδεὺς ποτήριον in an inscription: compare Steph. Byz. Χαλκίς. -- Νουσιχαιτῆς Εὐβοίης, Homer, Hymn. Apoll. 219.

² See the mineralogical account of the islands in Fiedler (Reisen, vol. ii. pp. 88, 118, 562).

The copper and iron ore near Chalkis had ceased to be worked even in the time of Strabo: Fiedler indicates the probable site (vol. i. p. 443).

³ Herodot. iii. 57. Siphnus, however, was still of considerable wealth and importance about 380 B.C.,—see Isokrates, Or. xix. (Egin.) s. 9–47. The Siphnians, in an evil hour, committed the wrong of withholding their tithe: the sea soon rushed in and rendered the mines ever afterwards unworkable (Pausan. x. 11, 2).

⁴ Strabo, x. p. 413.

revolt possessed a considerable maritime force, and could muster 8000 heavy-armed citizens¹—a very large force for any single Grecian city. The military force of Eretria was not much inferior; for in the temple of the Amarynthian Artemis, nearly a mile from the city, to which the Eretrians were in the habit of marching in solemn procession to celebrate the festival of the goddess, there stood an ancient column setting forth that the procession had been performed by no less than 3000 hoplites, 600 horsemen, and 60 chariots.² The date of this inscription cannot be known, but it can hardly be earlier than the 45th Olympiad or 600 B. C.—near about the time of the Solonian legislation. Chalkis was still more powerful than Eretria: both were in early times governed by an oligarchy, which among the Chalkidians was called the Hippobotæ or Horsefeeders—proprieters probably of most part of the plain called Lelantum, and employing the adjoining mountains as summer pasture for their herds. The extent of their property is attested by the large number of 4000 Kleruchs or out-freemen, whom Athens quartered upon their lands, after the victory gained over them when they assisted the expelled Hippias in his efforts to regain the Athenian sceptre.³

Confining our attention, as we now do, to the first two centuries of Grecian history, or the interval between 776 B. C. and 560 B. C., there are scarce any facts which we can produce to ascertain the condition of these Ionic islands. Two or three circumstances however may be named which go to confirm our idea of their early wealth and importance.

1. The Homeric Hymn to Apollo presents to us the island of Dêlos as the centre of a great periodical festival in honour of Apollo, celebrated by all the cities, insular and continental, of the Ionic name. What the date of this hymn is, we have no means of determining. Thucydides quotes

Early Ionic
festival at
Dêlos;
crowded
and
wealthy.

¹ Herodot. v. 31. Compare the accounts of these various islands in the recent voyages of Professor Ross, *Reisen auf den Griechischen Inseln*, vol. i. letter 2; vol. ii. letter 15.

The population of Naxos is now about 11,000 souls; that of Andros 15,000 (Ross, vol. i. p. 28; vol. ii. p. 22).

But the extent and fertility of the Naxian plain perfectly suffice for that aggregate population of 100,000 souls, which seems implied in the account of Herodotus.

² Strabo, l. c.

³ Herodot. v. 77; Aristoteles, *Fragment περί Πολιτικῶν*, ed. Neumann, p. 111—112: compare Aristot. Polit. iv. 3, 2.

it without hesitation as the production of Homer, and doubtless it was in his time universally accepted as such—though modern critics concur in regarding both that and the other hymns as much later than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Yet it cannot probably be later than 600 B. C. The description of the Ionic visitors presented to us in this hymn is splendid and imposing. The number of their ships, the display of their finery, the beauty of their women, the athletic exhibitions as well as the matches of song and dance—all these are represented as making an ineffaceable impression on the spectator:¹ “the assembled Ionians look as if they were beyond the reach of old age or death.” Such was the magnificence of which Dêlos was the periodical theatre, calling forth the voices and poetical genius not merely of itinerant bards, but also of the Delian maidens in the temple of Apollo, during the century preceding 560 B. C. At that time it was the great central festival of the Ionians in Asia and Europe; frequented by the twelve Ionic cities in and near Asia Minor, as well as by Athens and Chalkis in Europe. It had not yet been superseded by the Ephesia as the exclusive festival of these Asiatics; nor had the Panathenæa of Athens reached the importance which afterwards came to belong to them during the plenitude of the Athenian power.

We find both Polykratês of Samos, and Peisistratus of Athens, taking a warm interest in the sanctity of Dêlos and the celebrity of her festival.² But it was partly the rise of these two great Ionian despots, partly the conquests of the Persians in Asia Minor, which broke up the independence of the numerous petty Ionian cities, during the last half of the sixth century before the Christian æra; hence the great festival at Dêlos gradually declined in importance. Though never wholly intermitted, it was shorn of much of its previous ornament, and especially of that which constituted the first of all ornaments—the crowd of joyous visitors. And Thueydîdês, when he notices the attempt made by the

Its decline
about
560 B. C.
— causes
thereof.

¹ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. Del. 146—
176: Thueyd. iii. 104:

Φαίη· κ' ἄλυσάτους καὶ ἀγέρως
ἔρμενοι σιταί,

ὅς ποτ' ἐπαντιάσαι· ὅτ' Ἴάονες
ἄνθρωποι εἴεν·

Ἰάονων γὰρ κεν ἴδοντο χάριν,
τέρψαντο δὲ θυμῷ,
Ἄνδρας τ' εἰσεργῶν, καλλιζώνους τε
γυναικας.

Νῆας τ' ὠκείας, ἡδ' αὐτῶν χρηματὰ
πολλὰ.

² Thueyd. iii. 104.

Athenians during the Peloponnesian war, in the height of their naval supremacy, to revive the Delian festival, quotes the Homeric Hymn to Apollo as a certificate of its foregone and long-forgotten splendour. We perceive that even *he* could find no better evidence than this hymn, for Grecian transactions of a century anterior to Peisistratus—and we may therefore judge how imperfectly the history of this period was known to the men who took part in the Peloponnesian war. The hymn is exceedingly precious as

Homeric
hymn to
the Delian
Apollo—
evidence
as to
early Ionic
life.

an historical document, because it attests to us a transitory glory and extensive association of the Ionic Greeks on both sides of the Ægean Sea, which the conquests of the Lydians first, and of the Persians afterwards, overthrew—a time when the hair of the wealthy Athenian was decorated with golden ornaments, and his tunic made of linen,¹

like that of the Milesians and Ephesians, instead of the more sober costume and woollen clothing which he subsequently copied from Sparta and Peloponnesus—a time too when the Ionic name had not yet contracted that stain of effeminacy and cowardice which stood imprinted upon it in the time of Herodotus and Thucydides, and which grew partly out of the subjugation of the Asiatic Ionians by Persia, partly out of the antipathy of the Peloponnesian Dorians to Athens. The author of the Homeric hymn, in describing the proud Ionians who thronged in his day to the Delian festival, could hardly have anticipated a time to come when the name *Ionian* would become a reproach, such as the European Greeks, to whom it really belonged were desirous of disclaiming.²

2. Another illustrative fact in reference both to the

War be-
tween
Chalkis and
Eretria in
early times
—extensive
alliances
of each.

Ionians generally, and to Chalkis and Eretria in particular, during the century anterior to Peisistratus,—is to be found in the war between these two cities respecting the fertile plain Lelantum which lay between them. In general, it appears, these two important towns maintained harmonious relations. But there were some occasions of dispute, and

¹ Thucyd. i. 6. διὰ τὸ ἀβροδαῖον, &c.

² Herodot. i. 143. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβουλόμην τὸ ὄνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες καλεῖσθαι—an assertion unques-

tionable with reference to the times immediately preceding Herodotus, but not equally admissible in regard to the earlier times. Compare Thucyd. i. 124 (with the Scholium), and also v. 9; viii. 25.

one in particular, wherein a formidable war ensued between them, several allies joining with each. It is remarkable that this was the only war known to Thucydidês, (anterior to the Persian conquest,) which had risen above the dignity of a mere quarrel between neighbours; and in which so many different states manifested a disposition to interfere, as to impart to it a semi-Hellenic character.¹ Respecting the allies of each party on this occasion we know only, that the Milesians lent assistance to Eretria, and the Samians, as well as the Thessalians and the Chalkidic colonies in Thrace, to Chalkis. A column, still visible during the time of Strabo in the temple of the Amarynthian Artemis near Eretria, recorded the covenant entered into mutually by the two belligerents, to abstain from missiles, and to employ nothing but hand-weapons. The Eretrians are said to have been superior in horse, but they were vanquished in the battle: the tomb of Kleomachus of Pharsalus, a distinguished warrior who had perished in the cause of the Chalkidians, was erected in the agora of Chalkis. We know nothing of the date, the duration, or the particulars of this war;² but it seems that the Eretrians were worsted, though their city always maintained its dignity as the second state in the island. Chalkis was decidedly the first, and continued to be flourishing, populous and commercial, long after it had lost its political importance, throughout all the period of Grecian independent history.³

3. Of the importance of Chalkis and Eretria, during

¹ Thucyd. i. 15. The second Messenian war cannot have appeared to Thucydidês as having enlisted so many allies on each side as Pausanias represents.

² Strabo, viii. p. 448; Herodot. v. 99; Plutarch, Amator. p. 760—valuable by the reference to Aristotle.

Hesiod passed over from Askra to Chalkis, (on the occasion of the funeral games celebrated by the sons of Amphidamas in honour of their deceased father,) and gained a tripod as prize by his song or recital (Opp. Di. 656). According to the Scholia, Amphidamas was king of Chalkis.

who perished in the war against Eretria respecting Lelantum. But it appears that Plutarch threw out the lines as spurious, though he acknowledges Amphidamas as a vigorous champion of Chalkis in this war. See Septem Sapient. Conviv. c. 10. p. 155.

This visit of Hesiod to Chalkis was represented as the scene of his poetical competition with and victory over Homer (see the Certamen Hom. et Hes. p. 315, ed. Gœttl.).

³ See the striking description of Chalkis given by Dikaearchus in the Βίος Ἐκκλέος (Fragment. p. 146, ed. Fuhr).

the seventh and part of the eighth century before the Christian æra, we gather other evidences—partly in the numerous colonies founded by them (to which I shall advert in a subsequent chapter),—partly in the prevalence throughout a large portion of Greece, of the Euboic scale of weight and money. What the quantities and proportions of this scale were, has been first shown by M. Boeckh in his ‘Metrologie.’ It was of Eastern origin, and the gold collected by Darius in tribute throughout the vast Persian empire was ordered to be delivered in Euboic talents. Its divisions—the talent equal to 60 minæ, the mina equal to 100 drachms, the drachm equal to 6 obols—were the same as those of the scale called Æginæan, introduced by Pheidôn of Argos. But the six obols of the Euboic drachm contained a weight of silver equal only to five Æginæan obols, so that the Euboic denominations—drachm, mina, and talent—were equal only to five-sixths of the same denominations in the Æginæan scale. It was the Euboic scale which prevailed at Athens before the debasement introduced by Solon; which debasement (amounting to about 27 per cent., as has been mentioned in a previous chapter,) created a third scale called the Attic, distinct both from the Æginæan and Euboic—standing to the former in the ratio of 3: 5, and to the latter in the ratio of 15: 25. It seems plain that the Euboic scale was adopted by the Ionians through their intercourse with the Lydians¹ and other Asiatics, and that it became naturalised among their cities under the name of the Euboic, because Chalkis and Eretria were the most actively commercial states in the Ægean—just as the superior commerce of Ægina, among the Dorian states, had given to the scale introduced by Pheidôn of Argos the name of Æginæan. The fact of its being so called indicates a time when these two Eubœan cities surpassed Athens in maritime power and extended commercial relations, and when they stood among the foremost of the Ionic cities throughout Greece. The Euboic scale, after having been debased by Solon in reference to coinage and money, still continued in use at Athens for merchandise. The Attic mercantile mina retained its primitive Euboic weight.²

Commerce and colonies of Chalkis and Eretria—Euboic scale of money and weight.

Three different Grecian scales—Æginæan, Euboic, and Attic—their ratio to each other.

¹ Herodot. i. 94.

² See Boeckh's *Metrologie*, c. 8 and 9.

CHAPTER XIII.

ASIATIC IONIANS.

THERE existed at the commencement of historical Greece in 776 B.C., besides the Ionians in Attica and the Cyclades, twelve Ionian cities of note on or near the coast of Asia Minor, besides a few others less important. Enumerated from south to north, they stand—Milêtus, Myûs, Priênê, Samos, Ephesus, Kolophôn, Lebedus, Teôs, Erythræ, Chios, Klazomenæ, Phôkæa.

Twelve
Ionic cities
in Asia.

That these cities, the great ornament of the Ionic name, were founded by emigrants from European Greece, there is no reason to doubt. How or when they were founded, we have no history to tell us: the legend, which has already been set forth in a preceding chapter, gives us a great event called the Ionic migration, referred by chronologists to one special year, 140 years after the Trojan war. This massive grouping belongs to the character of legend. The Æolic and Ionic emigrations, as well as the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, are each invested with unity and imprinted upon the imagination as the results of a single great impulse. But such is not the character of the historical colonies: when we come to relate the Italian and Sicilian emigrations, it will appear that each colony has its own separate nativity and causes of existence. In the case of the Ionic emigration, this large scale of legendary conception is more than usually conspicuous, since to that event is ascribed the foundation or re-peopling both of the Cyclades and of the Asiatic Ionian cities.

Legendary
event called
the
Ionic
migration.

Euripidês treats Ion,¹ the son of Kreusa by Apollo, as the planter of these latter cities. But the more current form of the legend assigns that honour to the sons of Kodrus, two of whom are especially named, corresponding to the two greatest of the ten continental Ionic cities: Androklos as founder

Emigrants
to these
cities—
diverse
Greeks.

¹ Euripid. Ion, 1546. *κρίσις τῶν Ἀσιατικῶν Ἰωνίων.*

of Ephesus, Neileus of Milêtus. These two towns are both described as founded directly from Athens. The others seem rather to be separate settlements, neither consisting of Athenians, nor emanating from Athens, but adopting the characteristic Ionic festival of the Apaturia and (in part at least) the Ionic tribes—and receiving princes from the Kodrid families at Ephesus or Milêtus, as a condition of being admitted into the Pan-Ionic confederate festival. The poet Mimnermus ascribed the foundation of his native city Kolophôn to emigrants from Pylus in Peloponnesus, under Andræmôn: Teôs was settled by Minyæ of Orchomenus, under Athamas: Klazomenæ by settlers from Kleônæ and Phlius, Phôkæa by Phokians, Priênê in large portion by Kadmeians from Thebes. And with regard to the powerful islands of Chios and Samos, it does not appear that their native authors—the Chian poet Ion or the Samian poet Asiûs—ascribed to them a population emanating from Athens. Nor could Pausanias make out from the poems of Ion how it happened that Chios came to form a part of the Ionic federation.¹ Herodotus especially dwells upon the number of Grecian tribes and races who contributed to supply the population of the twelve Ionic cities—Minyæ from Orchomenus, Kadmeians, Dryopians, Phokians, Molossians, Arkadian Pelasgians, Dorians from Epidaurus, and “several other sections” of Greeks. Moreover he particularly singles out the Milesians, as claiming for themselves the truest Ionic blood, and as having started from the Prytaneium at Athens; thus plainly implying his belief that the majority at least of the remaining settlers did not take their departure from the same hearth.²

¹ Pausan. vii. 4, 6. Τσαυτὰ εἰρηχότα ἐς Χίους Ἴωνα εὗρισκω. οὐ μέντοι ἐκείνως γε εἴρηχε, καὶ ἤγνια αἰτίαν Χίοι τελοῦσιν ἐς Ἴωνας.

Respecting Samos, and its primitive Karian inhabitants, displaced by Patroklês and Tembrion at the head of Grecian emigrants, see Etymol. Mag. v. Ἀστυπάλαια.

² Herodot. i. 146. ἐπεὶ, ὥς γε ἔτι μάλλον οὗτοι (i. e. the inhabitants of the Pan-Ionic Dodekapolis) Ἴωνες εἰσι: τῶν ἄλλων Ἴωνων, ἧ

κάλλιον τι γεγονάσι, μωρὴ πολλὴ λέγειν τῶν Ἀβαντες ἐξ Εὐβοίης, εἰσιν οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἴωνίης μετὰ οὐδὲ τοῦ ὀνόματος οὐδὲν Μίνωαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι ἀναμερίχονται, καὶ Καδμείοι, καὶ Δρύοπες, καὶ Φωκῆες, ἀποδάσμιοι, καὶ Μολοσσοί, καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί, καὶ Δωριεῖς Ἐπιπυρριοί, ἄλλα τε ἔθνηα πολλὰ ἀναμερίχονται. Οἱ δὲ αὐτέων, ἀπὸ τοῦ Πρυτανείου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἀναρχέμετες, καὶ νομιζόμετες γενναυτάτοι εἶναι Ἴωνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναικας ἤγαγον

But the most striking information which Herodotus conveys to us is, the difference of language or dialect which marked these twelve cities. Milêtus, Myûs and Priênê, all situated on the soil of the Karians, had one dialect: Ephesus, Kolophôn, Lebedus, Teôs, Klazomenæ and Phôkæa, had a dialect common to all, but distinct from that of the three preceding: Chios and Erythræ exhibited a third dialect, and Samos by itself a fourth. The historian does not content himself with simply noting such quadruple variety of speech; he employs very strong terms to express the degree of dissimilarity.¹ The testimony of Herodotus as to these dialects is of course indisputable.

Great differences of dialect among the twelve cities.

Instead of one great Ionic emigration, then, the statements above-cited conduct us rather to the supposition of many separate and successive settlements, formed by Greeks of different sections, mingling with and modified by pre-existing Lydians and Karians, and subsequently allying themselves with Milêtus and Ephesus into the so-called Ionic Amphiktyony. As a condition of this union, they are induced to adopt among their chiefs, princes of the Kodrid gens or family; who are called sons of Kodrus, but who are not for that reason to be supposed necessarily contemporary with Androklos or Neileus.

Ionic cities really founded by different migrations.

The chiefs selected by some of the cities are said to have been Lykians,² of the heroic family of Glaukus and Bellerophon: there were other cities wherein the Kodrids and the Glaukids were chiefs conjointly. Respecting the

εις ἀποικίαν, ἀλλὰ Κασίρας ἔρχον, τῶν ἐργασάντων τοῖς γονέας. . . . Τὰ ὅσα δὲ ἤν γένοντο ἐν Μιλήτῳ.

The polemical tone, in which this remark of Herodotus is delivered, is explained by Dahlmann on the supposition that it was destined to confute certain boastful pretensions of the Milesian Hekataeus (see Bähr, *ad loc.*, and Klausen and Hekatei Frag. 225).

The test of *Ionism*, according to the statement of Herodotus, is, that a city should derive its origin from Athens, and that it should celebrate the solemnity of the

Apaturia (i. 147). But we must construe both these tests with indulgence. Ephesus and Kolophôn were Ionic, though neither of them celebrated the Apaturia. And the colony might be formed under the auspices of Athens, though the settlers were neither natives, nor even of kindred race with the natives, of Attica.

¹ Herod. i. 142. Ephesus, Kolophôn, Lebedus, Teôs, Klazomenæ, Phokæa—αὗται αἱ πόλεις τῇσι πρώτοις λαχούσιςσι ὁμοιογένεσι κατὰ γλώσσαν οὕδην, σφὶ δὲ ὁμογενέουσι.

² Herodot. i. 146.

dates of these separate settlements, we cannot give any account, for they lie beyond the commencement of authentic history. We see some ground for believing that most of them existed for some time previous to 776 B.C., but at what date the federative solemnity uniting the twelve cities was commenced, we do not know.

The account of Herodotus shows us that these colonies were composed of mixed sections of Greeks,—

Consequences of the mixture of inhabitants in these colonies—more activity—more instability.

an important circumstance in estimating their character. Such was usually the case more or less in respect to all emigrations. Hence the establishments thus planted contracted at once, generally speaking, both more activity and more instability than was seen among those Greeks who remained at home, among whom the old habitual routine had not been counterworked

by any marked change of place or of social relations. For in a new colony it became necessary to alter the classification of the citizens, to range them together in fresh military and civil divisions, and to adopt new characteristic sacrifices and religious ceremonies as bonds of union among all the citizens conjointly. At the first outset of a colony, moreover, there were inevitable difficulties to be surmounted which imposed upon its leading men the necessity of energy and forethought—more especially in regard to maritime affairs, on which not only their connexion with the countrymen whom they had left behind, but also their means of establishing advantageous relations with the population of the interior, depended. At the same time, the new arrangements indispensable among the colonists were far from working always harmoniously: dissension and partial secessions were not unfrequent occurrences. And

Mobility ascribed to the Ionic race as compared with the Doric—arises from this cause.

what has been called the mobility of the Ionic race, as compared with the Doric, is to be ascribed in a great measure to this mixture of races and external stimulus arising out of expatriation.

For there is no trace of it in Attica anterior to Solon; while on the other hand, the Doric colonies of Korkyra and Syracuse exhibit a population not less excitable than the Ionic towns generally,¹ and much more so than the Ionic colony of

¹ Thucyd. vi. 17, about the Sicilian Greeks—ὅχλους τε γὰρ συμμεικτοῖς πολυανδροῦσιν αἱ πόλεις, καὶ

ῥαδίαις ἔχουσι τῶν πολιτειῶν τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ ἐπιδοχάς.

Massalia. The remarkable commercial enterprise, which will be seen to characterise Milêtus, Samos and Phokæa, belongs but little to anything connected with the Ionic temperament.

All the Ionic towns, except Klazomenæ and Phokæa, are represented to have been founded on some pre-existing settlements of Karians, Lelegians, Kretans, Lydians, or Pelasgians.¹ In some cases these previous inhabitants were overcome, slain or expelled; in others they were accepted as fellow-residents, so that the Grecian cities, thus established, acquired a considerable tinge of Asiatic customs and feelings. What is related by Herodotus respecting the first establishment of Neileus and his emigrants at Milêtus is in this point of view remarkable. They took out with them no women from Athens (the historian says), but found wives in the Karian women of the place, whose husbands and fathers they overcame and put to death; and the women, thus violently seized, manifested their repugnance by taking a solemn oath among themselves that they would never eat with their new husbands, nor ever call them by their personal names. This same pledge they imposed upon their daughters; but how long the practice lasted we are not informed. We may suspect from the language of the historian that traces of it were visible even in his day, in the family customs of the Milesians. The population of this greatest of the Ionic towns must thus have been half of Karian breed. It is to be presumed that what is true of Neileus and his companions would be found true also respecting most of the maritime colonies of Greece, and that the vessels which took them out would be scantily provided with women. But on this point unfortunately we are left without information.

Ionic cities in Asia—mixed with indigenous inhabitants.

The worship of Apollo Didymæus, at Branchidæ near Milêtus—that of Artemis, near Ephesus—and that of the Apollo Klarius, near Kolophôn—seems to have existed among the native Asiatic population before the establishment of either of these three cities. To maintain such pre-existing local rights was not less congenial to the feelings than beneficial to the interests, of the Greeks. All the three establishments acquired

Worship of Apollo and Artemis—existed on the Asiatic coast prior to the Greek immigrants—adopted by them.

¹ See Raoul Rochette, *Histoire des Colonies Grecques*, b. iv. c. 10. p. 93.

increased celebrity under Ionic administration, contributing in their turn to the prosperity of the towns to which they were attached. Milêtus, Myûs, and Priênê were situated on or near the productive plain of the river Mæander; while Ephesus was in like manner planted near the mouth of the Kaïster, thus immediately communicating with the productive breadth of land separating Mount Tmôlus on the north from Mount Messôgis on the south, through which that river runs: Kolophôn is only a very few miles north of the same river. Possessing the best means of communication with the interior, these three towns seem to have thriven with greater rapidity than the rest; and they, together with the neighbouring island of Samos, constituted in early times the strength of the Pan-Ionic Amphiktyony. The situation of the sacred precinct

Pan-Ionic
festival and
Amphikty-
ony on the
promont-
ory of
Mykalê.

of Poseidôn (where this festival was celebrated), on the north side of the promontory of Mykalê, near Priênê, and between Ephesus and Milêtus, seems to show that these towns formed the primitive centre to which the other Ionian settle-

ments became gradually aggregated. For it was by no means a central site with reference to all the twelve; so that Thalês of Milêtus—who at a subsequent period recommended a more intimate political union between the twelve Ionic towns, and the establishment of a common government to manage their collective affairs—indicated Teôs,¹ and not Priênê, as the suitable place for it. Moreover it seems that the Pan-Ionic festival,² though still formally continued, had lost its importance before the time of Thucydidês, and had become practically superseded by the festival of the Ephesia, near Ephesus, where the cities of Ionia found a more attractive place of meeting.

¹ Herodot. i. 170.

² Both Diodorus (xv. 49) and Dionysius of Halikarnassus (A. R. iv. 25) speak as if the convocation or festival had been formally transferred to Ephesus, in consequence of the insecurity of the meetings near Mykalê; Strabo on the contrary speaks of the Pan-Ionia as if they were still in his time celebrated in the original spot (xiv. p. 636-637) under the

care of the Priênêans. The formal transfer is not probable: Thucydidês (iii. 104) proves that in his time the festival of Ephesia was practically the Pan-Ionic rendez-vous, though Herodotus does not seem to have conceived it as such. See Guhl, Ephesiaca, part iii. p. 117; and K. F. Hermann, Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer der Griechen, c. 66. p. 343.

An island close adjoining to the coast, or an outlying tongue of land connected with the continent by a narrow isthmus, and presenting some hill sufficient for an acropolis, seem to have been considered the most favourable situations for Grecian colonial settlement. To one or other of these descriptions most of the Ionic cities conform.¹ The city of Milêtus at the height of its power had four separate harbours, formed probably by the aid of the island of Ladê and one or two islets which lay close off against it. The Karian or Kretan establishment, which the Ionic colonists found on their arrival and conquered, was situated on an eminence overhanging the sea, and became afterwards known by the name of Old Milêtus, at a time when the new Ionic town had been extended down to the waterside and rendered maritime.² The territory of this important city seems to have comprehended both the southern promontory called Poseidium and the greater part of the northern promontory of Mykalê,³ reaching on both sides of the river Mæander. The inconsiderable town of Myus⁴ on the southern bank of the Mæander, an offset seemingly formed by the secession of some Milesian malcontents under a member of the Neleid gens named Kydrêlus, maintained for a long time its autonomy, but was at length absorbed into the larger unity of Milêtus; its swampy territory having been rendered uninhabitable by a plague of gnats. Priênê acquired an importance, greater than naturally belonged to it, by its immediate vicinity to the holy Pan-Ionic temple and its function of administering the sacred rites⁵—a dignity which it probably was only permitted to enjoy in consequence of the jealousies of its greater neighbours Milêtus, Ephesus, and Samos.⁶ The territories of these Grecian cities seem to have been interspersed with Karian villages, probably in the condition of subjects.

Situation
of Milêtus
—of the
other Ionic
cities.

Territories
inter-
sprersed with
Asiatic
villages.

It is rare to find a genuine Greek colony established

¹ The site of Milêtus is best indicated by Arrian, i. 19-20; see that of Phôkeæ, Erythræ, Myonêsus, Klazomenæ, Kolophôn, Teôs (Strabo, xiv. p. 644—645; Pausan. vii. 3, 2; Livy, xxxvii. 27—31; Thueyd. viii. 31).

² Strabo, xiv. p. 635.

³ Strabo, xiv. p. 633; Herod. ix. 97—99. Το Ποσειδίου πῶς Μιλήτιον. Strabo, xiv. p. 651.

⁴ Strabo, xiv. p. 636; Vitruvius, iv. 1; Ptolem. viii. 35.

⁵ Strabo, xiv. p. 636—638.

⁶ Thueyd. i. 115.

Magnësia
on the
Mæander
—Magnësia
on Mount
Sipylos.

at any distance from the sea; but the two Asiatic towns called Magnësia form exceptions to this position—one situated on the south side of the Mæander, or rather on the river Lethæus, which runs into the Mæander; the other more northerly, adjoining to the Æolic Greeks, on the northern declivity of Mount Sipylos, and near to the plain of the river Hermus. The settlement of both these towns dates before the period of history. The tale¹ which we read affirms them to be settlements from the Magnètes in Thessaly, formed by emigrants who had first passed into Krête, under the orders of the Delphian oracle, and next into Asia, where they are said to have extricated the Ionic and Æolic colonists, then recently arrived, from a position of danger and calamity. By the side of this story, which can neither be verified nor contradicted, it is proper to mention the opinion of Niebuhr, that both these towns of Magnësia are remnants of a primitive Pelasgic population, akin to, but not emigrants from, the Magnètes of Thessaly—Pelasgians whom he supposes to have occupied both the valley of the Hermus and that of the Kaïster, anterior to the Æolic and Ionic migrations. In support of this opinion, it may be stated that there were towns bearing the Pelasgic name of Larissa, both near the Hermus and near the Mæander; Menekratês of Elæa considered the Pelasgians as having once occupied most part of that coast; and O. Müller even conceives the Tyrrhæians to have been Pelasgians from Tyrrha, a town in the interior of Lydia south of Tmôlus. The point is one upon which we have not sufficient evidence to advance beyond conjecture.²

¹ Conon, Narrat. 29; Strabo, xiv. p. 636—647.

The story in Parthenius about Leukippus, leader τῶν δευαταυθέντων ἐκ Φέρης ὑπὸ Ἀδμήτου, who came to the Ephesian territory and acquired possession of the place called Kretinaon by the treachery of Leukophryê, daughter of Mandrolytos, whether truth or romance, is one of the notices of Thessalian migration into those parts (Parthen. Narrat. 6).

² Strabo, xiii. p. 621. See Niebuhr *Kleine Historische Schriften*, p.

371; O. Müller, *Etrusker*, Einleitung, ii. 5. p. 80. The evidence on which Müller's conjecture is built seems however unusually slender, and the identity of Tyrrhênos and Torrêbos, or the supposed confusion of the one with the other, is in no way made out. Pelasgians are spoken of in Trallês and Aphrodisias as well as in Ninoë (Steph. Byz. v. Νινὴ), but this name seems destined to present nothing but problems and delusions.

Of the Ionic towns, with which our real knowledge of Asia Minor begins, Milêtus¹ was the most powerful. Its celebrity was derived not merely from its own wealth and population, but also from the extraordinary number of its colonies, established principally in the Propontis and Euxine, and amounting, as we are told by some authors, to not less than 75 or 80. Respecting these colonies I shall speak presently, in treating of the general colonial expansion of Greece during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.: at present it is sufficient to notice, that the islands of Ikarus and Ierus,² not far from Samos and the Ionic coast generally, were among the places planted with Milesian settlers.

The colonization of Ephesus by Androklos appears to be connected with the Ionic occupation of Samos, so far as the confused statements which we find enable us to discern. Androklos is said to have lingered upon that island for a long time, until the oracle vouchsafed to indicate to him what particular spot to occupy on the continent. At length, the indication being given, he planted his colonists at the fountain of Hypelæon and on a portion of the hill of Korêssus, within a short distance of the temple and sanctuary of Artemis; whose immediate inhabitants he respected and received as brethren, while he drove away for the most part the surrounding Lelegians and Lydians. The population of the new town of Ephesus was divided into three tribes,—the pre-existing inhabitants,

Ephesus—
Androklos
the Ekist—
first settle-
ment
and distri-
bution.

Respecting Magnêsia on the Mæander, consult Aristot. ap. Athen. iv. p. 173, who calls the town a colony from Delphi. But the intermediate settlement of these colonists in Krête, or even the reality of any town called Magnêsia in Krête, appears very questionable: Plato's statement (Legg. iv. 702; xi. 919) can hardly be taken as any evidence. Compare O. Müller, History of the Dorians, book ii. ch. 3; Hoeckh, Kreta, book iii. vol. ii. p. 413. Müller gives these "*Sagen*" too much in the style of real facts: the worship of Apollo at Magnêsia

on the Mæander (Paus. x. 32, 4) cannot be thought to prove much, considering how extensively that god was worshipped along the Asiatic coast, from Lykia to Troas.

The great antiquity of this Grecian establishment was recognised in the time of the Roman emperors; see Inscript. No. 2910 in Boeckh, Corp. Ins.

¹ Ἰωάνης πρόσχημα (Herodot. v. 28).

² Strabo, xiv. p. 635. Ikarus or Ikaria however appears in later times as belonging to Samos and used only for pasture (Strabo, p. 639; x. p. 488).

or Ephesians proper, the Bennians, and the Euônymeis, so named (we are told) from the deme Euonymus in Attica.¹ So much did the power of Androklys increase, that he was enabled to conquer Samos, and to expel from it the prince Leôgorus. Of the retiring Samians, a part are said to have gone to Samothrace and to have there established themselves; while another portion acquired possession of Marathêsium near Ephesus, on the adjoining continent of Asia Minor, from whence, after a short time, they recovered their island, compelling Androklys to return to Ephesus. It seems, however, that in the compromise and treaty which ensued, they yielded possession of Marathêsium to Androklys,² and confined themselves to Anæa, a more southerly district farther removed from the Ephesian settlement, and immediately opposite to the island of Samos. Androklys is said to have perished in a battle fought for the defence of Priênê, which town he had come to aid against an attack of the Karians. His dead body was brought from the field and buried near the gates of Ephesus, where the tomb was yet shown during the days of Pausanias. But a sedition broke out against his sons after him, and the malcontents strengthened their party by inviting reinforcements from Teôs and Karina. The struggle which ensued terminated in the discontinuance of the kingly race and the establishment of a republican government—the descendants of Androklys being allowed to retain both considerable honorary privileges and the hereditary priesthood of the Eleusinian Dêmêtêr. The newly-received inhabitants were enrolled in two new tribes, making in all five tribes, which appear to have existed throughout the historical times at Ephesus.³ It appears too that a certain number of fugitive proprietors from Samos found admission among the Ephesians and received the freedom of the city; and the part of the city in which they resided acquired the name of Samorna or Smyrna, by which name it was still known in the time of the satirical poet Hippônax, about 530 B.C.⁴

¹ Kreophylus ap. Athen. viii. p. 361; Ephor. Fragm. 32, ed. Marx; Stephan. Byz. v. Βέννα; see Guhl, Ephesiaca, p. 29.

² Pausan. vii. 4, 3.

³ The account of Ephorus ap. Steph. Byz. v. Βέννα, attests at least the existence of the five tribes at

Ephesus, whether his account of their origin and primitive history be well-founded or not. See also Strabo, xiv. p. 633; Steph. Byz. v. Εὐωνύμια. Karênê or Karinê is in Æolis, near Pitana and Gryneium (Herod. vii. 42; Steph. Byz. Κγγήνη).

⁴ Stephan. Byz. v. Σάμωρις;

Such are the stories which we find respecting the infancy of the Ionic Ephesus. The fact of its increase and of its considerable acquisitions of territory, at the expense of the neighbouring Lydians,¹ is at least indisputable. It does not appear to have been ever very powerful or enterprising at sea. Few maritime colonies owed their origin to its citizens. But its situation near the mouth and the fertile plain of the Kaïster was favourable both to the multiplication of its inland dependencies and to its trade with the interior. A despot named Pythagoras is said to have subverted by stratagem the previous government of the town, at some period before Cyrus, and to have exercised power for a certain time with great cruelty.² It is worthy of remark, that we find no trace of the existence of the four Ionic tribes at Ephesus; and this, when coupled with the fact that neither Ephesus nor Kolophôn solemnised the peculiar Ionic festival of the Apaturia, is one among other indications that the Ephesian population had little community of race with Athens, though the Ækist may have been of heroic Athenian family. Guhl attempts to show, on mistaken grounds, that the Greek settlers at Ephesus were mostly of Arkadian origin.³

Increase
and acqui-
sitions of
Ephesus.

Kolophôn—about fifteen miles north of Ephesus, and divided from the territory of the latter by the precipitous mountain range called Gallêsium—though a member of the Pan-Ionic Amphiktyony, seems to have had no Ionic origin. It recognised neither an Athenian Ækist nor Athenian inhabitants. The Kolophonian poet Minnermus tells us that the Ækist of the

Kolophôn,
its origin
and history.

Hesych. Σμυρνά; Athenæus, vi. p. 267; Hippônax, Fragm. 32, Schneid.; Strabo, xiv. p. 633. Some however said that the *vîcus* of Ephesus, called Smyrna, derived its name from an Amazon.

¹ Strabo, xiv. p. 620.

² Bato ap. Suidas, v. Πυθχόρως. In this article of Suidas, however, it is stated that "the Ephesian Pythagoras put down by means of a crafty plot the government of those who were called the *Basilidæ*." Now Aristotle talks (Polit. v. 5, 4) of the oligarchy of the Basilidæ

at Erythræ. It is hardly likely that there should have been an oligarchy called by that same name both at Erythræ and Ephesus: there is here some confusion between Erythræ and Ephesus which we are unable to clear up. Bato of Sinôpæ wrote a book *περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τυράννων* (Athen. vii. p. 289).

³ Guhl, Ephesiaca, cap. ii. s. 2. p. 28. The passage which he cites in Aristeidês (Or. xlii. p. 523) refers not to Ephesus, but to Pergamus, and to the mythe of Augê and Telephus: compare *ibid.* p. 251.

place was the Pylian Andræmôn, and that the settlers were Pylians from Peloponnesus. "We quitted (he says) Pylus, the city of Neleus, and passed in our vessels to the much-desired Asia. There, with the insolence of superior force, and employing from the beginning cruel violence, we planted ourselves in the tempting Kolophôn."¹ This description of the primitive Kolophonian settlers, given with Homeric simplicity, forcibly illustrates the account given by Herodotus of the proceedings of Neileus at Milêtus. The establishment of Andræmôn must have been effected by force, and by the dispossession of previous inhabitants, leaving probably their wives and daughters as a prey to the victors. The city of Kolophôn seems to have been situated about two miles inland; having a fortified port called Notium, not joined to it by long walls as the Peiræus was to Athens, but completely distinct. There were times in which this port served the Kolophonians as a refuge, when their upper town was assailed by Persians from the interior. But the inhabitants of Notium occasionally manifested inclinations to act as a separate community, and dissensions thus occurred between them and the people in Kolophôn²—so difficult was it in the Greek mind to keep up a permanent feeling of political amalgamation beyond the circle of the town walls.

It is much to be regretted that nothing beyond a few lines of Mimnermus, and nothing at all of the long poem of Xenophanês (composed seemingly nearly a century after Mimnermus) on the foundation of Kolophôn, has reached us. The statements of Pausanias omit all notice of that violence which the native Kolophonian poet so emphatic-

¹ Mimnerm. Fragm. 9, Schneid. ap. Strab. xiv. p. 634:—

Ἡμεῖς δ' αἰπὸ Πύλου Νηλεΐων
ἄστυ λιπόντες

Ἰμερτήν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα·

Ἔς δ' ἐρατὴν Κολοφῶνα, βίην ὑπέρ-
πλον ἔχοντες,

Ἐξόμεθ' ἀργαλέης ὕβριος ἡγε-
μόνες.

Mimnermus, in his poem called *Nanno*, named Andræmôn as founder (Strabo, p. 633). Compare this behaviour with the narrative

of Odysseus in Homer (Odys. ix. 40):—

Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κιχόνεσσι
πέλασσαν

Ἰσμάρων· ἐνθα δ' ἐγὼ πολὺν ἔπρα-
ξον, ὥλεσα δ' αὐτούς·

Ἐκ πόλεος δ' ἀλόχους καὶ κτήματα
πολλὰ λιβόντες

Δάσσαμεθ', &c.

Mimnermus comes in point of time a little before Solon, B.C. 620—600.

² Aristot. Polit. v. 2, 12; Thucyd. iii. 34.

ally signalizes in his ancestors. They are derived more from the temple legends of the adjoining Klarian Apollo, and from morsels of epic poetry referring to that holy place, which connected itself with the worship of Apollo in Krête, at Delphi, and at Thebes. The old Homeric poem, called *Temple of Apollo at Klarus, near Kolophôn—its legends.* Thebais, reported that Mantô, daughter of the Theban prophet Teiresias, had been presented to Apollo and Delphi as a votive offering by the victorious Epigoni: the god directed her to migrate to Asia, and she thus arrived at Klarus, where she married the Kretan Rhakius. The offspring of this marriage was the celebrated prophet Mopsus, whom the Hesiodic epic described as having gained a victory in prophetic skill over Kalchas; the latter having come to Klarus after the Trojan war in company with Amphiloehus son of Amphiaraus.¹ Such tales evince the early importance of the temple and oracle of Apollo at Klarus, which appears to have been in some sort an emanation from the great sanctuary of Branchidæ near Milêtus; for we are told that the high priest of Klarus was named by the Milesians.² Pausanias states that Mopsus expelled the indigenous Karians, and established the city of Kolophôn; and the Ionic settlers under Promêthus and Damasichthôn, sons of Kodrus, were admitted amicably as additional inhabitants:³ a story probably emanating from that of the Kolophonian townsmen in the time of Minnermus. It seems evident that not only the Apollinic sanctuary at Klarus, but also the analogous establishments on the south of Asia Minor at Phasêlis, Mallus, &c., had their own foundation legends, (apart from those of the various bands of emigrant settlers,) in which they connected themselves by the best thread which they could devise with the epic glories of Greece.⁴

Passing along the Ionian coast in a north-westerly direction from Kolophôn, we come first to the small but independent Ionic settlement of Lebedus—next, to Teôs, which occupies the southern face of a narrow isthmus, Klazomenæ being

Lebedus, Teôs, Klazomenæ, &c.

¹ Hesiod. ap. Strab. xiv. p. 643; Canon, Narrat. 6; Argument of the poem called Νέστωρ (apud Büntzen), Epic. Græc. Frag. p. 23; Pausan. ix. 33, 1.

² Tacit. Annal. ii. 54.

³ Pausan. vii. 3, 1.

⁴ See Welcker, Epischer Cyklus, p. 285.

placed on the northern. This isthmus, a low narrow valley of about six miles across, forms the eastern boundary of a very considerable peninsula, containing the mountainous and woody regions called Mimas and Kôrykus. Teôs is said to have been first founded by Orchomenian Minyæ under Athamas, and to have received afterwards by consent various swarms of settlers, Orchomenians and others, under the Kodrid leaders Apœkus, Nauklus and Damasus.¹ The valuable Teian inscriptions published in the large collection of Boeckh, while they mention certain names and titles of honour which connect themselves with this Orchomenian origin, reveal to us some particulars respecting the internal distribution of the Teian citizens. The territory of the town was distributed amongst a certain number of towers, to each of which corresponded a symmory or section of the citizens, having its common altar and sacred rites, and often its heroic Eponymus. How many in number the tribes of Teôs were, we do not know. The name of the Geleontes, one of the four old Ionic tribes, is preserved in an inscription; but the rest, both as to names and number, are unknown. The symmories or tower-fellowships of Teôs seem to be analogous to the phratries of ancient Athens—forming each a factitious kindred, recognising a common mythical ancestor, and bound together by a communion at once religious and political. The individual name attached to each tower is in some cases Asiatic rather than Hellenic, indicating in Teôs the mixture not merely of Ionic and Æolic, but also of Karian or Lydian inhabitants, of which Pausanias speaks.² Gerrhæidæ or Cherræidæ, the port

¹ Steph. Byz. v. Τέως; Pausan. vii. 3, 3; Strabo, xiv. p. 633. Anakreon called the town Ἀθαμαντιδα Τέω (Strab. l. c.).

² Pausan. vii. 3, 3. See the Inscript. No. 3064 in Boeckh's Corp. Ins., which enumerates twenty-eight separate πόργοι. It is a list of archons, with the name and civil designation of each: I do not observe that the name of the same πόργος ever occurs twice—Ἀρτέμων, τοῦ Φιλαίου πόργου, Φιλαΐδης, &c.: there are two πόργοι, the names of which are effaced on

the inscription. In two other inscriptions (Nos. 3065, 3066) there occur Ἐχίνου συμμορία—Ἐχινάδαι—as the title of a civil division without any specification of an Ἐχίνου πόργος; but it is reasonable to presume that the πόργος and the συμμορία are coincident divisions. The Φιλαίου πόργος occurs also in another Inscr. No. 3081. Philaus is the Athenian hero, son of Ajax, and eponym of the deme or gens Philaidæ in Attica, who existed, as we here see, in Teôs also. In Inscription, No. 3082, a

on the west side of the town of Teôs, had for its eponymous hero Gerês the Bœotian, who was said to have accompanied the Kodrids in their settlement.

The worship of Athênê Polias at Erythræ may probably be traceable to Athens, and that of the Tyrian Hêraklês (of which Pausanias recounts a singular legend) would seem to indicate an intermixture of Phœnician inhabitants. But the close neighbourhood of Erythræ to the island of Chios, and the marked analogy of dialect which Herodotus¹ attests between them, show that the elements of the population must have been

citizen is complimented as νέον Ἀθάμαντα, after the name of the old Minyan hero. In No. 3078, the Ionic tribe of the Γαλέοντες is named as existing at Teôs.

Among the titles of the towers we find the following—τοῦ Κίδου πύργου, τοῦ Κινάβαλου πύργου, τοῦ Ἰέρου πύργου, τοῦ Δάδου πύργου, τοῦ Σίντου πύργου: these names seem to be rather foreign than Hellenic. Κίδος, Ἰέρου, Σίντου, Δάδου, are Asiatic, perhaps Karian or Lydian: respecting the name Δάδου, compare Steph. Byz. v. Τρέμιστος, where Δάδας appears as a Karian name: Boeckh (p. 651) expresses his opinion that Δάδου is Karian or Lydian. Then Κινάβαλος seems plainly not Hellenic: it is rather Phœnician (*Annibal*, *Asdrubal*, &c.), though Boeckh (in his Introductory Comment to the Sarmatian Inscriptions, Part xi. p. 109) tells us that βαλος is also Thracian or Getic—"βαλος haud dubie Thracica aut Getica est radix finalis, quam tenes in Dacico nomine Decebalus, et in nomine populi Triballorum." The name τοῦ Κόθου πύργου, Κοθίδης, is Ionic: Æklus and Kothus are represented as Ionic ækists in Eubœa. Another name—Πάρμις, τοῦ Σθενάλου πύργου, Χαλκιδεῖος—affords an instance in which the local or gentile epithet is not

derived from the tower; for Χαλκιδεῖς or Χαλκιδεὺς was the denomination of a village in the Teian territory. In regard to some persons, the gentile epithet is derived from the tower—τοῦ Φιλάτου πύργου, Φιλατίδης—τοῦ Γαλαῖου πύργου, Γαλασιδης—τοῦ Δάδου πύργου, Δαδεῖος—τοῦ πύργου τοῦ Κιζώνος, Κιζών: in other cases not—τοῦ Ἐκαλίου πύργου, Σκηβητίδης—τοῦ Μηράδου πύργου, Βρυσιδης—τοῦ Ἰσθμίου πύργου, Δεωλίδης, &c. In the Inscr. 3065, 3066, there is a formal vote of the Ἐχίου συμμορία or Ἐχινάδαι (both names occur). Mention is also made of the βῶμος τῆς συμμορίας, and of the annual solemnity called Leukathea, seemingly a gentile solemnity of the Echinadæ, which connects itself with the mythical family of Athamas. As an analogy to these Teian towers, we may compare the πύργοι in the Greek settlement of Olbia in the Euxine (Boeckh, Insc. 2058), πύργος Πόσιος, πύργος Ἐπιδαύρου—they were portions of the fortifications. See also Dio Chrysostom, Orat. xxxvi. p. 76—77. A large tower, belonging to a private individual named Aglomachus, is mentioned in Kyrênê (Herod. iv. 164).

¹ Herod. i. 142: compare Thucyd. viii. 5.

much the same in both. The Chian poet Iôn mentioned the establishment of Abantes from Eubœa in his native island, under Amphiklus, intermixed with the pre-existing Karians. Hektor, the fourth descendant from Amphiklus, was said to have incorporated this island in the Pan-Ionic Amphiktyony. It is to Pherekydês that we owe the mention of the name of Egertius, as having conducted a miscellaneous colony into Chios; and it is through Egertius (though Iôn, the native poet, does not appear to have noticed him) that this logographer made out the connexion between the Chians and the other group of Kodrid settlements.¹ In Erythræ, Knôpus, or Kleopus is noted as the Kodrid Œkist, and as having procured for himself, partly by force, partly by consent, the sovereignty of the pre-existing settlement of mixed inhabitants. The Erythræan historian Hippias recounted how Knôpus had been treacherously put to death on shipboard, by Ortygês and some other false adherents; who, obtaining some auxiliaries from the Chian king Amphiklus, made themselves masters of Erythræ and established in it an oppressive oligarchy. They maintained the government, with a temperate licentious and cruel, for some time, admitting none but a chosen few of the population within the walls of the town; until at length Hippotês the brother of Knôpus, arriving from without at the head of some troops, found sufficient support from the discontents of the Erythræans to enable him to overthrow the tyranny. Overpowered in the midst of a public festival, Ortygês and his companions were put to death with cruel tortures. The like tortures were inflicted upon their innocent wives and children²—a degree of cruelty which would at no time have found place amidst a community of European Greeks: even in the murderous party dissensions of Korkyra during the Peloponnesian war, death was not aggravated by preliminary tortures. Aristotle³ mentions the oligarchy of the Basilids as having existed in Erythræ, and as having been

¹ Strabo. xiv. p. 633.

² Hippias ap. Athen. vi. p. 259; Polyæn. viii. 44, gives another story about Knôpus. Erythræ, called Κνωπὸπόλις (Steph. Byz. v.).

The story told by Polyænus about the dictum of the oracle,

and the consequent stratagem, whereby Knôpus made himself master of Erythræ, represents that town as powerful anterior to the Ionic occupation (Polyæn. viii. 43).

³ Aristot. Polit. v. 5, 4.

overthrown by a democratical revolution, although prudently managed. To what period this is to be referred we do not know.

Klazomenæ is said to have been founded by a wandering party, either of Ionians or of inhabitants Klazomenæ from Kleonæ and Phlius, under Parphorus or —Phôkæa. Paralus; and Phôkæa by a band of Phokians under Philogônês and Damon. This last-mentioned town was built at the end of a peninsula which formed part of the territory of the Æolic Kymê: the Kymæans were induced to cede it amicably, and to permit the building of the new town. The Phokians asked and obtained permission to enrol themselves in the Pan-Ionic Amphiktyony; but the permission is said to have been granted only on condition that they should adopt members of the Kodrid family as their Ekists: and they accordingly invited from Erythræ and Teôs three chiefs belonging to that family or gens—Decêtês, Periklus, and Abartus.¹

Smyrna, originally an Æolic colony, established from Kymê, fell subsequently into the hands of the Ionians of Kolophôn. A party of exiles from Smyrna. the latter city, expelled during an intestine dispute, were admitted by the Smyrnæans into their city—a favour which they repaid by shutting the gates and seizing the place for themselves, at a moment when the Smyrnæans had gone forth in a body to celebrate a religious festival. The other Æolic towns sent auxiliaries for the purpose of re-establishing their dispossessed brethren; but they were compelled to submit to an accommodation whereby the Ionians retained possession of the town, restoring to the prior inhabitants all their moveables. These exiles were distributed as citizens among the other Æolic cities.²

Smyrna after this became wholly Ionian; and the inhabitants in later times, if we may judge by Aristeidês the rhetor, appear to have forgotten the Æolic origin of their town, though the fact is attested by Herodotus and by Mimnermus.³ At what time the change took place we do

¹ Pausan. vii. 3, 3. In Pausanias the name stands *Abartus*; but it probably ought to be *Abarnus*, the Eponymus of Cape Abarnis in the Phôkæan territory: see Stephan. Byz. v. Ἀβάρης. Raoul Rochette puts Abarnus without making any

remark (*Histoire des Colonies Grecques*. b. iv. c. 13. p. 95).

² Herod. i. 150; Mimnermus, *Fragm.*—

Θεῶν βουλῇ Σμύρνην ἐῴκομεν Αἰολῶν.

³ See Raoul Rochette, *Histoire*

not know, but Smyrna appears to have become Ionian before the celebration of the twenty-third Olympiad (B.C. 668), when Onomastus the Smyrnæan gained the prize.¹ Nor have we information as to the period at which the city was received as a member into the Pan-Ionic Amphiktyony; for the assertion of Vitruvius is obviously inadmissible, that it was admitted at the instance of Attalus king of Pergamus, in place of a previous town called Melitê, excluded by the rest for misbehaviour.² As little can we credit the statement of Strabo, that the city of Smyrna was destroyed by the Lydian kings, and that the inhabitants were compelled to live in dispersed villages until its restoration by Antigonus. A fragment of Pindar, which speaks of "the elegant city of the Smyrnæans," indicates that it must have existed in his time.³ The town of Eræ, near Lebedus, though seemingly autonomous,⁴ was not among the contributors to the Pan-Ionion; Myonnêsus seems to have been a dependency of Teôs, as Pygela and Marathêsium were of Ephesus. Notium, after its re-colonization by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian war, seems to have remained separate from and independent of Kolophôn: at least the two are noticed by Skylax as distinct towns.⁵

des Colonies Greeques, b. iv. ch. 5. p. 43; Aristeidês, Orat. xx.-xxi. pp. 260, 267.

¹ Pausan. v. 8, 3.

² Vitruvius, iv. 1.

³ Strabo, xiv. p. 646; Pindar, Frag. 155, Dissen.

⁴ Thucyd. viii. 19.

⁵ Skylax, c. 97; Thucyd. iii. 34.

CHAPTER XIV.

ÆOLIC GREEKS IN ASIA.

ON the coast of Asia Minor to the north of the twelve Ionic confederated cities, were situated the twelve Æolic cities, apparently united in a similar manner. Besides Smyrna, the fate of which has already been described, the eleven others were—Têmnos, Larissa, Neon-Teichos, Kymê, Ægæ, Myrina, Grynceium, Killa, Notium, Ægiroëssa, Pitanê. These twelve are especially noted by Herodotus, as the twelve ancient continental Æolic cities, and distinguished on the one hand from the insular Æolic Greeks, in Lesbos, Tenedos, and Hekatonnesoi—and on the other hand from the Æolic establishments in and about mount Ida, which seem to have been subsequently formed and derived from Lesbos and Kymê.¹

Twelve
cities of
Æolic
Greeks.

Of these twelve Æolic towns, eleven were situated very near together, clustered round the Elæitic Gulf: their territories, all of moderate extent, seem also to have been conterminous with each other. Smyrna, the twelfth, was situated to the south of Mount Sipylus, and at greater distance from the remainder—one reason why it was so soon lost to its primitive inhabitants. These towns occupied chiefly a narrow but fertile strip of territory lying between the base of the woody mountain-range called Sardênê and the sea.² Grynceium, like Kolophôn and Milêtus, possessed a venerated sanctuary of Apollo, of older date than the Æolic immigration. Larissa, Têmnos, and Ægæ were at some little distance from the sea; the first at a short distance north of the Hermus, by which its territory was

Their si-
tuation—
eleven near
together on
the Elæitic
Gulf.

¹ Herodot. i. 119. Herodotus does not name Elea, at the mouth of the Kalypso; on the other hand, no other author mentions Ægiroëssa

(see Mannert, Geogr. der Gr. und Römer, b. viii. p. 396).

² Herod. *ut sup.*; Pseudo-Herodot. Vit. Homeris, c. 9. Σαρδηνίης πόλις νεώτερον ὀψιζόμενα.

watered and occasionally inundated, so as to render embankments necessary;¹ the last two upon rocky mountain-sites, so inaccessible to attack, that the inhabitants were enabled, even during the height of the Persian power, to maintain constantly a substantial independence.² Elæa, situated at the mouth of the river Kaïkus, became in later times the port of the strong and flourishing city of Pergamus; while Pitana, the northernmost of the twelve, was placed between the mouth of the Kaïkus and the lofty promontory of Kanê, which closes in the Elæitic Gulf to the northward. A small town Kanæ close to that promontory is said to have once existed.³

It has already been stated that the legend ascribes the origin of these colonies to a certain special event called the Æolic emigration, of which chronologers profess to know the precise date, telling us how many years it happened after the Trojan war, considerably before the Ionic emigration.⁴ That the Æolic as well as the Ionic inhabitants of Asia were emigrants from Greece, we may reasonably believe, but as to the time or circumstances of their emigration we can pretend to no certain knowledge. The name of the town

¹ Strabo xiii. p. 621.

² Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 8, 5. The rhetor Aristeidês (Orat. Sacr. xxvii. p. 347 p. 535 D.) describes in detail his journey from Smyrna to Pergamus, crossing the Hermus, and passing through Larissa, Kymê, Myrina, Gryneium, Elæa. He seems not to have passed through Têmnos, at least he does not name it: moreover we know from Pausanias (v. 13, 3) that Têmnos was on the north bank of the Hermus. In the best maps of this district it is placed, erroneously, both on the south bank, and as if it were on the high road from Smyrna to Kymê. We may infer from another passage of Aristeidês (Or. xlviii. p. 351, p. 468 D.) that Larissa was nearer to the mouth of the Hermus than the maps appear to place it. According to Strabo (xiii. p. 622), it would seem that Larissa was on

the south bank of the Hermus; but the better testimony of Aristeidês proves the contrary; Skylax (c. 94) does not name Têmnos, which seems to indicate that its territory was at some distance from the sea.

The investigations of modern travellers have as yet thrown little light upon the situation of Têmnos or of the other Æolic towns: see Arundel, Discoveries in Asia Minor, vol. ii. pp. 292-298.

³ Pliny, H. N. v. 30.

⁴ Strabo, xiii. pp. 582-621, compared with Pseudo-Herodotus, Vit. Homer, c. 1-38, who says that Lesbos was occupied by the Æolians 130 years after the Trojan war; Kymê, 20 years after Lesbos; Smyrna, 18 years after Kymê.

The chronological statements of different writers are collected in Mr. Clinton's Fast. Hellen. c. 5. pp. 104, 105.

Larissa, and perhaps that of Magnêsia on Mount Sipylus (according to what has been observed in the preceding chapter), has given rise to the supposition that the anterior inhabitants were Pelasgians, who, having once occupied the fertile banks of the Hermus, as well as those of the Kaïster near Ephesus, employed their industry in the work of embankment.¹ Kymê was the earliest as well as the most powerful of the twelve Æolic towns; Neon-Teichos having been originally established by the Kymæans as a fortress for the purpose of capturing the Pelasgic Larissa. Both Kymê and Larissa were designated by the epithet of Phrikônis. By some this was traced to the mountain Phrikium in Lokris; from whence it was alleged that the Æolic emigrants had started to cross the Ægean: by others it seems to have been connected with an eponymous hero Phrikôn.²

Kymê—the earliest as well as the most powerful of the twelve.

It was probably from Kymê and its sister cities on the Elæitic Gulf that Hellenic inhabitants penetrated into the smaller towns in the inland plain of the Kaïkus—Pergamus, Halisarna, Gambreion, &c.³ In the more southerly plain of the Hermus, on the northern declivity of Mount Sipylus, was situated the city of Magnêsia, called Magnêsia *ad Sipylum* in order to distinguish it from Magnêsia on the river Mæander. Both these towns called Magnêsia were inland—the one bordering upon the Ionic Greeks, the other upon the Æolic, but seemingly not included in any Amphiktyony either with the one or the other. Each is referred to a separate and early immigration either from the Magnêtes in Thesaly or from Krête. Like many other of the early towns, Magnêsia *ad Sipylum* appears to have been originally established higher up on the mountain—in a situation nearer to Smyrna, from which it was separated by the Sipyrene range—and to have been subsequently brought down nearer to the plain on the north side as well as to the river Hermus. The original site, Palæ-Magnêsia,⁴ was still occupied

Magnêsia
ad
Sipylum.

¹ Strabo, xiii. p. 621.

² Strabo, xiii. 621; Pseudo-Herodot. c. 14. Ἀποὶ Φρικωνος, compared with c. 38.

Φρικων appears in later times as an Ætolian proper name; Φρικος as a Lokrian. See *Anecdota Delphica* by E. Curtius, *Inscript.* 40.

p. 75 (Berlin, 1843).

³ Xenoph. *Hellen.* iii. 1, 6; *Anab.* vii. 8, 24.

⁴ There is a valuable inscription in Boeckh's collection, No. 3137, containing the convention between the inhabitants of Smyrna and Magnêsia. Palæ-Magnêsia seems

as a dependent township, even during the times of the Attalid and Seleukid kings. A like transfer of situation, from a height difficult of access to some lower and more convenient position, took place with other towns in and near this region; such as Gambreion and Skêpsis, which had their Palæ-Gambreion and Palæ-Skêpsis not far distant.

Of these twelve Æolic towns, it appears that all except Kymê were small and unimportant. Thucydidês, in recapitulating the dependent allies of Athens at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, does not account them worthy of being enumerated.¹ Nor are we authorized to conclude, because they bear the general name of Æolians, that the inhabitants were all of kindred race, though a large proportion of them are said to have been Bœotians, and the feeling of fraternity between Bœotians and Lesbians was maintained throughout the historical times. One etymology of the name is indeed founded upon the supposition that they were of miscellaneous origin.² We do not hear, moreover, of any considerable poets produced by the Æolic continental towns. In this respect Lesbos stood alone—an island said to have been the earliest

Lesbos.

of all the Æolic settlements, anterior even to Kymê. Six towns were originally established in Lesbos—Mitylênê, Mêthymna, Eresus, Pyrrha, Antissa, and Arisbê: the last-mentioned town was subsequently enslaved and destroyed by the Methymnæans, so that there remained only five towns in all.³ According to the political subdivision usual in Greece, the island had thus, first six, afterwards five, independent governments; of which, however, Mitylênê, situated in the south-eastern quarter and facing the promontory of Kanê, was by far the first—while Mêthymna, on the north of the island over against Cape Lekton, was the second. Like so many other Grecian colonies, the original

to have been a strong and important post.

"Magnêtes a Sipylô" Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 47; Pliny, *H. N.* v. 29; Pausan. iii. 24, 2. πρὸς βόρραν τοῦ Σιπύλλου.

Stephan. Byzantinus notices only Magnêsia ad Meandrum, not Magnêsia ad Sipylum.

¹ Thucyd. ii. 9.

² Strabo, iv. p. 402; Thucyd. viii. 100; Pseudo-Herodot. Vit. Homer. i. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡ πάλαι Αἰολικῶτις Κύμη ἐκτίετο, συνήλθον ἐν ταύτῃ παντοδαπά ἔθνη Ἑλληνικά, καὶ διὰ καὶ ἐκ Μαγνησίας, &c. *Etymolog. Magn.* v. Αἰολικῆς.

³ Herodot. i. 151; Strabo, xiii. p. 590.

city of Mitylênê was founded upon an islet divided from Lesbos by a narrow strait; it was subsequently extended on to Lesbos itself, so that the harbour presented two distinct entrances.¹

It appears that the native poets and fabulists who professed to deliver the archæology of Lesbos, dwelt less upon the Æolic settlers than upon the various heroes and tribes who were alleged to have had possession of the island anterior to that settlement, from the deluge of Deukalion downwards,—just as the Chian and Samian poets seem to have dwelt principally upon the ante-Ionic antiquities of their respective islands. After the Pelasgian Xanthus son of Triopas, comes Makar son of Krinakus, the great native hero of the island, supposed by Plehn to be the eponym of an occupying race called the Makares. The Homeric hymn to Apollo brings Makar into connexion with the Æolic inhabitants, by calling him son of Æolus; and the native historian Myrsilus also seems to have treated him as an Æolian.² To dwell upon such narratives suited the disposition of the Greeks; but when we come to inquire for the history of Lesbos, we find ourselves destitute of any genuine materials not only for the period prior to the Æolic occupation, but also for a long time after it: nor can we pretend to determine at what date that occupation took place. We may reasonably believe it to have occurred before 776 B.C., and it therefore becomes a part of the earliest manifestation of real Grecian history. Both Kymê, with its eleven sister towns on the continent, and the islands Lesbos and Tenedos, were then Æolic. I have already remarked that the migration of the father of Hesiod the poet, from the Æolic Kymê to Askra in Bœotia, is the earliest authentic fact known to us on contemporary testimony,—seemingly between 776 and 700 B.C.

Early inhabitants of Lesbos before the Æolians.

But besides these islands, and the strip of the continent between Kymê and Pitânê (which constituted the

¹ Diodor. xiii. 79; Strabo, xiii. p. 617; Thucyd. iii. 6.

² Hymn. ad Apollin. v. 37. Ἀέζ-
ρος τ' ἡγεβήη, Μάκρος ἔδρος Ἀε-
λίου. Myrsilus ap. Clemen.
Al xandr. Protreptic. p. 10; Diodor.
v. 57—82; Dionys. Halik. A. R. i.

18; Stephan. Byz. v. Μυτιλήνη.

Plehn (Lesbiaca, c. 2. pp. 25—57) has collected all the principal fables respecting this Lesbian archæology: compare also Raoul Rochette (Histoire des Colonies Grecques, t. i. c. 5. p. 1-2, &c.).

territory properly called *Æolis*), there were many other *Æolic* establishments in the region near Mount *Ida*, the *Troad*, and the *Hellespont*, and even in European *Thrace*.

Æolic establishments in the region of Mount *Ida*. All these establishments seem to have emanated from *Lesbos*, *Kymê* and *Tenedos*, but at what time they were formed we have no information. Thirty different towns are said to have been established by these cities,¹ from whence nearly all the region of Mount *Ida* (meaning by that term the territory west of a line drawn from the town of *Adramyttion* northward, to *Priapos* on the *Propontis*) came to be *Æolised*. A new *Æolis*² was thus formed, quite distinct from the *Æolis* near the *Elæitic Gulf*, and severed from it partly by the territory of *Atarneus*, partly by the portion of *Mysia* and *Lydia*, between *Atarneus* and *Adramyttium*, including the fertile plain of *Thêbê*. A portion of the lands on this coast seems indeed to have been occupied by *Lesbos*, but the far larger part of it was never *Æolic*. Nor was *Ephorus* accurate when he talked of the whole territory between *Kymê* and *Abydos* as known under the name of *Æolis*.³

The inhabitants of *Tenedos* possessed themselves of the strip of the *Troad* opposite to their island, northward of *Cape Lekton*—those of *Lesbos* founded *Assus*, *Gargara*, *Lampônia*, *Antandrus*,⁴ &c., between *Lekton* and the north-eastern corner of the *Adramyttian Gulf*—while the *Kymæans* seem to have established themselves at *Kêbrên* and other places in the inland *Idæan district*.⁵ As far as we can make out, this north-western corner (west of a line drawn

¹ Strabo, xiii. pp. 621, 622. Μέγιστον δὲ ἔστι τῶν Αἰολικῶν καὶ ἀριστὴν Κῶμην, καὶ σχεδὸν μετρητοῦς πόλιν τε καὶ ἡ Λέσβος τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων πλείοντά σου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, &c.

² Xenophon, *Hellen.* iii. 1, 10. μέγλη τῆς Φρυγίας Αἰολίδος—ἡ Αἰολίς ἀπὸ τῆς μετ. Φρυγίας.

Xenophon includes the whole of the *Troad* under the denomination of *Æolis*. *Skylax* distinguishes the *Troad* from *Æolis*: he designates as the *Troad* the coast towns from *Dardanus* seemingly down to

Lekton: under *Æolis* he includes *Kêbrên*, *Skêpsis*, *Neandreia* and *Pityeia*, though how these four towns are to be called ἐνὶ θαλάσσει it is not easy to see (*Skylax*, 94, 95). Nor does *Skylax* notice either the *Perma* of *Tenedos*, or *Assos* and *Gargara*.

³ Strabo, xiii. p. 583.

⁴ Thucyd. iv. 52; viii. 108. Strabo, xiii. p. 610; Stephan. Byz. Ἀσσοί; Pausan. vi. 4, 5.

⁵ Pseudo-Herod. Vit. Hom. c. 20:—

from Smyrna to the eastern corner of the Propontis) seems to have been occupied, anterior to the Hellenic settlements, by Mysians and Teukrians—who are mentioned together, in such manner as to show that there was no great ethnical difference between them.¹ The elegiac poet Kallinus, in the middle of the seventh century B.C., was the first who mentioned the Teukrians; treating them as immigrants from Krête, though other authors represented them as indigenous, or as having come from Attica. However the fact may stand as to their origin, we may gather that in the time of Kallinus they were still the great occupants of the Troad.² Gradually the south and west coasts, as well as the interior of this region, became penetrated by successive colonies of Æolic Greeks, to whom the iron and ship timber of Mount Ida were valuable acquisitions. Thus the small Teukrian townships (for there were no considerable cities) became Æolised; while on the coast northward of Ida, along the Hellespont and Propontis, Ionic establishments were formed from Milêtus and Phôkæa, and Milesian colonists were received into the inland town of Skôpsis.³ In the time of Kallinus, the Teukrians seem to have been in possession of Hamaxitus and Kolônæ, with the worship of the Sminthian Apollo, in the south-western region of the Troad: a century and a half afterwards, at the time of the Ionic revolt, Herodotus notices the inhabitants of Gergis (occupying a portion of the northern region of Ida in the line eastward from Dardanus and Ophrynyon) as “the remnant of the ancient Teukrians.”⁴ We also find the Mityleneans and Athenians contending by arms about 600-580 B.C. for the possession of Sigeium at the entrance of the Hellespont.⁵ Probably

Ante-Hellenic inhabitants in the region of Mount Ida—Mysians and Teukrians.

Ἰὼς ἐν κορυφαίῃσι πολυπύχου ἡγεμόισις,

Ἐνθα σιδήρεος Ἄρης ἐπιχθονίοισι βροτοῖσι

Ἔσσεται, εὖτ' αἰ μιν Κεβρῆνοι ἄνδρες ἔχωσι.

Τα δὲ Κεβρῆνι τούτου τοῦ χρόνου καίτιν παρεσκευάζοντο οἱ Κρηαῖοι πρὸς τῇ Ἰῳ, καὶ γίγεται αὐτοῖσι σιδήρεος.

¹ Herodot. vii. 20.

² Kallinus ap. Strabo. xiii. p. 694;

compare p. 613, οὗς πρῶτος παρῴωκε Καλλίνος, &c.

³ Strabo, xiii. p. 697—635.

⁴ Herodot. v. 122. εἶλε μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας, ἔσται τῇ Ἰλιάδι νόμονται, εἶλε δὲ Γεργίαιας, τοῦς ὑποκαυθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν, &c.

The Teukrians, in the conception of Herodotus, were the Trojans described in the Iliad—the Τευκρῆς γῆ seems the same as Ἰλιάς γῆ (ii. 118).

⁵ Herodot. v. 94.

the Lesbian settlements on the southern coast of the Troad, lying as they do so much nearer to the island, as well as the Tenedian settlements on the western coast opposite Tenedos, had been formed at some time prior to this epoch. We farther read of Æolic inhabitants as possessing Sestos on the European side of the Hellespont.¹ The name Teukrians gradually vanished out of present use, and came to belong only to the legends of the past; preserved either in connexion with the worship of the Sminthian Apollo, or by writers such as Hellanikus and Kephālôn of Gergis, from whence it passed to the later poets and to the Latin epic. It appears that the native place of Kephālôn was a town called Gergis or Gergithes near Kymê: there was also another place called Gergêtha on the river Kaïkus, near its sources, and therefore higher up in Mysia. It was from Gergithes near Kymê (according to Strabo), that the place called Gergis in Mount Ida was settled:² probably the non-Hellenic inhabitants, both near Kymê and in the region of Ida, were of kindred race, but the settlers who went from Kymê to Gergis in Ida were doubtless Greeks, and contributed in this manner to the conversion of that place from a Teukrian to an Hellenic settlement. In one of those violent dislocations of inhabitants, which were so frequent afterwards among the successors of Alexander in Asia Minor, the Teukro-Hellenic population of the Idæan Gergis is said to have been carried away by Attalus of Pergamus, in order to people the village of Gergêtha near the river Kaïkus.

We must regard the Æolic Greeks as occupying not only their twelve cities on the continent round the Elæitic Gulf, and the neighbouring islands, of which the chief were Lesbos and Tenedos—but also as gradually penetrating and hellenising the Idæan region and the Troad. This last process belongs probably to a period subsequent to 776 B.C., but Kymê and Lesbos doubtless count as Æolic from an earlier period.

Of Mitylênê, the chief city of Lesbos, we hear some facts between the fortieth and fiftieth Olympiad (620-580 B.C.), which unfortunately reach us only in a faint echo. That city then numbered as its own the distinguished names of Pittakus,

Mitylênê—
its politi-
cal dis-
ensions—
its poets.

¹ Herodot. ix. 115.

² Strabo, xiii. 589—616.

Sappho, and Alkæus. Like many other Grecian communities of that time, it suffered much from intestine commotion, and experienced more than one violent revolution. The old oligarchy called the Pentilids (seemingly a gens with heroic origin), rendered themselves intolerably obnoxious by misrule of the most reckless character; their brutal use of the bludgeon in the public streets was avenged by Megaklês and his friends, who slew them and put down their government.¹ About the forty-second Olympiad (612 B.C.) we hear of Melanchrus, as despot of Mitylênê, who was slain by the conspiracy of Pittakus, Kikis, and Antimenidas—the last two being brothers of Alkæus the poet. Other despots, Myrsilus, Megalagyrus, and the Kleanaktidæ, whom we know only by name, and who appear to have been immortalized chiefly by the bitter stanzas of Alkæus, acquired afterwards the sovereignty of Mitylênê. Among all the citizens of the town, however, the most fortunate, and the most deserving, was Pittakus the son of Hyrrhadus—a champion trusted by his countrymen alike in foreign war and in intestine broils.²

The foreign war in which the Mityleneans were engaged and in which Pittakus commanded them, was against the Athenians on the continental coast opposite to Lesbos, in the Troad near Sigeium. The Mityleneans had already established various settlements along the Troad, the northernmost of which was Achilleium. They laid claim to the possession of the whole line of coast, and when Athens (about the 43rd Olympiad, as it is said³)

Power and
merit of Pit-
takus.

¹ Aristot. Polit. v. 8, 13.

² Diogen. Laërt. i. 74; Suidas, v. Kíkis, Πίττακος; Strabo, xiii. p. 617. Two lines of Alkæus are preserved, exulting in the death of Myrsilus (Alkæus, Fragm. 12, ed. Schneidewin). Melanchrus also is named (Fragm. 13), and Pittakus, in a third fragment (73, ed. Schneid.), is brought into connexion with Myrsilus.

³ In regard to the chronology of this war see a note near the end of my previous chapter on the Solonian legislation. I have there noticed what I believe to be a chronological mistake of Herodo-

tus in regard to the period between 600-560 B.C. Herodotus considers this war between the Mityleneans and Athenians, in which Pittakus and Alkæus were concerned, to have been directed by Peisistratus, whose government did not commence until 560 B.C. (Herodot. v. 94, 95).

My suspicion is, that there were two Athenian expeditions to these regions,—one (probably colonial) in the time of Alkæus and Pittakus; a second, much afterwards, undertaken by order of Peisistratus, whose illegitimate son Hegesistratus, became, in consequence,

attempted to plant a settlement at Sigeium, they resisted the establishment by force. At the head of the Mitylenean troops, Pittakus engaged in single combat with the Athenian commander Phrynôn, and had the good fortune to kill him. The general struggle was however carried on with no very decisive result. On one memorable occasion the Mityleneans fled; and Alkæus the poet, serving as an hoplite in their ranks, commemorated in one of his odes both his flight and the humiliating loss of his shield, which the victorious Athenians suspended as a trophy in the temple of Athênê at Sigeium. His predecessor Archilochus, and his imitator Horace, have both been frank enough to confess a similar misfortune, which Tyrtæus perhaps would not have endured to survive.¹ It was at length agreed by Mitylênê and Athens to refer the dispute to Periander of Corinth. While the Mityleneans laid claim to the whole line of coast, the Athenians alleged that inasmuch as a contingent from Athens had served in the host of Agamemnon against Troy, their descendants had as good a right as any other Greeks to share in the conquered ground. It appears that Periander felt unwilling to decide this delicate question of legendary law. He directed that each party should retain what they possessed; a verdict² still remembered and appealed to even in the time of Aristotle, by the inhabitants of Tenedos against those of Sigeium.

Though Pittakus and Alkæus were both found in the same line of hoplites against the Athenians at Sigeium, yet in the domestic politics of their native city, their bearing was that of bitter enemies. Alkæus and Antimenidas his brother were worsted in this party-feud, and banished: but even as exiles they were strong enough seriously to alarm and afflict their fellow-citizens, while their party at home, and the general dissension

despot of Sigeium. Herodotus appears to me to have merged the two into one.

¹ See the difficult fragment of Alkæus (Fr. 24, ed. Schneidewin) preserved in Strabo, xiii. p. 600; Herodot. v. 94, 95; Archilochus, Eleg. Fr. i. 5, ed. Schneidewin; Horat. Carm. ii. 7, 9; perhaps also

Anakreon, but not certainly (see Fr. 81, ed. Schneidewin), is to be regarded as having thrown away his shield.

² Aristot. Rhetoric. i. 16, 2, where ἐναγχος marks the date. Aristotle passed some time in these regions, at Atarneus, with the despot Hermeias.

Alkæus the poet—his flight from battle.

Bitter opposition of Pittakus and Alkæus in internal politics.

within the walls, reduced Mitylênê to despair. In this calamitous condition, the Mityleneans had recourse to Pittakus, who—with his great rank in the state (his wife belonged to the old gens of the Penthilids), courage in the field, and reputation for wisdom—inspired greater confidence than any other citizen of his time. He was by universal consent named *Æsymnete* or dictator for ten years, with unlimited powers¹: and the appointment proved eminently successful. How effectually he repelled the exiles, and maintained domestic tranquillity, is best shown by the angry effusions of Alkæus; whose songs (unfortunately lost) gave vent to the political hostility of the time in the same manner as the speeches of the Athenian orators two centuries afterwards—and who, in his vigorous invectives against Pittakus, did not spare even the coarsest nicknames, founded on alleged personal deformities.² Respecting the proceedings of this eminent Dictator, the contemporary and reported friend of Solon, we know only in a general way, that he succeeded in re-establishing security and peace, and that at the end of his term he voluntarily laid down his power³—affording presumption not only of probity superior to the lures of ambition, but also of that conscious moderation during the period of his dictatorship which left him without fear as a private citizen afterwards. He enacted various laws for Mitylênê, one of which was sufficiently curious to cause it to be preserved and commented on—for it prescribed double penalties against offences committed by men in a state of intoxication.⁴ But he did not (like Solon at Athens) introduce any constitutional

Pittakus is created *Æsymnete*, or Dictator of Mitylênê.

¹ Aristot. Polit. iii. 9, 5, 6; Diogenes Halik. Ant. Rom. v. 73; Plehn, Lesbica, p. 46—50.

² Diogen. Laërt. i. 81.

³ Strabo, xiii. p. 617; Diogen. Laërt. i. 75; Valer. Maxim. vi. 5, 1.

⁴ Aristot. Polit. ii. 9, 9; Rhetoric. ii. 27, 2.

A ditty is said to have been sung by the female grinding slaves in Lesbos, when the mill went heavily: Ἄλει, μύλα, ἄλει καὶ γὰρ Πιττακός ἄλει, Τὰς μεγάλας Μιτυ-

λάνας βασιλεύων — “Grind, mill, grind; for Pittakus also *grinds*, the master of great Mitylênê.”

This has the air of a genuine composition of the time, set forth by the enemies of Pittakus, and imputing to him (through a very intelligible metaphor) tyrannical conduct; though both Plutarch (Sept. Sap. Conv. c. 14. p. 157) and Diogenes Laërt. (i. 81) construe it literally, as if Pittakus had been accustomed to take bodily exercise at the hand-mill.

changes, nor provide any new formal securities for public liberty and good government:¹ which illustrates the remark previously made, that Solon in doing this was beyond his age and struck out new lights for his successors—since on the score of personal disinterestedness, Pittakus and he are equally unimpeachable. What was the condition of Mitylênê afterwards, we have no authorities to tell us. Pittakus is said (if the chronological computers of a latter age can be trusted) to have died in the 52nd Olympiad (B.C. 572-568). Both he and Solon are numbered among the Seven Wise Men of Greece, respecting whom something will be said in a future chapter. The various anecdotes current about him are little better than uncertified exemplifications of a spirit of equal and generous civism: but his songs and his elegiac compositions were familiar to literary Greeks in the age of Plato.

¹ Aristot. Polit. ii. 9, 9. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Πιττακὸς νόμων δημιουργὸς, ἀλλ' οὐ πολιτικός.

CHAPTER XV.

ASIATIC DORIANS.

THE islands of Rhodes, Kôs, Symê, Nisyros, Kasus, and Karpathus, are represented in the Homeric catalogue as furnishing troops to the Grecian armament before Troy. Historical Rhodes, and historical Kôs, are occupied by Dorians, the former with its three separate cities of Lindus, Jalysus, and Kameirus. Asiatic Dorians—their Hexapolis. Two other Dorian cities, both on the adjacent continent, are joined with these four as members of an Amphiktyony on the Triopian promontory, or south-western corner of Asia Minor—thus constituting an Hexapolis, including Halikarnassus, Knidus, Kôs, Lindus, Jalysus, and Kameirus. Knidus was situated on the Triopian promontory itself; Halikarnassus more to the northward, on the northern coast of the Keramic Gulf: neither of the two are named in Homer.

The legendary account of the origin of these Asiatic Dorians has already been given, and we are compelled to accept their Hexapolis as a portion of the earliest Grecian history, of which no previous account can be rendered. The circumstance of Rhodes and Kôs being included in the Catalogue of the Iliad leads us to suppose that they were Greek at an earlier period than the Ionic or Æolic settlements. It may be remarked that both the brothers Antiphus and Pheidippus from Kôs, and Tlêpolemus from Rhodes, are Herakleids,—the only Herakleids who figure in the Iliad: and the deadly combat between Tlêpolemus and Sarpêdôn may perhaps be an heroic copy drawn from real contests, which doubtless often took place between the Rhodians and their neighbours the Lykians. That Rhodes and Kôs were already Dorian at the period of the Homeric Catalogue, I see no reason for doubting. They are not called Dorian in that Catalogue, but we may well suppose that the name Dorian had not at that early period come to be employed as a great distinctive class name, as it was

afterwards used in contrast with Ionian and Æolian. In relating the history of Pheidôn of Argos, I have mentioned various reasons for suspecting that the trade of the Dorians on the eastern coast of the Peloponnesus was considerable at an early period, and there may well have been Doric migrations by sea to Krête and Rhodes, anterior to the time of the *Iliad*.

Herodotus tells us that the six Dorian towns, which had established their Amphiktyony on the Triopian promontory, were careful to admit none of the neighbouring Dorians to partake of it. Of these neighbouring Dorians, we make out the islands of Astypalæa, and Kalymnæ,¹ Nisyrus, Karpathus, Symê, Têlus, Kasus, and Chalkia; also, on the continental coast, Myndus, situated on the same peninsula with Halikarnassus—and Phasêlis, on the eastern coast of Lykia towards Pamphylia. The strong coast-rock of Iasus, midway between Milêtus and Halikarnassus, is said to have been originally founded by Argeians, but was compelled in consequence of destructive wars with the Karians to admit fresh settlers and a Neleid Ekist from Milêtus.² Bargylia and Karyanda seem to have been Karian settlements more or less hellenised. There probably were other Dorian towns, not specially known to us, upon whom this exclusion from the Triopian solemnities was brought to operate. The six Amphiktyonised cities were in course of time reduced to five, by the exclusion of Halikarnassus: the reason for which (as we are told) was, that a citizen of Halikarnassus, who had gained a tripod as prize, violated the regulation, which required that the tripod should always be consecrated as an offering in the Triopian temple, in order that he might carry it off to decorate his own house.³ The Dorian Amphiktyony was thus contracted into a Pentapolis. At what time this incident took place we do not know, nor is it perhaps unreasonable to conjecture that the increasing predominance of the Karian element at Halikarnassus had some effect in producing the exclusion, as well as the individual misbehaviour of the victor Agasiklês.

¹ See the Inscriptions in Boeckh's collection, 2483—2671: the latter is an Iasian Inscription, reciting a Doric decree by the inhabitants of Kalymnæ; also Ahrens, *De*

Dialecto Doricâ, p. 15, 553; Diodor. v. 53, 54.

² Polyb. xvi. 5.

³ Herodot. i. 144.

CHAPTER XVI.

NATIVES OF ASIA MINOR WITH WHOM THE GREEKS BECAME CONNECTED.

FROM the Grecian settlements on the coast of Asia Minor¹ and on the adjacent islands, our attention must now be turned to those non-Hellenic kingdoms and people with whom they there came in contact.

Our information with respect to all of them is unhappily very scanty. And we shall not improve our narrative by taking the catalogue, presented in the *Iliad*, of allies of Troy, and construing it as if it were a chapter of geography. If any proof were wanting of the unpromising results of such a proceeding, we may find it in the confusion which darkens so much of the work of Strabo—who perpetually turns aside from the actual and ascertainable condition of the countries which he is describing, to conjectures on Homeric antiquity, often announced as if they were unquestionable facts. Where the Homeric geography is confirmed by other evidence, we note the fact with satisfaction; where it stands unsupported, or difficult to reconcile with other statements, we cannot venture to reason upon it as in itself a substantial testimony. The author of the *Iliad*, as he has congregated together a vast body of the different sections of Greeks for the attack of the consecrated hill of Ilium, so he has also summoned all the various inhabitants of Asia Minor to cooperate in its defence. He has planted portions of the Kilikians and Lykians, whose historical existence is on the southern coast, in the immediate vicinity of the Troad. Those only will complain of this who have accustomed themselves to regard him as an historian or geographer. If we are content to read him only as the first of poets, we shall no more quarrel with him for a geographical misplacement, than with his successor Arktinus for bringing on the battle-field of Ilium the Amazons or the Æthiopians.

Indigenous
nations of
Asia Minor
—Homeric
geography.

The geography of Asia Minor is even now very imperfectly known,¹ and the matters ascertained respecting its ancient divisions and boundaries relate almost entirely either to the later periods of the Persian empire, or to times after the Macedonian and even after the Roman conquest. To state them as they stood in the time of Cræsus king of Lydia, before the arrival of the conquering Cyrus, is a task in which we find little evidence to sustain us. The great mountain chain of Taurus, which begins from the Chelidonian promontory on the southern coast of Lykia, and strikes north-eastward as far as Armenia, formed the most noted boundary-line during the Roman times. But Herodotus does not once mention it; the river Halys is in his view the most important geographical limit. Northward of Taurus, on the upper portions of the rivers Halys and Sangarius, was situated the spacious and lofty central plain of Asia Minor. To the north, west, and south of this central plain, the region is chiefly mountainous, as it approaches all the three seas, the Euxine, the Ægean, and the Pamphylian—most mountainous in the case of the latter, permitting no rivers of long course. The mountains Kadmus, Messôgis, Tmôlus, stretch westward towards the Ægean Sea, yet leaving extensive spaces of plain and long valleys, so that the Mæander, the Kaïster, and the Hermus, have each considerable length of course. The north-western part includes the mountainous regions of Ida, Têmnus, and the Mysian Olympus, with much admixture of fertile and productive ground. The elevated tracts near the Euxine appear to have been the most wooded—especially Kytôrus: the Parthenius, the Sangarius, the Halys, and the Iris, are all considerable streams flowing northward towards that sea. Nevertheless, the plain land interspersed through these numerous elevations was often of the greatest fertility;

¹ For the general geography of Asia Minor, see Albert Forbiger, *Handbuch der Alt. Geogr.* part ii. sect. 61, and an instructive little treatise, *Fünf Inschriften und fünf Städte in Klein-Asien*, by Franz and Kiepert, Berlin 1840, with a map of Phrygia annexed. The latter is particularly valuable as showing us how much yet remains

to be made out: it is not unfrequently the practice with the compilers of geographical manuals to make a show of full knowledge, and to disguise the imperfection of their data. Nor do they always keep in view the necessity of distinguishing between the territorial names and divisions of one age and those of another.

and as a whole, the peninsula of Asia Minor was considered as highly productive by the ancients, in grain, wine, fruit, cattle, and in many parts, oil; though the cold central plain did not carry the olive.¹

Along the western shores of this peninsula, where the various bands of Greek emigrants settled, we hear of Pelasgians, Teukrians, Mysians, Bithynians, Phrygians, Lydians or Mæonians, Karians, Lelegians. Farther eastward are Lykians, Pisidians, Kilikians, Phrygians, Kappadokians, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, &c. Speaking generally, we may say that the Phrygians, Teukrians and Mysians appear in the north-western portion, between the river Hermus and the Propontis—the Karians and Lelegians south of the river Mæander,—and the Lydians in the central region between the two. Pelasgians are found here and there, seemingly both in the valley of the Hermus and in that of the Kaïster. Even in the time of Herodotus, there were Pelasgian settlements at Plakia and Skylakê on the Propontis, westward of Kyzikus: and O. Müller would trace the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians to Tyrrha, an inland town of Lydia, whence he imagines (though without much probability) the name Tyrrhenian to be derived.

Names and situations of the different people.

One important fact to remark, in respect to the native population of Asia Minor at the first opening of this history, is, that they were not aggregated into great kingdoms or confederations, nor even into any large or populous cities—but distributed into many inconsiderable tribes, so as to present no overwhelming resistance, and threaten no formidable danger, to the successive bodies of Greek emigrants. The only exception to this is, the Lydian monarchy of Sardis, the real strength of which begins with Gygês and the dynasty of the Mermnadæ, about 700 B. C. Though the increasing force of that kingdom ultimately extinguished the independence of the Greeks in Asia, it seems to have noway impeded their development, as it stood when they first arrived and for a long time afterwards. Nor were either Karians or Mysians united under any one king, so as to possess facilities for aggression or conquest.

Not originally aggregated into large kingdoms or cities.

¹ Cicero, *Pro Lege Maniliâ*. c. the olive tree, in Ritter, *Erdkunde*, West-Asien, b. iii., Abtheilung iii.; Abschn. i. s. 50, p. 522—537.

River Halys—the ethnographical boundary. Syro-Arabbians eastward of that river.

As far as can be made out from our scanty data, it appears that all the nations of Asia Minor west of the river Halys, were, in a large sense, of the kindred race with each other, as well as with the Thracians on the European side of the Bosphorus and Hellespont. East of the Halys dwelt the people of Syro-Arabian or Semitic race,—Assyrians, Syrians, and Kappadokians—as well as Kilikians, Pamphylians and Solymi, along its upper course and farther southward to the Pamphylian sea. Westward of the Halys the languages were not Semitic, but belonging to a totally different family¹—cognate yet distinct one from another, perhaps not mutually intelligible. The Karians, Lydians and Mysians recognised a certain degree of brotherhood with each other, attested by common religious sacrifices in the temple of Zeus Karios at Mylasa.² But it is by no means certain that each of these nations mutually comprehended each other's speech. Herodotus, from whom we derive the knowledge of these common sacrifices, acquaints us at the same time that the Kaunians in the south-western corner of the peninsula had no share in them, though speaking the same language as the Karians. He does not, however, seem to consider identity or difference of language as a test of national affinity.

Along the coast of the Euxine, from the Thracian Bosphorus eastward to the river Halys, dwelt Bithynians or Thynians, Mariandynians and Paphlagonians—all recognised branches of the widely-extended Thracian race. The Bithynians especially, in the north-western portion of this territory, reaching from the Euxine to the Propontis, are often spoken

¹ Herodot. i. 72; Heeren, *Ideen über den Verkehr der Alten Welt*, Part. i. Abth. i. p. 142—145. It may be remarked, however, that the Armenians, eastward of the Halys, are treated by Herodotus as colonists from the Phrygians (vii. 73): Stephanus Byz. says the same *v. Ἀρμενία*, adding also, *καὶ τῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι*. The more careful researches of modern linguists, after much groundless assertion on the part of those who

preceded them, have shown that the Armenian language belongs in its structure to the Indo-Germanic family, and is essentially distinct from the Semitic: see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, West-Asien, b. iii. Abth. iii.; Abschn. i. 5. 36. p. 577—582. Herodotus rarely takes notice of the language spoken, nor does he on this occasion, when speaking of the river Halys as a boundary.

² Herodot. i. 170 171.

of as Asiatic Thracians—while on the other hand various tribes among the Thracians of Europe are denominated Thyni or Thynians:¹ so little difference was there in the population on the two sides of the Bosphorus, alike brave, predatory, and sanguinary. The Bithynians of Asia are also sometimes called Bebrykians, under which denomination they extend as far southward as the Gulf of Kios in the Propontis.² They here come in contact with Mygdonians, Mysians and Phrygians. Along the southern coast of the Propontis, between the rivers Rhyndakus and Æsêpus, in immediate neighbourhood with the powerful Greek colony of Kyzikus, appear the Doliones; next, Pelasgians at Plakia and Skylakê; then again, along the coast of the Hellespont near Abydus and Lampsakus, and occupying a portion of the Troad, we find mention made of other Bebrykians.³ In the interior of the Troad, or the region of Ida, are Teukrians and Mysians. The latter seem to extend southward down to Pergamus and the region of Mount Sipylus, and eastward to the mountainous region called the Mysian Olympus, south of the lake Askanius, near which they join with the Phrygians.⁴

¹ Strabo, vii. pp. 295—303; xii. pp. 542, 564, 565, 572; Herodot. i. 28; vii. 74, 75; Xenophon. Hellenic. i. 3, 2; Anabasis, vii. 2, 22—22. Mannert, Geographie der Gr. und Römer, b. viii. ch. ii. p. 403.

² Dionys. Perieget. 805: Apollodôrus, i. 9, 20. Theokritus puts the Bebrykians on the coast of the Euxine—Id. xxii. 29; Syncell. p. 340, Bonn. The story in Apollon, Bell. Mithridat. init. is a singular specimen of Grecian fancy, and anxiety to connect the antiquities of a nation with the Trojan war. The Greeks whom he followed assigned the origin of the Bithynians to Thracian followers of Rhêsus, who fled from Troy after the latter had been killed by Diomêdes: Dolonkus, eponym of the Thracians in the Chersonesus, is called brother of Bithynus (Steph. Byz. Διολυκος—Βιθύνης).

The name Μαρτυν-δουοί, like Βιθυνοί, may probably be an extension or compound of the primitive Θουοί; perhaps also Βέβρυκες stands in the same relation to Βριγές or Φρυγές. Hellenikus wrote Θόμβριον, Δόμβριον (Steph. Byz. in v.).

Kios is Mysian in Herodotus, v. 122: according to Skylax, the coast from the Gulf of Astakus to that of Kios is Mysia (c. 93).

³ Charon of Lampsakus, Fr. 7, ed. Didot. Χάρων δὲ φησὶ καὶ τὴν Λαμψακηῶν χώραν προτέρην Βεβρυκίαν καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Βεβρύκων τὸ δὲ γένος αὐτῶν ἰσχυρίζεται διὰ τοῦ γενομένου πολέμου. Strabo, xiii. p. 586; Conon, Narr. 12; Dionys. Hal. i. 54.

⁴ Hekataeus, Frag. 204, ed. Didot; Apollodôr. i. 9, 18; Strabo, xii. p. 564—575.

As far as any positive opinion can be formed respecting nations of whom we know so little, it would appear that the Mysians and Phrygians are a sort of connecting link between Lydians and Karians on one side, and Thracians (European as well as Asiatic) on the other—a remote ethnical affinity pervading the whole. Ancient migrations are spoken of in both directions across the Hellespont and the Thracian Bosphorus. It was the opinion of some that Phrygians, Mysians and Thracians had immigrated into Asia from Europe; and the Lydian historian Xanthus referred the arrival of the Phrygians to an epoch subsequent to the Trojan war.¹ On the other hand, Herodotus speaks of a vast body of Teukrians and Mysians, who, before the Trojan war, had crossed the strait from Asia into Europe, expelled many of the European Thracians from their seats, crossed the Strymôn and the Macedonian rivers, and penetrated as far southward as the river Peneus in Thessaly—as far westward as the Ionic Gulf. This Teukro-Mysian migration (he tells us) brought about two consequences: first, the establishment near the river Strymôn of the Pæonians, who called themselves Teukrian colonists;² next, the crossing into Asia of many of the dispossessed Thracian tribes from the neighbourhood of the Strymôn into the north-western region of Asia Minor, by which the Bithynian or Asiatic Thracian people was formed. The Phrygians also are supposed by some to have originally occupied an European soil on the borders of Macedonia near the snow-clad Mount Bermion, at which time they were called Briges,—an appellative name in the Lydian language equivalent to freemen or Franks;³ while the Mysians are said to have come from the north-eastern portions of European Thrace south of the Danube, known under the Roman empire by the name of Mœsia.⁴ But with respect to the Mysians there was also another story, according to which they were described as colonists emanating from the Lydians; put forth

¹ Xanth. Fragm. 5, ed. Didot.

² Herodot. vii. 20—75.

³ Strabo, vii. p. 295; xii. p. 550: Herodot. vii. 73: Hesych. v. Βρίγες.

⁴ Strabo, vii. p. 295; xii. pp. 542, 564, 571, where he cites the geographer Artemidôrus. In the passage of the Iliad (xiii. 5), the

Μυσοὶ ἀγγέμαχοι appear to be conceived by the poet in European Thrace; but Apollodôrus does not seem to have so construed the passage. Niebuhr (Kleine Schriften, p. 370) expresses himself more confidently than the evidence warrants.

according to that system of devoting by solemn vow a tenth of the inhabitants, chosen by lot, to seek settlements elsewhere, which recurs not unfrequently among the stories of early emigrations, as the consequence of distress and famine. And this last opinion was supported by the character of the Mysian language, half Lydian and half Phrygian, of which both the Lydian historian Xanthus, and Menekratês of Elæa,¹ (by whom the opinion was announced,) must have been very competent judges.

From such tales of early migration both ways across the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, all that we can with any certainty infer is, a certain measure of affinity among the population of Thrace and Asia Minor—especially visible in the case of the Phrygians and Mysians. The name and legends of the Phrygian hero Midas are connected with different towns throughout the extensive region of Asiatic Phrygia—Kelænæ, Pessinûs, Ankyra,² Gordium—as well as with the neighbourhood of Mount Bermion in Macedonia. The adventure whereby Midas got possession of Silenus, mixing wine with the spring of which he drank, was localised at the latter place as well as at the town of Thymbrion, nearly at the eastern extremity of Asiatic Phrygia.³ The name Mygdonia, and the eponymous hero Mygdôn, belong not less to the European territory near the river Axios (afterwards a part of Macedonia) than to the Asiatic coast of the eastern Propontis, between Kios and the river Rhyndakus.⁴ Otreus

¹ Strabo, xii. p. 572; Herodot. vii. 74.

² Diodor. iii. 59; Arrian, ii. 3, 1; Quint. Curt. iii. 1, 12; Athenæ. x. p. 415. We may also notice the town of Κορυδαίων near Μιδάειον in Phrygia, as connected with the name of the Thracian goddess *Kotys* (Strabo, x. p. 470; xii. p. 576).

³ Herodot. viii. 138; Theopompus, Frag. 74, 75, 76, Didot (he introduced a long dialogue between Midas and Silenus—Dionys. Halik. Vett. Script. Censur. p. 70; Theon. Progymnas. c. 2); Strabo, xiv. p. 680; Xenophon. Anab. i. 2, 13.

⁴ Strabo, vii. p. 575, 576; Steph. Byz. Μυγδωνία; Thucyd. ii. 99. The

territory Mygdonia and the Mygdonians, in the distant region of Mesopotamia, eastward of the river Chaboras (Plutarch. Lucullus, 32; Polyb. v. 51; Xenophon, Anab. iv. 3, 4), is difficult to understand, since it is surprising to find a branch of these more westerly Asiatics in the midst of the Syro-Arabian population. Strabo (xv. p. 747) justly supposes it to date only from the times of the Macedonian conquest of Asia, which would indeed be disproved by the mention of the name in Xenophon; but this reading in the text of Xenophon is rejected by the best recent editors, since several MSS. have *Μυγδονία* in place of *Μυγ-*

and Mygdôn are the commanders of the Phrygians in the Iliad; and the river Odrysês, which flowed through the territory of the Asiatic Mygdonians into the Rhyndakus, affords another example of homonymy with the Odrysian Thracians¹ in Europe. And as these coincidences of names and legends conduct us to the idea of analogy and affinity between Thracians and Phrygians, so we find Archilochus, the earliest poet remaining to us who mentions them as contemporaries, coupling the two in the same simile.² To this early Parian Iambist, the population on the two sides of the Hellespont appears to have presented similarity of feature and customs.

To settle with any accuracy the extent and condition of these Asiatic nations during the early days of Grecian settlement among them is impracticable. The problem was not to be solved even by the ancient geographers, with their superior means of knowledge. The early indigenous distribution of the Phrygian population is unknown to us; for even the division into the Greater and Lesser Phrygia belongs to a period at least subsequent to the Persian conquest (like most of the recognised divisions of Asia Minor), and is only misleading if applied to the period earlier than Crœsus. It appears that the name Phrygians, like that of Thracians, was a generic designation, and comprehended tribes or separate communities who had also specific names of their own. We trace Phrygians at wide distances: on the western bank of the river Hælys—at Kelænæ, in the interior of Asia Minor, on the upper course of the river Mæander—and on

δόνου. See Forbiger, Handbuch der Alten Geographie, Part. ii. sect. 98, p. 628.

¹ Iliad, iii. 188; Strabo, xii. p. 551. The town of Otrœa, of which Otreus seems to be the eponymus, was situated in Phrygia just on the borders of Bithynia (Strabo, xii. p. 566).

² Archiloch. Fragm. 28 Schneid., 26 Gaisf.—

.....ὥσπερ ἀλὲν βρώτων ἡ Θρηῖς
ἀνὴρ

*H Φρωξ̄ ἐβρωζε, &c.

The passage is too corrupt to support any inference, except the

near approximation in the poet's mind of Thracians and Phrygians. The phrase ἀλὲν βρώτων ἡ Θρηῖς is probably to be illustrated by the Anabasis of Xenophon (iv. 5. 27), where he describes the half-starved Greek soldiers refreshing themselves in the Armenian villages. They found there large bowls full of barley-wine or beer, with the grains of barley floating in it. They drank the liquid by sucking through long reeds or straws without any joint in them (καλαμοὶ γόνυα οὐκ ἔχοντες) which they found put there for the express purpose.

the coast of the Propontis near Kios. In both of these latter localities there is a salt lake called Askanius, which is the name both of the leader of the Phrygian allies of Troy and of the country from whence they are said to come, in the *Iliad*.¹ They thus occupy a territory bounded on the south by the Pisidian mountains—on the west by the Lydians (indicated by a terminal pillar set up by Cræsus at Kydrara²)—on the east by the river Halys, on the other side of which were Kappadokians or Syrians:—on the north by Paphlagonians and Mariandynians. But it seems besides this, that they must have extended farther to the west, so as to occupy a great portion of the region of Mount Ida and the Troad. For Apollodôrus considered that both the Doliones and the Bebrykians were included in the great Phrygian name;³ and even in the ancient poem called 'Phorônîs' (which can hardly be placed later than 600 B.C.), the Daktyls of Mount Ida, the great discoverers of metallurgy, are expressly named Phrygian.⁴ The custom of the Attic tragic poets to call the inhabitants of the Troad Phrygians, does not necessarily imply any translation of inhabitants, but an employment of the general name, as better known to the audience whom they addressed, in preference to the less notorious specific name—just as the inhabitants of Bithynia might be described either as Bithynians or as Asiatic Thracians.

If (as the language of Herodotus and Ephorus⁵ would seem to imply) we suppose the Phrygians to be at a considerable distance from the coast and dwelling only in the interior, it will be difficult to explain to ourselves how or where the early

Their influence upon the early Greek colonists.

¹ *Iliad*, ii. 873; xiii. 792: Arrian, i. 29: Herodot. vii. 30. The boundary of the Phrygians southward towards the Pisidians, and westward as well as northwestward towards the Lydians and Mysians, could never be distinctly traced (Strabo, xii. pp. 564, 576, 628): the volcanic region called Katakekaumenê is referred in Xenophon's time to Mysia (*Anab.* i. 2, 10): compare the remarks of Kiepert in the treatise above referred to *Fünf Inschriften und fünf Städte*, p. 27.

² Herodot. i. 72; vii. 30.

³ Strabo, xiv. p. 678: compare xiii. p. 586. The legend makes Doliôn son of Silênus, who is so much connected with the Phrygian Midas (Alexand. *Ætolus* ap. Strab. xiv. p. 681).

⁴ *Phorônîs*, *Fragm.* 5, ed. Düntzer, p. 57—

.....ἐνθα γόητες
'Ιδαίου Φρύγες ἄνδρες, ὀρέσσεσσι,
οἷχαδ' ἐναίου, &c.

⁵ Ephorus ap. Strabo, xiv. p. 678; Herodot. v. 49.

Greek colonists came to be so much influenced by them; whereas the supposition that the tribes occupying the Troad and the region of Ida were Phrygians elucidates this point. And the fact is incontestable, that both Phrygians and Lydians did not only modify the religious manifestations of the Asiatic Greeks, and through them of the Grecian world generally—but also rendered important aid towards the first creation of the Grecian musical scale. Of this the denominations of the scale afford a proof.

Three primitive musical modes were employed by the Greek poets, in the earliest times of which later authors could find any account—the Lydian, which was the most acute—the Dorian, which was the most grave—and the Phrygian intermediate between the two; the highest note of the Lydian being one tone higher, that of the Dorian one tone lower, than the highest note of the Phrygian scale.¹ Such were the three modes or scales, each including only a tetrachord, upon which the earliest Greek masters worked: many other scales, both higher and lower, were subsequently added. It thus appears that the earliest Greek music was, in large proportion, borrowed from Phrygia and Lydia. When we consider that in the eighth and seventh centuries before the Christian æra, music and poetry conjoined (often also with dancing or rhythmical gesticulation) was the only intellectual manifestation known among the Greeks—and moreover, that in the belief of all the ancient writers, every musical mode had its own peculiar emotional influences, powerfully modified the temper of hearers, and was intimately connected with the national worship—we shall see that this transmission of the musical modes implies much both of communication and interchange between the Asiatic Greeks and the indigenous population of the continent. Now the fact of communication between the Ionic and the Æolic Greeks, and their eastern neighbours, the Lydians, is easy to comprehend generally, though we have no details as to the way in which it took place. But we do not distinctly see where it was that the Greeks came so much into contact with the Phrygians, except in the region of Ida, the Troad, and the southern coast of the Propontis. To this region belonged those early Phrygian

¹ See the learned and valuable Dissertation of Boeckh, *De Metris Pindari*, iii. 8. p. 235–239.

musicians (under the heroic names of Olympus, Hyagnis, Marsyas), from whom the Greeks borrowed.¹ And we may remark that the analogy between Thracians and Phrygians seems partly to hold in respect both to music and to religion; since the old mythe in the Iliad, wherein the Thracian bard Thamyras, rashly contending in song with the Muses, is conquered, blinded and stripped of his art, seems to be the prototype of the very similar story respecting the contention of Apollo with the Phrygian Marsyas²—the cithara against the flute; while the Phrygian Midas is farther characterised as the religious disciple of Thracian Orpheus.

In my previous chapter relating to the legend of Troy,³ mention has been already made of the early fusion of the Æolic Greeks with the indigenous population of the Troad. It is from hence probably that the Phrygian music with the flute as its instrument—employed in the orgiastic rites and worship of the Great Mother in Mount Ida, in the Mysian Olympus, and other mountain regions of the country, and even in the Greek city of Lampsakus⁴

Phrygian music and worship among the Greeks in Asia Minor.

¹ Plutarch, *De Musica*, c. 5, 7, p. 1132; Aristoxenus ap. Athenæ. xiv. p. 624; Alkman, *Frag.* 104, ed. Bergk.

Aristoxenus seems to have considered the Phrygian Olympus as the great inventive genius who gave the start to Grecian music (Plutarch, *ib.* p. 1135—1141): his music was employed almost entirely for hymns to the gods, religious worship, the *Mêtrôa* or ceremonies in honour of the Great Mother (p. 1140). Compare Clemen. Alexand. *Strom.* i. p. 306.

Μαρσύας may perhaps have its etymology in the Karian or Lydian language. *Σόβας* was in Karian equivalent to *τίγας* (see Steph. Byz. v. *Σοβαγῆλα*): *Mā* was one of the various names of Rhea (Steph. Byz. v. *Μάστρυρα*). The word would have been written *Μαρσας* by an Æolic Greek.

Marsyas is represented by Te-

lestēs the dithyrambist as a satyr, son of a nymph—*νυμφηγενεῖ χειροκτόνῳ φησὶ Μαρσύα κλέος* (Telestēs ap. Athenæ. xiv. p. 617).

² Xenoph. *Anab.* i. 2, 8; Homer. *Iliad.* ii. 595; Strabo, xii. p. 578: the latter connects Olympus with *Kelænæ*, as well as Marsyas. Justin, xi. 7: "*Mida, qui ab Orpheo sacrorum solemnibus initiatus, Phrygiam religionibus implevit.*"

The coins of Midæion, Kadi, and Prymnēssus, in the more northerly portion of Phrygia, bear the impress of the Phrygian hero Midas (Eckhel, *Doctrina Nummorum Vet.* iii. p. 143-162).

³ Part I. ch. xv.

⁴ The fragment of Hippônax mentioning an eunuch of Lampsakus, rich and well-fed, reveals to us the Asiatic habits, and probably worship, in that place (*Fragm.* 26, ed. Bergk):—

—passed to the Greek composers. Its introduction is coæval with the earliest facts respecting Grecian music, and must have taken place during the first century of the recorded Olympiads. In the Homeric poems we find no allusion to it, but it may probably have contributed to stimulate that development of lyric and elegiac composition which grew up among the post-homeric Æolians and Ionians, to the gradual displacement of the old epic. Another instance of the fusion of Phrygians with Greeks is to be found in the religious ceremonies of Kyzikus, Kius, and Prusa, on the southern and south-eastern coasts of the Propontis. At the first of the three places, the worship of the Great Mother of the Gods was celebrated with much solemnity on the hill of Dindymon, bearing the same name as that mountain in the interior, near Pessinus, from whence Cybelê derived her principal surname of Dindymênê.¹ The analogy between the Kretan and Phrygian religious practices has been often noticed, and confusion occurs not unfrequently between Mount Ida in Krête and the mountain of the same name in the Troad; while the Teukrians of Gergis in the Troad—who were not yet Hellenised even at the time of the Persian invasion, and who were affirmed by the elegiac poet Kallinus to have immigrated from Krête—if they were not really Phrygians, differed so little from them as to be called such by the poets.

The Phrygians are celebrated by Herodotus for the abundance both of their flocks and their agricultural produce.² The excellent wool for which Milêtus was always renowned came in part from the upper valley of the river Mæander, which they inhabited. He contrasts them in this respect with the Lydians, among whom the attributes and capacities of persons dwelling in cities are chiefly brought to our view: much gold and silver, retail trade, indigenous games, unchastity of young women, yet combined with thrift and industry.³ Phrygian cheese and salt-provisions—Lydian unguents,⁴ carpets and coloured shoes—acquired notoriety.

Θόνησαν τε καὶ μυρτωπτόν ἡμέρας
πάσας

Δαινόμενος, ὥσπερ Λαμφακηνός
ἐὺνοῦχος, &c.

¹ Strabo, xii. p. 564-575; Herodot. iv. 76.

² Herodot. v. 49. πολυπροβατωτα-
τοι καὶ πολυκαρπώτατοι.

³ Herodot. i. 93, 94.

⁴ Τάρπιχος Φρυγίων (Eupolis,
Marik. Fr. 23. p. 506. Meineke)—
τυρός, Athenæ. xii. 516—ισχάδες,

Both Phrygians and Lydians are noticed by Greek authors subsequent to the establishment of the Persian empire as a people timid, submissive, industrious, and useful as slaves—an attribute not ascribed to the Mysians,¹ who are usually described as brave and hardy mountaineers, difficult to hold in subjection: nor even true respecting the Lydians, during the earlier times anterior to the complete overthrow of Cræsus by Cyrus; for they were then esteemed for their warlike prowess. Nor was the different character of these two Asiatic people yet effaced even in the second century after the Christian æra. For the same Mysians, who in the time of Herodotus and Xenophon gave so much trouble to the Persian satraps, are described by the rhetor Aristeidês as seizing and plundering his property at Laneion near Hadriani—while on the contrary he mentions the Phrygians as habitually coming from the interior towards the coast regions to do the work of the olive-gathering.² During the times of Grecian autonomy and ascendancy, in the fifth century B.C., the conception of a Phrygian or a Lydian was associated in the Greek mind with ideas of contempt and servitude,³ to which unquestionably these Asiatics became fashioned, since it was habitual with them under the Roman empire to sell their own children into

Alexis ap. Athenæ. iii. 75: *some* Phrygians however had never seen a fig-tree (Cicero pro Flacco, c. 17).

Carpets of Sardis (Athenæ. v. 197): φοινικίδες Σαρδηνιακαὶ (Plato, Comicus ap. Athenæ. ii. 48); 'Ἀσιζόμενοι πᾶν τὸ Σάρδεων γένος (Alexis ap. Athenæ. xv. p. 691, and again *ib.* p. 690); Πόδας δὲ Ποίχιλος μάστιγος ἐκάλυπτε Λύδιον καλὸν ἔργον (Sappho, Fragm. 54. ed. Schneidewin; Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 1174).

¹ Xenophon, Anabas. i. 6, 7; iii. 2, 23; Memorab. iii. 5, 26, ἀχοντιστὶ Μυσηὶ; Æschyl. Pers. 40, ἀβροδίαιτοι Λύδοι.

² Aristeid. Orat. xxvi. p. 346. The λόφος Ἄτυος was very near to this place Laneion, which shows the identity of the religious names throughout Lydia and Mysia (Or.

xxv. p. 318). About the Phrygians, Aristeidês, Orat. xlvi. p. 308, τῶν δὲ πλουσίων ἕνεκα εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἀπαίρουσιν, ὥστε οἱ Φρύγες τῶν ἐλαῶν ἕνεκα τῆς συλλογῆς.

The declamatory prolixities of Aristeidês offer little reward to the reader except these occasional valuable evidences of existing custom.

³ Hermippus ap. Athenæ. i. p. 27. 'Ἀνδράποδ' ἐκ Φρυγίας, &c., the saying ascribed to Sokratês in Ælian, V. H. x. 14; Euripid. Alcest. 691; Xenophon, Agesilaus, i. 21; Strabo, vii. p. 304; Polyb. iv. 38. The Thracians sold their children into slavery—(Herod. v. 6) as the Circassians at present (Clarke's Travels, vol. i. p. 378).

Δουλοτέρως λάγω Φρυγός was a Greek proverb (Strabo, i. p. 36: compare Cicero pro Flacco, c. 27).

slavery¹—a practice certainly very rare among the Greeks, even when they too had become confounded among the mass of subjects of imperial Rome. But we may fairly assume that this association of contempt with the name of a Phrygian or a Lydian did not prevail during the early period of Grecian Asiatic settlement, or even in the time of Alkman, Mimnermus, or Sappho, down to 600 B.C. We first trace evidence of it in a fragment of Hippônax. It began with the subjection of Asia Minor generally, first under Crœsus² and then under Cyrus, and with the sentiment of comparative pride which grew up afterwards in the minds of European Greeks. The native Phrygian tribes along the Propontis, with whom the Greek colonists came in contact—Bebrykians, Doliones, Mygdonians, &c.—seem to have been agricultural, cattle-breeding, and horse-breeding; yet more vehement and warlike than the Phrygians of the interior, as far at least as can be made out by their legends. The brutal but gigantic Amykus son of Poseidôn, chief of the Bebrykians, with whom Pollux contends in boxing—and his brother Mygdôn to whom Hêrâklês is opposed—are samples of a people whom the Greek poets considered ferocious, and not submissive;³ while the celebrity of the horses of Erichthonius, Laomedôn, and Asius of Arisbê, in the *Iliad*, shows that horse-breeding was a distinguishing attribute of the region of Ida, not less in the mind of Homer than in that of Virgil.⁴

According to the legend of the Phrygian town of Gordium on the river Sangarius, the primitive Phrygian

¹ Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. viii. 7, 12, p. 346. The slave-merchants seem to have visited Thessaly, and to have bought slaves at Pagasæ; these were either Penests sold by their masters out of the country, or perhaps non-Greeks procured from the borderers in the interior (Aristoph. Plutus, 521; Hermippus ap. Athenæ i. p. 27. Αἱ Πάγασαι δούλους καὶ στιγματίας παρέχουσι.

² Phrygian slaves seem to have been numerous at Milêtus in the time of Hippônax, Frag. 36, ed. Bergk:—

Καὶ τοὺς σολοίλους, ἦν λάβωσι,
περνῶσιν,

Φρύγας μὲν ἐς Μιλήτων ἀλφιτεύ-
σοντας.

³ Theocrit. Idyll. xxii. 47-133; Apollon. Rhod. i. 937-954; ii. 5-140; Valer. Flacc. iv. 100; Apollodôr. ii. 5, 9.

⁴ *Iliad*. ii. 128; xii. 97; xx. 219; Virgil, Georgic. iii. 270:—

"Illas ducit amor (equas) trans
Gargara, transque sonantem
Ascanium," &c.

Klausen (*Æneas und die Penaten*, vol. i. pp. 52-56, 102-107) has put together with great erudition all the legendary indications respect-
ing these regions.

king Gordius was originally a poor husbandman, upon the yoke of whose team, as he one day tilled his field, an eagle perched and posted himself. Astonished at this portent, he consulted the Telmissean augurs to know what it meant, when a maiden of the prophetic breed acquainted him that the kingdom was destined to his family. He espoused her, and the offspring of the marriage was Midas. Sedition afterwards breaking out among the Phrygians, they were directed by an oracle, as the only means of tranquillity, to choose for themselves as king the man whom they should first see approaching in a waggon. Gordius and Midas happened to be then coming into the town in their waggon, and the crown was conferred upon them. Their waggon, consecrated in the citadel of Gordium to Zeus Basileus, became celebrated from the insoluble knot whereby the yoke was attached, and from the severance of it afterwards by the sword of Alexander the Great. Whosoever could untie the knot, to him the kingdom of Asia was portended, and Alexander was the first whose sword both fulfilled the condition and realised the prophecy.¹

Primitive
Phrygian
king or
hero
Gordius.

Midas.

Of these legendary Phrygian names and anecdotes we can make no use for historical purposes. We know nothing of any Phrygian kings, during the historical times; but Herodotus tells us of a certain Midas son of Gordius, king of Phrygia, who was the first foreign sovereign that ever sent offerings to the Delphian temple, anterior to Gygês of Lydia. This Midas dedicated to the Delphian god the throne on which he was in the habit of sitting to administer justice. Chronologers have referred the incident to a Phrygian king Midas placed by Eusebius in the tenth Olympiad—a supposition which there are no means of verifying.² There may have been a real Midas king of Gordium; but that there was ever any great united Phrygian monarchy, we have not the least ground for supposing. The name Gordius son of Midas again appears in the legend

¹ Arrian, ii. 3; Justin, xi. 7.

According to another tale, Midas was son of the Great Mother her-

self (Plutarch, Cæsar, 9; Hygin. fab. 191).

² Herodot. i. 14, with Wesseling's note.

of Cræsus and Solon told by Herodotus, as part of the genealogy of the ill-fated prince Adrastus: here too it seems to represent a legendary rather than a real person.¹

Of the Lydians I shall speak in the following chapter.

¹ Herodot. i. 34.

CHAPTER XVII.

LYDIANS.—MEDES.—CIMMERIANS.—SCYTHIANS.

THE early relations between the Lydians and the Asiatic Greeks, anterior to the reign of Gyges, are not better known to us than those of the Phrygians. Their native music became partly incorporated with the Greek, as the Phrygian music was; to which it was very analogous, both in instruments and in character, though the Lydian mode was considered by the ancients as more effeminate and enervating. The flute was used alike by Phrygians and Lydians, passing from both of them to the Greeks. But the *magadis* or *pectis* (a harp with sometimes as many as twenty strings, sounded two together in octave) is said to have been borrowed by the Lesbian Terpander from the Lydian banquets.¹ The flute-players who acquired esteem among the early Asiatic Greeks were often Phrygian or Lydian slaves; and even the poet Alkman, who gained for himself permanent renown among the Greek lyric poets, though not a slave born at Sardis, as is sometimes said, was probably of Lydian extraction.

Lydians—
their music
and instru-
ments.

It has been already mentioned that Homer knows nothing of Lydia or Lydians. He names Mæonians in juxtaposition with Karians, and we are told by Herodotus that the people once called Mæonian received the new appellation of Lydian from Lydus son of Atys. Sardis, whose almost inexpugnable citadel was situated on a precipitous rock on the northern side of the ridge of Tmólus, overhanging the plain of the river Hermus, was the capital of the Lydian kings. It is not named by Homer, though he mentions both Tmólus and the neighbouring Gygeæan lake: the fortification of it was ascribed to an old Lydian king named Mèlès, and strange legends were told concerning it.² Its

They and
their
capital
Sardis un-
known to
Homer.

¹ Pindar. ap. Athenæ. xiv. p. 635; p. 626; Pausan. iv. 5, 4.
compare Telestès ap. Athenæ. xiv. ² Herodot. i. 84.

possessors were enriched by the neighbourhood of the river Paktôlus, which flowed down from Mount Tmôlus towards the Hermus, bringing considerable quantities of gold in its sands. To this cause historians often ascribed the abundant treasure belonging to Crœsus and his predecessors. But Crœsus possessed, besides, other mines near Pergamus;¹ while another cause of wealth is also to be found in the general industry of the Lydian people, which the circumstances mentioned respecting them seem to attest. They were the first people (according to Herodotus) who ever carried on retail trade; and the first to coin money of gold and silver.²

The archæologists of Sardis in the time of Herodotus (a century after the Persian conquest) carried Early Lydian kings. very far back the antiquity of the Lydian monarchy, by means of a series of names which are in great part, if not altogether, divine and heroic. Herodotus gives us first Manês, Atys, and Lydus—next a line of kings beginning with Hêraklês, twenty-two in number, succeeding each other from father to son and lasting for 505 years. The first of this line of Herakleid kings was Agrôn, descended from Hêraklês in the fourth generation—Hêraklês, Alkæus, Ninus, Bêlus, and Agrôn. The twenty-second prince of this Herakleid family, after an uninterrupted succession of father and son during 505 years, was Kandaulês, called by the Greeks Myrsilus the son of Myrsus. With him the dynasty ended, and ended by one of those curious incidents which Herodotus has narrated with his usual dramatic, yet unaffected, emphasis. It was the divine will that Kandaulês should be destroyed, and he lost his rational judgement. Having a wife the most beautiful woman in Lydia, his vanity could not be satisfied without exhibiting her naked person to Gygês son of Daskylus, his principal confidant and the commander of his guards. In spite of the vehement repugnance of Gygês, this resolution was executed; but the wife became aware of the inexpiable affront, and took her measures to avenge it. Surrounded by her most faithful domestics, she sent for Gygês, and Kandaulês addressed him,—“Two ways are now open to and Gygês. thee, Gygês: take which thou wilt. Either kill Kandaulês, wed me, and acquire the kingdom of Lydia—or

¹ Aristot. *Mirabil. Auscultat.* 52.

² Herodot. i. 94.

else thou must at once perish. For thou hast seen forbidden things, and either thou, or the man who contrived it for thee, must die." Gygês in vain entreated to be spared so terrible an alternative: he was driven to the option, and he chose that which promised safety to himself.¹ The queen, planting him in ambush behind the bed-chamber door, in the very spot where Kandaulês had placed him as a spectator, armed him with a dagger, which he plunged into the heart of the sleeping king.

Thus ended the dynasty of the Herakleids; yet there was a large party in Lydia who indignantly resented the death of Kandaulês, and took arms against Gygês. A civil war ensued, which both parties at length consented to terminate by reference to the Delphian oracle. The decision of that holy referee being given in favour of Gygês, the kingdom of Lydia passed to his dynasty, called the Mermnadæ. But the oracle accompanied its verdict with an intimation that in the person of the fifth descendant of Gygês, the murder of Kandaulês would be avenged—a warning of which (Herodotus innocently remarks) no one took any notice, until it was actually fulfilled in the person of Crœsus.²

The Mermnad dynasty succeeds to the Herakleid.

In this curious legend, which marks the commencement of the dynasty called Mermnadæ, the historical kings of Lydia—we cannot determine how much, or whether any part, is historical. Gygês was probably a real man, contemporary with the youth of the poet Archilochus; but the name Gygês is also an heroic name in Lydian archæology. He is the eponymus of the Gygæan lake near Sardis. Of the many legends told respecting him, Plato has preserved one, according to which, Gygês is a mere herdsman of the king of Lydia: after a terrible storm and earthquake he sees near him a chasm in the earth, into which he descends and finds a vast horse of brass, hollow and partly open, wherein there lies a gigantic corpse with a golden ring. This ring he carries away, and discovers unexpectedly that it possesses the miraculous property of rendering him invisible at pleasure.

Legend of Gygês in Plato.

¹ Herodot. i. 13. αἰδέσθαι αὐτὸς Herodotus.

περιεῖναι—a phrase to which Gibbon has ascribed an intended irony which it is difficult to discover in

² Herodot. i. 13. τοῦτου τοῦ ἔργου λόγον οὐδένα ἐπιστάμενον, πρὶν δὲ ἐπατελεσθῇ.

Being sent on a message to the king he makes the magic ring available to his ambition. He first possesses himself of the person of the queen, then with her aid assassinates the king, and finally seizes the sceptre.¹

The legend thus recounted by Plato, thoroughly Oriental in character, has this one point in common with the Herodotean, that the adventurer Gygês, through the favour and help of the queen, destroys the king and becomes his successor. Feminine preference and patronage are the cause of his prosperity. Klausen has shown² that this "aphrodisiac influence" runs in a peculiar manner through many of the Asiatic legends, both divine and heroic. The Phrygian Midas or Gordius (as before recounted) acquires the throne by marriage with a divinely privileged maiden: the favour, shown by Aphroditê to Anchisês, confers upon the Æneadæ sovereignty in the Troad: moreover the great Phrygian and Lydian goddess Rhea or Cybelê has always her favoured and self-devoting youth Atys, who is worshipped along with her, and who serves as a sort of mediator between her and mankind. The feminine element appears predominant in Asiatic mythes. Midas, Sardanapalus, Sandôn, and even Hêraklês,³ are described as clothed in women's attire and working at the loom; while on the other hand the Amazons and Semiramis achieve great conquests.

Admitting therefore the historical character of the Lydian kings called Mermnadæ, beginning with Gygês about 715-690 B.C., and ending with Crœsus, we find nothing but legend to explain to us the circumstances which led to their accession. Still less can we make out anything respecting the preceding kings, or determine whether Lydia was ever in former times connected with or dependent upon the kingdom of Assyria, as Ktésias affirmed.⁴ Nor can we certify the reality or dates of the old Lydian kings named by the native historian Xanthus,—Alkimus, Kamblês,

¹ Plato, *Republ.* ii. p. 360; Cicero, *Offic.* iii. 9. Plato (*x.* p. 612) compares very suitably the ring of Gygês to the helmet of Hadês.

² See Klausen, *Æneas und die Penaten*, pp. 34, 110, &c.: compare Menke, *Lydiaca*, ch. 8, 9.

³ See the article of O. Müller in

the *Rheinisch. Museum für Philologie*, Jahrgang iii. p. 22-38; also Movers, *Die Phönizier*, ch. xii. p. 452-470.

⁴ Diodor. ii. 2. Niebuhr also conceives that Lydia was in early days a portion of the Assyrian empire (*Kleine Schriften*, p. 371).

Adramytês.¹ One piece of valuable information, however, we acquire from Xanthus—the distribution of Lydia into two parts, Lydia proper and Torrhêbia, which he traces to the two sons of Atys—Lydus and Torrhêbus; he states that the dialect of the Lydians and Torrhêbians differed much in the same degree as that of Doric and Ionic Greeks.² Torrhêbia appears to have included the valley of the Kaïster, south of Tmôlus, and near to the frontiers of Karia.

Distribu-
tion of
Lydia into
two parts—
Lydia and
Torrhêbia.

With Gygês, the Mermnad king, commences the series of aggressions from Sardis upon the Asiatic Greeks, which ultimately ended in their subjection. Gygês invaded the territories of Milêtus and Smyrna, and even took the city (probably not the citadel) of Kolophôn. Though he thus however made war upon the Asiatic Greeks, he was munificent in his donations to the Grecian god of Delphi. His numerous as well as costly offerings were seen in the temple by Herodotus. Elegiac compositions of the poet Mimnermus celebrated the valour of the Smyrnæans in their battle with Gygês.³ We hear also, in a story which bears the impress of Lydian more than of Grecian fancy, of a beautiful youth of Smyrna named Magnês, to whom Gygês was attached, and who incurred the displeasure of his countrymen for having composed verses in celebration of the victories of the Lydians over the Amazons. To avenge the ill-treatment received by this youth, Gygês attacked the territory of Magnêsia (probably Magnêsia on Sipylus) and after a considerable struggle took the city.⁴

Proceed-
ings of
Gygês.

How far the Lydian kingdom of Sardis extended during the reign of Gygês, we have no means of ascertaining. Strabo alleges that the whole Troad⁵ belonged to him, and that the Greek settlement of Abydos on the Hellespont was established by the Milesians only under his auspices. On what authority this statement is made, we are not told, and it appears doubtful, especially as so many legendary

¹ Xanthi Fragment. 1. 12. 19, ed. Dillet: Athenæ, x. p. 415; Nikolaus Damasc. p. 36, Orelli.

² Xanthi Fragment. 1. 2; Dicaeus. Hælik. A. R. i. 25; Stephan. Byz. v. Τόρρεβια. The whole genealogy given by Dicaeus is probably

borrowed from Xanthus—Zeus, Manês, Kotys, Asiôs and Atys, Lydus and Torrhêbus.

³ Herod. i. 14; Pausan. ix. 20, 2.

⁴ Nikolaus Damasc. p. 52, ed. Orelli.

⁵ Strabo, xiii. p. 590.

anecdotes are connected with the name of Gygês. This prince reigned (according to Herodotus) thirty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son Ardys, who reigned forty-nine years (about B.C. 678-629). We learn that he attacked the Milesians, and took the Ionic city of Priênê. Yet this possession cannot have been maintained, for the city appears afterwards as autonomous.¹ His long reign however was signalised by two events, both of considerable moment to the Asiatic Greeks; the invasion of the Cimmerians—and the first approach to collision (at least the first of which we have any historical knowledge) between the inhabitants of Lydia and those of Upper Asia under the Median kings.

It is affirmed by all authors that the Medes were originally numbered among the subjects of the great Assyrian empire, of which Nineveh (or Ninos as the Greeks call it) was the chief town, and Babylon one of the principal portions. That the population and power of these two great cities (as well as of several others which the Ten Thousand Greeks in their march found ruined and deserted in those same regions) is of high antiquity,² there is no room for doubting. But it is noway incumbent upon a historian of Greece to entangle himself in the mazes of Assyrian chronology, or to weigh the degree of credit to which the conflicting statements of Herodotus, Ktésias, Berosus, Abydênus, &c. are entitled. With the Assyrian empire³—which lasted, according to Herodotus, 520 years, according to Ktésias, 1360 years—the Greeks have no ascertainable connection. The city of Nineveh appears to have been taken by the Medes a little

¹ Herodot. i. 15.

² Xenophon. Anab. iii. 4, 7; 10, 11.

³ Herodot. i. 95; Ktésias, *Fragm. Assy.* xiii. p. 419, ed. Bähr.; Diodor. ii. 21. Ktésias gives 30 generations of Assyrian kings from Ninnyas to Sardanapalus: Velleius, 33: Eusebius, 35: Syncellus, 40: Castor, 27: Cephallion, 23. See Bähr and Ctesias, p. 42. The Babylonian chronology of Berosus (a priest of Belus, about 280 B.C.) gave 86 kings and 34,000 years from the deluge to the Median occupation of Ba-

bylon; then 1453 years down to the reign of Plul king of Assyria (*Berosi Fragmenta*, p. 8, ed. Richter).

Mr. Clinton sets forth the chief statements and discrepancies respecting Assyrian chronology in his Appendix, c. 4. But the suppositions to which he resorts, in order to bring them into harmony, appear to me uncertified and gratuitous.

Compare the different, but not more successful track followed by Larcher (*Chronologie*, c. 3, p. 145—157).

before the year 600 B.C. (insofar as the chronology can be made out), and exercised no influence upon Grecian affairs. Those inhabitants of Upper Asia, with whom the early Greeks had relation, were the Medes, and the Assyrians or Chaldæans of Babylon—both originally subject to the Assyrians of Nineveh—both afterwards acquiring independence—and both ultimately embodied in the Persian empire. At what time either of them became first independent, we do not know.¹ The astronomical canon, which gives a list of kings of Babylon beginning with

¹ Here again both Larcher and Mr. Clinton represent the time, at which the Medes made themselves independent of Assyria, as perfectly ascertained, though Larcher places it in 748 B.C., and Mr. Clinton in 711 B.C. "L'époque ne me paroît pas douteuse" (Chronologie, c. iv. p. 157), says Larcher. Mr. Clinton treats the epoch of 711 B.C. for this same event, as fixed upon "*the authority of Scripture*," and reasons upon it in more than one place as a fact altogether indisputable (Appendix, c. iii. p. 259): "We may collect from Scripture that the Medes did not become independent till after the death of Sennacherib; and accordingly Josephus (Ant. x. 2), having related the death of this king and the miraculous recovery of Hezekiah from sickness, adds *τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ τὸν Ἀσσυρίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκτίσθησαν*. But the death of Sennacherib, as will be shown hereafter, is determined to the beginning of 711 B.C. The Median revolt, then, did not occur before B.C. 711; which refutes Conringius, who raises it to B.C. 715, and Vachenaer, who raises it to B.C. 741. Herodotus indeed implies an interval of some space between the revolt of the Medes and the election of Dēiokēs to be king. But this, and *ἡ ἀναστασις* could not have been prior to the fifty-three years of Dēiokēs, since the revolt

is limited by Scripture to B.C. 711. Again, p. 261, he says, respecting the four Median kings mentioned by Eusebius before Dēiokēs—"If they existed at all, they governed Media during the empire of the Assyrians, as we know from Scripture." And again, p. 280—"The precise date of the termination (of the Assyrian empire) in B.C. 711 is given by Scripture, with which Herodotus agrees," &c.

Mr. Clinton here treats, more than once, the revolt of the Medes as fixed to the year 711 B.C. by Scripture; but he produces no passage of Scripture to justify his allegation: and the passage which he cites from Josephus alludes, not to the Median revolt, but to the destruction of the Assyrian empire by the Medes. Herodotus represents the Medes as revolting from the Assyrian empire, and maintaining their independence for some time (undefined in extent) before the election of Dēiokēs as king: but he gives us no means of determining the date of the Median revolt. When Mr. Clinton says (p. 23, Note D.) "I suppose Herodotus to place the revolt of the Medes in Olymp. 17. 2, since he places the accession of Dēiokēs in Olymp. 17. 1,"—this is a conjecture of his own: and the narrative of Herodotus seems plainly to imply that he conceived an interval of more than one year between these

what is called the æra of Nabonassar, or 747 B.C., does not prove at what epoch these Babylonian chiefs became in-

two events. Diodorus gives the same interval as lasting for many generations (Diod. ii. 32).

We know—both from Scripture and from the Phœnician annals, as cited by Josephus—that the Assyrians of Nineveh were powerful conquerors in Syria, Judæa, and Phœnicia, during the reigns of Salmaneser and Sennacherib. The statement of Josephus further implies that Media was subject to Salmaneser, who took the Israelites from their country into Media and Persis, and brought the Cuthæans out of Media and Persis into the lands of the Israelites (Joseph. ix. 14, 1; x. 9, 7). We know farther that after Sennacherib, the Assyrians of Nineveh are no more mentioned as invaders or disturbers of Syria or Judæa; the Chaldeans or Babylonians become then the enemies whom those countries have to dread. Josephus tells us, that at this epoch the Assyrian empire was destroyed by the Medes—or, as he says in another place, by the Medes and Babylonians (x. 2, 2; x. 5, 1). Here is good evidence for believing that the Assyrian empire of Nineveh sustained at this time a great shock and diminution of power. But as to the nature of this diminution, and the way in which it was brought about, it appears to me that there is a discrepancy of authorities which we have no means of reconciling—Josephus follows the same view as Ktésias, of the destruction of the empire of Nineveh by the Medes and Babylonians united, while Herodotus conceives successive revolts of the territories dependent upon Nineveh, beginning with that of the Medes, and still leaving Nineveh

flourishing and powerful in its own territory. Herodotus further conceives Nineveh as taken by Kyzarês the Mede, about the year 600 B.C., without any mention of Babylonians—on the contrary, in his representation, Nitokris the queen of Babylon is afraid of the Medes (i. 185), partly from the general increase of their power, but especially from their having taken Nineveh (though Mr. Clinton tells us, p. 275, that “Nineveh was destroyed B.C. 606, as we have seen from the united testimonies of the Scripture and Herodotus, *by the Medes and Babylonians*”).

Construing fairly the text of Herodotus, it will appear that he conceived the relations of these oriental kingdoms between 800 and 560 B.C. differently on many material points from Ktésias, or Berosus, or Josephus. And he himself expressly tells us, that he heard “four different tales” even respecting Cyrus (i. 95)—much more respecting events anterior to Cyrus by more than a century.

The chronology of the Medes, Babylonians, Lydians, and Greeks in Asia, when we come to the seventh century B.C., acquires some fixed points which give us assurance of correctness within certain limits; but above the year 700 B.C. no such fixed points can be detected. We cannot discriminate the historical from the mythical in our authorities—we cannot reconcile them with each other, except by violent changes and conjectures—nor can we determine which of them ought to be set aside in favour of the other. The names and dates of the Babylonian kings down from Nabonassar, in the Canon of Ptolemy, are doubt-

dependent of Nineveh: and the catalogue of Median kings, which Herodotus begins with Dêiokês, about 709-711 B.C., is commenced by Ktêsias more than a century earlier—moreover the names in the two lists are different almost from first to last.

For the historian of Greece, the Medes first begin to acquire importance about 656 B.C., under a king whom

First Median king—
Dêiokês.

Herodotus calls Phraortês, son of Dêiokês. Respecting Dêiokês himself, Herodotus recounts to us how he came to be first chosen king.¹ The seven tribes of Medes dwelt dispersed in separate villages, without any common authority, and the mischiefs of anarchy were painfully felt among them. Dêiokês, having acquired great reputation in his own village as a just man, was invoked gradually by all the adjoining villages to settle their disputes. As soon as his efficiency in this vocation, and the improvement which he brought about, had become felt throughout all the tribes, he artfully threw up his post and retired again into privacy,—upon which the evils of anarchy revived in a manner more intolerable than before. The Medes had now no choice except to elect a king. The friends of Dêiokês expatiated so warmly upon his virtues, that he was the person chosen.² The first step of the new king was to exact

less authentic, but they are names and dates only. When we come to apply them to illustrate real or supposed matters of fact, drawn from other sources, they only create a new embarrassment, for even the *names* of the kings as reported by different authors do not agree, and Mr. Clinton informs us (p. 277) —“In tracing the identity of Eastern kings, the times and the transactions are better guides than the names; for these, from many well-known causes (as the changes which they undergo in passing through the Greek language, and the substitution of a title or an epithet for the name), are variously reported, so that the same king frequently appears under many different appellations.” Here then is a new problem: we are to employ “the times and trans-

actions” to identify the kings: but unfortunately the *times* are marked only by the succession of kings, and the *transactions* are known only by statements always scanty and often irreconcilable with each other. So that our means of identifying the kings are altogether insufficient, and whoever will examine the process of identification as it appears in Mr. Clinton's chapters, will see that it is in a high degree arbitrary; more arbitrary still are the processes which he employs for bringing about a forced harmony between discrepant authorities. Nor is Volney (*Chronologie d'Hérodote*, vol. i. p. 383—429) more satisfactory in his chronological results.

¹ Herodot. i. 96—100.

² Herodot. i. 97. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ δοξάζω,

from the people a body of guards selected by himself; next, he commanded them to build the city of Ekbatana, upon a hill surrounded with seven concentric circles of walls, his own palace being at the top and in the innermost. He farther organised the scheme of Median despotism; the king, though his person was constantly secluded in a fortified palace, inviting written communications from all aggrieved persons, and administering to each the decision or the redress which they required—informing himself, moreover, of passing events by means of ubiquitous spies and officials, who seized all wrong-doers and brought them to the palace for condign punishment. Dēiokês farther constrained the Medes to abandon their separate abodes and concentrate themselves in Ekbatana, from whence all the powers of government branched out. And the seven distinct fortified circles in the town, coinciding as they do with the number of the Median tribes, were probably conceived by Herodotus as intended each for one distinct tribe—the tribe of Dēiokês occupying the innermost along with himself.¹

Except the successive steps of this well-laid political plan, we hear of no other acts ascribed to Dēiokês. He is said to have held the government for fifty-three years, and then dying, was succeeded by his son Phraortês. Of the

His history
composed
of Grecian
materials
not
Oriental.

real history of Dēiokês, we cannot be said to know anything. For the interesting narrative of Herodotus, of which the above is an abridgment, presents to us in all its points Grecian society and ideas, not Oriental. It is like the discussion

which the historian ascribes to the seven Persian conspirators, previous to the accession of Darius—whether they shall adopt an oligarchical, a democratical, or a monarchical form of government;² or it may be compared, perhaps more aptly still, to the Cyropædia of Xenophon, who beauti-

μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Διήκοου φίλοι,
&c.

¹ Herodot. i. 98, 99, 100. Οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων, κόσμον τόνδε Διήκοης πρῶτός ἐστιν ὁ κατακτησάμενος· μήτε ἐσιέναι παρά βασιλέα μηδέν, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρεέσθαι, ὁρᾶσθαι δὲ βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ἔτι γιγῶν τε καὶ πτόσιν ἄντιον, καὶ ἅπασιν εἶναι τοῦτο

τε αἰσχρὸν, &c. and . . . οἱ κατάσκοποι τε καὶ κατήκοοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τῆς ἡρξῆς.

² Herodot. iii. 80—82. Herodotus, while he positively asserts the genuineness of these deliberations, lets drop the intimation that many of his contemporaries regarded them as of Grecian coinage.

fully and elaborately works out an ideal such as Herodotus exhibits in brief outline. The story of Dēiokēs describes what may be called the despot's progress, first as candidate and afterwards as fully established. Amidst the active political discussion carried on by intelligent Greeks in the days of Herodotus, there were doubtless many stories of the successful arts of ambitious despots, and much remark as to the probable means conducive to their success, of a nature similar to those in the Politics of Aristotle: one of these tales Herodotus has employed to decorate the birth and infancy of the Median monarchy. His Dēiokēs begins like a clever Greek among other Greeks, equal, free and disorderly. He is athirst for despotism from the beginning, and is forward in manifesting his rectitude and justice, "as becoms a candidate for command;"¹ he passes into a despot by the public vote, and receives what to the Greeks was the great symbol and instrument of such transition, a personal body-guard; he ends by organising both the machinery and the etiquette of a despotism in the Oriental fashion, like the Cyrus of Xenophon.² Only that both these authors maintain the superiority of their Grecian ideal over Oriental reality, by ascribing both to Dēiokēs and

¹ Herodot. i. 96. 'Εόντων δὲ αὐτο-
νύμων πάντων ἀνὰ τῇ ἡ-
πειρῷ, οὕτως ἐς τυραννίδας περιήλθον. Ἀνὴρ
ἐν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σφόδρα, τῷ
ὄνματι ἦν Δειόκῃς Οὗτος ὁ
Δειόκῃς, ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος, ἐποίησε
τοιαύτας, &c. . . . 'Ο δὲ δὴ, οἷα μινώ-
μενος ἀρχὴν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν.

² Compare the chapters above
referred to in Herodotus with the
eighth 'book of the Cyropadia,
wherein Xenophon describes the
manner in which the Median des-
potism was put in effective order
and turned to useful account by
Cyrus, especially the arrangements
for imposing on the imagination
of his subjects (καταγορηθεῖν, viii.
1, 40)—(it is a small thing, but
marks the cognate plan of He-
rodotus and Xenophon), Dēiokēs
forbids his subjects to laugh or
spit in his presence. Cyrus also
directs that no one shall spit, or

wipe his nose, or turn round to
look at any thing, when the king
is present (Herodot. i. 99; Xen.
Cyrop. viii. 1, 42). Again, viii. 3,
1, about the pompous procession
of Cyrus when he rides out—καὶ
γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐξελεύσεως ἡ σεμνότης
ἡμῖν δοκεῖ μᾶλλον τῶν τεχνῶν εἶναι τῶν
μεγαλτοκλήμων, τῇ ἀρχῇ, μὴ εὐκατα-
φρόνητον εἶναι—analogous to the
Median Dēiokēs in Herodotus—
Τοῦτα δὲ περὶ ἐκείνου ἐσέμνεον τῶνδε
εἶδεκεν, &c. Cyrus—ἐμπροσθέν δὲ
καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι περὶ πολλοῦ ἐτίθειτο,
μηδὲνα μῆτε φίλον ὀνειδεῖν, μῆτε
σύμμιχρον, ἀλλὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἰσχυρῶς
ἔργον (Cyrop. viii. 1, 2-). Dēiokēs
—ἦν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσειν χολή-
ος (Herod. i. 100). Cyrus provides
numerous persons who serve to
him as eyes and ears throughout
the country (Cyrop. viii. 2, 12).
Dēiokēs has many κατασκοποὶ and
κατήκοοι (Herodot. *ib.*).

Cyrus a just, systematic and laborious administration, such as their own experience did not present to them in Asia. Probably Herodotus had visited Ekbatana (which he describes and measures like an eye-witness, comparing its circuit to that of Athens), and there heard that Dêiokês was the builder of the city, the earliest known Median king, and the first author of those public customs which struck him as peculiar, after a revolt from Assyria: the interval might then be easily filled up, between Median autonomy and Median despotism, by intermediate incidents such as would have accompanied that transition in the longitude of Greece. The features of these inhabitants of Upper Asia, for a thousand years forward from the time at which we are now arrived—under the descendants of Dêiokês, of Cyrus, of Arsakês, and of Ardshir—are so unvarying,¹ that we are much assisted in detecting those occasions in which Herodotus or others infuse into their history indigenous Grecian ideas.

Phraortês (658-636 B. C.), having extended the dominion of the Medes over a large portion of Upper Asia, and conquered both the Persians and several other nations, was ultimately defeated and slain in a war against the Assyrians, of Nineveh; who, though deprived of their external dependencies, were yet brave and powerful by themselves. His son Kyaxarês (636-595 B. C.) followed up with still greater energy the same plans of conquest, and is said to have been the first who introduced any organisation into the military force—before his time, archers, spearmen and cavalry had been confounded together indiscriminately, until this monarch established separate divisions for each. He extended the Median dominion to the eastern bank of the Halys, which river afterwards, by the conquests of the Lydian king Cræsus, became the boundary between the Lydian and Median empires: and he carried on war for six years with Alyattês king of Lydia, in consequence of the refusal of the latter to

¹ When the Roman emperor Claudius sends the young Parthian prince Meherdatês, who had been an hostage at Rome, to occupy the kingdom which the Parthian envoys tendered to him, he gives him some good advice, conceived

in the school of Greek and Roman politics,—“Addidit præcepta, ut non dominationem ac servos, sed rectorem et cives, cogitaret: clementiamque ac justitiam. quanto ignara barbaris, tanto tolerantior; capesseret.” (Tacit. Annal. xii. 11.)

give up a band of Scythian Nomads, who having quitted the territory of Kyaxarês in order to escape severities with which they were menaced, had sought refuge as suppliants in Lydia.¹ The war, indecisive as respects success, was brought to its close by a remarkable incident. In the midst of a battle between the Median and Lydian armies there happened a total eclipse of the sun, which occasioned equal alarm to both parties, and induced them immediately to cease hostilities.² The Kilikian prince Syennesis, and the Babylonian prince Labynêtus interposed their mediation, and effected a reconciliation between Kyaxarês and Alyattês, one of the conditions of which was, that Alyattês gave his daughter Aryênis in marriage to Astyagês son of Kyaxarês. In this manner began the connection between the Lydian and Median kings which afterwards proved so ruinous to Crœsus. It is affirmed that the Greek philosopher Thalês foretold this eclipse; but we may reasonably consider the supposed prediction as not less apocryphal than some others ascribed to him, and doubt whether at that time any living Greek possessed either knowledge or scientific capacity sufficient for such a calculation.³

¹ The passage of such Nomadic hordes from one government in the East to another, has been always, and is even down to the present day, a frequent cause of dispute between the different governments: they are valuable both as tributaries and as soldiers. The Turcoman Ilats (so these Nomadic tribes are now called) in the north-east of Persia frequently pass backwards and forwards, as their convenience suits, from the Persian territory to the Usbeks of Khiva and Bokhara: wars between Persia and Russia have been in like manner occasioned by the transit of the Ilats across the the frontier from Persia into Georgia: so also the Kurd tribes near Mount Zagros have caused by their movements quarrels between the Persians and the Turks.

See Morier, Account of the Iliyats or Wandering Tribes of

Persia, in the Journal of the Geographical Society of London, 1837, vol. vii. p. 240. and Carl Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien, West-Asien, Band ii. Abtheilung ii. Abschnitt ii. sect. 8. p. 387.

² Herodot. i. 74—103.

³ Compare the analogous case of the prediction of the coming olive crop ascribed to Thalês (Aristot. Polit. i. 4, 5; Cicero De Divinat. i. 3). Anaxagoras is asserted to have predicted the fall of an ærolithe (Aristot. Meteorol. i. 7; Pliny, H. N. ii. 58; Plutarch, Lysand. c. 5).

Thalês is said by Herodotus to have predicted that the eclipse would take place "in the year in which it actually did occur"—a statement so vague that it strengthens the grounds of doubt.

The fondness of the Ionians for exhibiting the wisdom of their eminent philosopher Thalês in

The eclipse itself, and its terrific working upon the minds of the combatants, are facts not to be called in question; though the diversity of opinion among chronologists, respecting the date of it, is astonishing.¹

conjunction with the history of the Lydian kings, may be seen farther in the story of Thalès and Crœsus at the river Halys (Herod. i. 75)—a story which Herodotus himself disbelieves.

¹ Consult, for the chronological views of these events, Larcher ad Herodot. i. 74; Volney, *Recherches sur l'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 330—355; Mr. Fynes Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. p. 418 (Note ad B.C. 617, 2); Des Vignoles, *Chronologie de l'Histoire Sainte*, vol. ii. p. 245; Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, vol. i. p. 209.

No less than eight different dates have been assigned by different chronologists for this eclipse—the most ancient 625 B.C., the most recent 583 B.C. Volney is for 625 B.C.; Larcher for 597 B.C.; Des Vignoles for 585 B.C.; Mr. Clinton for 603 B.C. Volney observes, with justice, that the eclipse on this occasion “n'est pas l'accessoire, la broderie du fait, mais le fait principal lui-même” (p. 347): the astronomical calculations concerning the eclipse are therefore by far the most important items in the chronological reckoning of this event.

Three eminent astronomers, Francis Baily, Oltmanns, and Ideler, have fixed upon the eclipse of B.C. 610, September 30, as the only one fulfilling the conditions required by the narrative. Lastly, in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London for 1853, Professor Airy has inserted an elaborate Article “On the Eclipses of Agathoklès, Thalès, and Xerxès,” pp. 179—200. That which he calls the “Eclipse of

Thalès” (or said to have been predicted by Thalès), is the event now under discussion, described by Herodotus, i. 74. Although three such astronomers as Francis Baily, Oltmanns, and Ideler had agreed, after researches undertaken independently of each other, in fixing on the solar eclipse of 610 B.C. as the only one within possible limits of time, which would satisfy the conditions of Herodotus—yet Professor Airy has shown strong grounds for mistrusting the lunar data on which they all proceeded. He says, “I have examined every total eclipse in Oltmann's tables, extending from B.C. 631 to B.C. 585, and I find only one (namely, that of B.C. 585, May 28) which can have passed near to Asia Minor. That of B.C. 610, September 30, which was adopted by Baily and Oltmanns, is now thrown north even of the Sea of Azof” (p. 193). It is certain, as Professor Airy assumes, that the battle described by Herodotus must have taken place somewhere in Asia Minor.

Thus stands the case about the date of this eclipse as determined by high authority upon the most correct data yet attained.

One interesting sentence I transcribe from Professor Airy, because it tends to confirm the general fact stated by Herodotus, apart from the perplexities connected with the date of the eclipse. The Professor says, p. 180:—

“Mr. Baily in the first place pointed out that only a total eclipse could satisfy the account of Herodotus—and that a total eclipse would suffice. He lived to witness the total eclipse of 1842, but he

It was after this peace with Alyattês, as far as we can make out the series of events in Herodotus, that Kyaxarês collected all his forces and laid siege to Nineveh, but was obliged to desist by the unexpected inroad of the Scythians. Nearly at the same time, or somewhat before the time, that Upper Asia was desolated by these formidable Nomads, Asia Minor too was overrun by other Nomads—the Cimmerians—Ardys being then king of Lydia; and the two invasions, both spreading extreme disaster, are presented to us as indirectly connected together in the way of cause and effect.

Siege of
Nineveh—
invasion of
the Scy-
thians and
Cimme-
rians.

The name Cimmerians appears in the Odyssey—the fable describes them as dwelling beyond the The Cimmerians. ocean-stream, immersed in darkness and unblest by the rays of Helios. Of this people as existent we can render no account, for they had passed away, or lost their identity and become subject, previous to the commencement of trustworthy authorities; but they seem to have been the chief occupants of the Tauric Chersonesus (Crimea) and of the territory between that peninsula and the river Tyras (Dniester), at the time when the Greeks first commenced their permanent settlements on those coasts in the seventh century B.C. The numerous localities which bore their name, even in the time of Herodotus,¹ after they had ceased to exist as a nation—as well as the tombs of

observed it from the room of a house where probably he could scarcely remark the general effect of the eclipse. I have myself seen two total eclipses (those of 1842 and 1851), being on both occasions in the open country, and I can fully testify to the sudden and awful effect of a total eclipse. I have seen many large partial eclipses, and one annular eclipse concealed by clouds; and I believe that a large body of men, intent on military movements, would scarcely have remarked on these occasions anything unusual."

If the year 585 B.C. be recognised as the real date of the total eclipse to which Herodotus refers, we

shall be forced to admit that Herodotus was mistaken in representing the battle to have taken place in the reign of Kyaxarês, who, as far as we can make out, died in 595 B.C. The battle must have taken place during the reign of Astyagês, son of Kyaxarês; and Cicero (*de Divinat.* i. 49) distinctly states that the eclipse did occur in the reign of Astyagês, while Pliny (*H. N.* ii. 12) also gives the date of the eclipse as Olymp. 48⁴, or 585 B.C.

¹ Herodot. iv. 11—12. Hekataus also spoke of a town *Κιμμερία* (Strabo, vii. p. 294).

Respecting the Cimmerians, consult Ukert, *Skythien*, p. 360 *seqq.*

the Cimmerian kings then shown near the Tyras—sufficiently attest this fact. There is reason to believe that they were (like their conquerors and successors the Scythians) a nomadic people, mare-milkers, moving about with their tents and herds, suitably to the nature of those unbroken steppes which their territory presented, and which offered little except herbage in profusion. Strabo tells us¹ (on what authority we do not know) that they as well as the Trêres and other Thracians, had desolated Asia Minor more than once before the time of Ardy, and even earlier than Homer.

The Cimmerians thus belong partly to legend, partly to history; but the Scythians formed for several centuries an important section of the Grecian contemporary world. Their name, unnoticed by Homer, occurs for the first time in the Hesiodic poems. When the Homeric Zeus in the Iliad turns his eye away from Troy towards Thrace, he sees, besides the Thracians and Mysians, other tribes whose names cannot be made out, but whom the poet knows as milk-eaters and mare-milkers.² The same characteristic attributes, coupled with that of "having waggons for their dwelling-houses," appear in Hesiod connected with the name of the Scythians.³ The navigation of the Greeks into the Euxine gradually became more and more frequent, and during the last half of the seventh century B.C. their first settlements on its coasts were established. The foundation of Byzantium, as well as of the Pontic Herakleia (at a short distance to the east of the Thracian Bosphorus) by the Megarians, is assigned to the thirtieth Olympiad, or 658 B.C.⁴ The succession of colonies founded by the enterprise of Milesian citizens on

¹ Strabo, i. pp. 6, 59, 61.

² Homer, Iliad, xiii. 4.—

..... Αὐτός δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν

ὅσσε φαεινῶ,

Νόσφιν ἐφ' ἱπποπόλων θορυγῶν κα-
θορώμενος αἶαν

Μυσῶν τ' ἄγχεμάχων, καὶ ἀγαυῶν
Ἱππημολγῶν,

Γλαυτοφάγων, Ἀβίων τε, διχαι-
τάτων ἀνθρώπων.

Compare Strabo, xii. p. 553.

³ Hesiod, Fragm. 63—64, Markt-
scheffel:—

Γλαυτοφάγων εἰς αἶαν, ἀπήναις
σῆκ' ἐχόντων...

Αἰθίοπας, Λιγυῆς τε, ἰδὲ Σκύθας
ἱππημολγούς.

Strabo, vii. p. 300—302.

⁴ Raoul Rochette, Histoire des
Colonies Grecques, tom. iii. ch.
xiv. p. 297. The dates of these
Grecian settlements near the
Danube are very vague and untrust-
worthy.

the western coast of the Euxine, seems to fall not very long after this date—at least within the following century. Istria, Tyras, and Olbia or Borysthenes, were planted respectively near the mouths of the three great rivers Danube, Dniester, and Bog: Kruni, Odëssus, Tomi, Kallatis, and Apollonia, were also planted on the south-western or Thracian coast—northward of the dangerous land of Salmydessus, so frequent in wrecks—yet south of the Danube.¹ According to the turn of Grecian religious faith, the colonists took out with them the worship of the hero Achilles (from whom perhaps the œkist and some of the expatriating chiefs professed to be descended), which they established with great solemnity both in the various towns and on the small adjoining islands. The earliest proof which we find of Scythia, as a territory familiar to Grecian ideas and feeling, is found in a fragment of the poet Alkæus (about B.C. 600), wherein he addresses Achilles² as “sovereign of Scythia.” There were, besides, several other Milesian foundations on or near the Tauric Chersonese (Crimea) which brought the Greeks into conjunction with the Scythians—Herakleia, Chersonêsus and Theodosia, on the southern coast and the south-western corner of the peninsula—Pantikapæum and the Teian colony of Phanagoria (these two on the European and Asiatic sides of the Cimmerian Bosphorus respectively), and Kêpi, Hermônassa, &c. not far from Phanagoria, on the Asiatic coast of the Euxine. Last of all, there was, even at the extremity of the Palus Mæotis (Sea of Azof), the Grecian settlement of Tanais.³

Grecian settlements on the coast of the Euxine.

¹ Skymnus Chius, v. 730, Fragm. 2—25.

² Alkæus, Fragm. 49, Bergk; Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 306—*Ἀχιλλεύς, ὁ (γῆς, Schneid.) Σκυθίας μέδων*.

Alkman, somewhat earlier, made mention of the Issédones (Alkm. Frag. 129, Bergk; Steph. Byz. v. *Ἰσσηδώνες*—he called them Assédones) and of the Rhipean mountains (Fr. 80).

In the old epic of Arktinus, the deceased Achilles is transported to an elysium in the *Ἰσσηδώνες* (see the argument of the *Ætoliæ*

in Düntzer's Collection of Epicæ. Poet. Græc. p. 15), but it may reasonably be doubted whether *Ἰσσηδώνες* in his poem was anything but a fancy—not yet localised upon the little island off the mouth of the Danube.

For the early allusion to the Pontus Euxinus and its neighbouring inhabitants, found in the Greek poets, see Ukert. *Skythien*. pp. 15 1*, 7*: though he puts the Ionian colonies in the Pontus nearly a century too early, in my judgement.

³ Compare Dr. Clarke's descrip-

All or most of these seem to have been founded during the course of the sixth century B.C., though the precise dates of most of them cannot be named; probably several of them anterior to the time of the mystic poet Aristeas of Prokon-nêsus, about 540 B.C. His long voyage from the Palus Mæotis (Sea of Azof) into the interior of Asia as far as the country of the Issêdones (described in the poem, now lost, called the Arimaspiæ verses), implies an habitual intercourse between Scythians and Greeks which could not well have existed without Grecian establishments on the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

Hekataeus of Milêtus¹ appears to have given much geographical information respecting the Scythian tribes. But Herodotus, who personally visited the town of Olbia, together with the inland regions adjoining to it, and probably other Grecian settlements in the Euxine (at a time which we may presume to have been about 450-440 B.C.)—and who conversed with both Scythians and Greeks competent to give him information—has left us far more valuable statements respecting the Scythian people, dominion, and manners, as they stood in his day. His conception of the Scythians, as well as that of Hippokratês, is precise and well-defined—very different from that of the later authors, who use the word almost indiscriminately to denote all barbarous Nomads. His territory called Scythia is a square area, twenty days' journey or 4000 stadia (somewhat less than 500 English miles) in each direction—bounded by the Danube (the course of which river he conceives in a direction from

tion of the present commerce between Taganrock (not far from the ancient Greek settlement of Tanais) and the Archipelago: besides exporting salt-fish, corn, leather, &c. in exchange for wines, fruit, &c., it is the great deposit of Siberian productions: from Orenburg it receives tallow, furs, iron, &c.; this is doubtless as old as Herodotus. (Clarke's Travels in Russia, ch. xv. p. 330.)

¹ Hekatei Fragment., Fr. 153, 168, ed. Klausen. Hekataeus mentioned the Issêdones (Fr. 168; Steph. Byz. v. Ἰσσηδόνες); both he and Dama-

stês seem to have been familiar with the poem of Aristeas: see Klausen, *ad loc.*; Steph. Byz. v. Ὑπερβορέων. Compare also Æschyl. Prometh. 409, 710, 805.

Hellânikus also seems to have spoken about Scythia in a manner generally conformable to Herodotus (Strabo, xii. p. 550). It does little credit to the discernment of Strabo that he treats with disdain the valuable Scythian chapter of Herodotus—ἡ περὶ τῶν Ἰσσηδόνων καὶ Ἑπερβορέων καὶ Ἐσσηδόνων καὶ Ἀρμασπίων (ib.).

N.W. to S.E.), the Euxine, and the Palus Mæotis with the river Tanais, on three sides respectively—and on the fourth or north side by the nations called Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi and Melanchlæni.¹ However imperfect his idea of the figure of this territory may be found, if we compare it with a good modern map, the limits which he gives us are beyond all dispute: from the Lower Danube and the mountains eastward of Transylvania to the Lower Tanais, the whole area was either occupied by or subject to the Scythians. And this name comprised tribes differing materially in habits and civilization. The great mass of the people who bore it, strictly Nomadic in their habits—neither sowing nor planting, but living only on food derived from animals, especially mare's-milk and cheese—moved from place to place, carrying their families in wag-
Tribes of Scythians. gons covered with wicker and leather, themselves always on horseback with their flocks and herds, between the Borysthenês and the Palus Mæotis. They hardly even reached so far westward as the Borysthenês, since a river (not easily identified) which Herodotus calls Pantikapês, flowing into the Borysthenês from the eastward, formed their boundary. These Nomads were the genuine Scythians, possessing the marked attributes of the race, and including among their number the Regal Scythians²—hordes so much more populous and more effective

¹ Herodot. iv. 100-101. See, respecting the Scythia of Herodotus, the excellent dissertation of Niebuhr, contained in his *Kleine historische Schriften*, "Ueber die Geschichte der Skythen, Geten, und Sarmaten," p. 360, alike instructive as to the geography and the history. Also the two chapters in Völcker's *Mythische Geographie*, ch. vii.-viii. sect. 23-26, respecting the geographical conceptions present to Herodotus in his description of Scythia.

Herodotus has much in his Scythian geography, however, which no comment can enable us to understand. Compared with his predecessors, his geographical conceptions evince great improvement;

but we shall have occasion, in the course of this history, to notice memorable examples of extreme misapprehension in regard to distance and bearings in these remote regions, common to him not only with his contemporaries, but also with his successors.

² Herod. iv. 17-21, 46-56; Hippokratês, *De Aëre, Locis et Aquis*, c. vi.; Æschyl. *Prometh.* 709; Justin. ii. 2.

It is unnecessary to multiply citations respecting Nomadic life, the same under such wide differences both of time and of latitude—the same with the "armentarius Afer" of Virgil (*Georgic.* iii. 343) and the "campestres Scythæ" of Horace (*Ode* iii. 24, 12), and the

in war than the rest, as to maintain undisputed ascendancy, and to account all other Scythians no better than their slaves. It was to these that the Scythian kings belonged, by whom the religious and political unity of the name was maintained—each horde having its separate chief and to a certain extent separate worship and customs. But besides these Nomads, there were also agricultural Scythians, with fixed abodes, living more or less upon bread, and raising corn for exportation, along the banks of the Borysthenês and the Hypanis.¹ And such had been the influence of the Grecian settlement of Olbia at the mouth of the latter river in creating new tastes and habits, that two tribes on its western banks, the Kallipidæ and the Alazônes, had become completely accustomed both to tillage and to vegetable food, and had in other respects so much departed from their Scythian rudeness as to be called Hellenic-Scythians, many Greeks being seemingly domiciled among them. Northward of the Alazônes lay those called

Tartars of the present day; see Dr. Clarke's *Travels in Russia*, ch. xiv. p. 310.

The fourth book of Herodotus, the *Tristia* and *Epistolæ ex Ponto* of Ovid, the *Toxaris* of Lucian (see c. 36 vol. i. p. 544 Hemst.), and the *Inscription of Olbia* (No. 2058 in Boeckh's Collection), convey a genuine picture of Scythian manners as seen by the near observer and resident—very different from the pleasing fancies of distant poets respecting the innocence of pastoral life. The poisoned arrows which Ovid so much complains of in the Sarmatians and Getæ (*Trist.* iii. 10, 60, among other passages and *Lucan.* iii. 270), are not noticed by Herodotus in the Scythians.

The dominant Golden Horde among the Tartars, in the time of Zinghis Khan, has been often spoken of. Among the different Arab tribes now in Algeria, some are noble, others enslaved: the latter habitually, and by inheritance, servants of the former, following wherever ordered (*Tableau de la*

Situation des Etablissements Français en Algérie, p. 393, Paris, Mar. 1846).

¹ Ephorus placed the Karpidæ immediately north of the Danube (*Fragm.* 78, Marx; *Skymn. Chius.* 102). I agree with Niebuhr that this is probably an inaccurate reproduction of the Kallipidæ of Herodotus, though Boeckh is of different opinion (*Introduct. ad Inscriptt. Sarmatic. Corpus Inscript.* part xi. p. 81). The vague and dreamy statements of Ephorus, so far as we know them from the fragments, contrast unfavourably with the comparative precision of Herodotus. The latter expressly separates the *Androphagi* from the Scythians—ἔθνος ἐν ὅσῳ καὶ ὀδρυῶν Σκυθίων (*iv.* 18), whereas when we compare Strabo, vii. p. 302 and *Skymn. Chi.* 105-115, we see that Ephorus talked of the *Androphagi* as a variety of Scythians—ἔθνος ἀνδρροφάγων Σκυθίων.

The valuable inscription from Olbia (Nr. 2058 Boeckh) recognises Μελίλγες near that town.

the agricultural Scythians, who sowed corn, not for food, but for sale.¹

Such stationary cultivators were doubtless regarded by the predominant mass of the Scythians as degenerate brethren. Some historians even maintain that they belonged to a foreign race, standing to the Scythians merely in the relation of subjects²—an hypothesis contradicted implicitly, if not directly, by the words of Herodotus, and no way necessary in the present case. It is not from them however that Herodotus draws his vivid picture of the people, with their inhuman rites and repulsive personal features. It is the purely Nomadic Scythians whom he depicts, the earliest specimens of the Mongolian race (so it seems probable³) known to

Manners
and
worship.

¹ Herod. iv. 17. We may illustrate this statement of Herodotus by an extract from Heber's journal as cited in Dr. Clarke's Travels, ch. xv. p. 337:—"The Nagay Tartars begin to the west of Marinopol: they cultivate a good deal of corn, yet they dislike bread as an article of food."

² Niebuhr (Dissertat. *ut sup.* p. 360), Boeckh (Introd. Inscript. *ut sup.* p. 110) and Ritter (Vorhalle der Geschichte, p. 316) advance this opinion. But we ought not on this occasion to depart from the authority of Herodotus, whose information respecting the people of Scythia, collected by himself on the spot, is one of the most instructive and precious portions of his whole work. He is very careful to distinguish what is Scythian from what is not. Those tribes which Niebuhr (contrary to the sentiment of Herodotus) imagines not to be Scythian, were the tribes nearest and best known to him; probably he had personally visited them, since we know that he went up the river Hypanis (Bog) as high as the Exampæus, four days' journey from the sea (iv. 72-81).

That some portions of the same

ἔθνος should be ἄροτριβοί, and other portions νόμαδες, is far from being without parallel; such was the case with the Persians, for example (Herodot. i. 126), and with the Iberians between the Euxine and the Caspian (Strabo, xi. p. 500).

The Pontic Greeks confounded Agathyrus, Gelonus, and Scythês in the same genealogy, as being three brethren, sons of Hêraklês by the μίτοπαρθενος Ἐγιδνα of the Hylæa (iv. 7-10). Herodotus is more precise: he distinguishes both the Agathyrsi and Gelôni from Scythians.

³ Both Niebuhr and Boeckh account the ancient Scythians to be of Mongolian race (Niebuhr in the Dissertation above-mentioned, Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der Skythen, Geten und Sarmaten, among the Kleine Historische Schriften, p. 362; Boeckh, Corpus Inscriptt. Græcarum, Introductio ad Inscriptt. Sarmatic. part xi. p. 81). Paul Joseph Schafarik, in his elaborate examination of the ethnography of the ancient people described as inhabiting northern Europe and Asia, arrives at the same result (Slavische Alterthümer, Pag. 1843, vol. i. xiii. 6. p. 279).

history, and prototypes of the Huns and Bulgarians of later centuries. The Sword, in the literal sense of the word, was their chief god¹—an iron scimitar solemnly elevated upon a wide and lofty platform, which was supported

A striking illustration of this analogy of race is noticed by Alexander von Humboldt, in speaking of the burial-place and the funeral obsequies of the Tartar Tchinghiz Khan:—

“Les cruautés lors de la pompe funèbre des grands-khans ressembloient entièrement à celles que nous trouvons décrites par Hérodote (iv. 71) environ 1700 ans avant la mort de Tchinghiz, et 65° de longitude plus à l’ouest, chez les Scythes du Gerrhus et du Borysthène.” (Humboldt, *Asie Centrale* vol. i. p. 244.)

Nevertheless M. Humboldt dissents from the opinion of Niebuhr and Boeckh, and considers the Scythians of Herodotus to be of Indo-Germanic, not of Mongolian race: Klaproth seems to adopt the same view (see Humboldt, *Asie Centrale*, vol. i. p. 491, and his valuable work, *Kosmos*, p. 491, note 353). He assumes it as a certain fact, upon what evidence I do not distinctly see, that no tribe of Turk or Mongol race migrated westward out of Central Asia until considerably later than the time of Herodotus. To make out such a negative, seems to me impossible: and the marks of ethnographical analogy, so far as they go, decidedly favour the opinion of Niebuhr. Ukert also (*Skythien*, p. 236-280) controverts the opinion of Niebuhr.

At the same time it must be granted that these marks are not very conclusive, and that many Nomadic hordes, whom no one would refer to the same race, may yet have exhibited an analogy of manners and characteristics equal

to that between the Scythians and Mongols.

The principle upon which the Indo-European family of the human race is defined and parted off, appears to me inapplicable to any particular case wherein the *language* of the people is unknown to us. The nations constituting that family have no other point of affinity except in the roots and structure of their language; on every other point there is the widest difference. To enable us to affirm that the Massagette, or the Scythians, or the Alani, belonged to the Indo-European family, it would be requisite that we should know something of their language. But the Scythian language may be said to be wholly unknown; and the very few words which are brought to our knowledge do not tend to aid the Indo-European hypothesis.

¹ See the story of the accidental discovery of this Scythian sword when lost, by Attila the chief of the Huns (Priscus ap. Jornandem de Rebus Geticis, c. 35, and in Eclog. Legation. p. 50).

Lucian in the *Toxaris* (c. 38, vol. ii. p. 546, Hemst.) notices the worship of the Akinakes or Scimitar by the Scythians in plain terms, without interposing the idea of the god Arès: compare Clemens Alexand. *Protrept.* p. 25, Syl. Ammianus Marcellinus, in speaking of the Alani (xxx. 2), as well as Pomponius Mela (ii. 1) and Solinus (c. 20), copy Herodotus. Ammianus is more literal in his description of the Sarmatian sword-worship (xvii. 12), “*Eductisque mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt,*” &c.

on masses of faggots piled underneath—to whom sheep, horses, and a portion of their prisoners taken in war, were offered up in sacrifice. Herodotus treats this sword as the image of the god Arês, thus putting an Hellenic interpretation upon that which he describes literally as a barbaric rite. The scalps and the skins of slain enemies, and sometimes the skull formed into a drinking-cup, constituted the decoration of a Scythian warrior. Whoever had not slain an enemy, was excluded from participation in the annual festival and bowl of wine prepared by the chief of each separate horde. The ceremonies which took place during the sickness and funeral obsequies of the Scythian kings (who were buried at Gerrhi at the extreme point to which navigation extended up the Borysthenês) partook of the same sanguinary disposition. It was the Scythian practice to put out the eyes of all their slaves. The awkwardness of the Scythian frame, often overloaded with fat, together with extreme dirt of body, and absence of all discriminating feature between one man and another, complete the brutish portrait.¹ Mare's milk (with cheese made from it) seems to have been their chief luxury, and probably served the same purpose of procuring the intoxicating drink called *kumiss*, as at present among the Bashkirs and the Kalmucks.²

If the habits of the Scythians were such as to create in the near observer no other feeling than repugnance, their force at least inspired terror. They appeared in the eyes of Thucydides so numerous and so formidable, that he pronounces them irresistible, if they could but unite, by any other nation within his knowledge. Herodotus, too, conceived the same idea of a race among whom every man was a warrior and a practised horse-bowman, and who were placed by their mode of life out of all reach of an

Scythians
formidable
from num-
bers and
courage.

¹ Herodot. iv. 3—62, 71—75; Sophoklès, Genomaus—ap. Athenæ. ix. p. 410; Hippokratès, De Aëre, Locis et Aquis, ch. vi. s. 91—99, &c.

It is seldom that we obtain, in reference to the modes of life of an ancient population, two such excellent witnesses as Herodotus and Hippokratès about the Scythians.

Hippokratès was accustomed to see the naked figure in its highest perfection at the Grecian games: hence perhaps he is led to dwell more emphatically on the corporeal defects of the Scythians.

² See Pallas, Reise durch Russland, and Dr. Clarke, Travels in Russia, ch. xii. p. 238.

enemy's attack.¹ Moreover, Herodotus does not speak meanly of their intelligence, contrasting them in favourable terms with the general stupidity of the other nations bordering on the Euxine. In this respect Thucydidēs seems to differ from him.

On the east, the Scythians of the time of Herodotus were separated only by the river Tanais from the Sarmatians, who occupied the territory for several day's journey north-east of the Palus Mæotis: on the south they were divided by the Danube from the section of Thracians called Getæ. Both these nations were Nomadic, analogous to the Scythians in habits, military efficiency, and fierceness. Indeed Herodotus and Hippokratēs distinctly intimate that the Sarmatians were nothing but a branch of Scythians,² speaking a Scythian dialect, and distinguished from their neighbours on the other side of the Tanais chiefly by this peculiarity—that

¹ Thucyd. ii. 95; Herodot. ii. 46—47: his idea of the formidable power of the Scythians seems also to be implied in his expression (c. 81), καὶ ὀλίγους, ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι.

Herodotus holds the same language about the Thracians, however, as Thucydidēs about the Scythians—irresistible, if they could but act with union (v. 3).

² The testimony of Herodotus to this effect (iv. 110—117) seems clear and positive, especially as to the language. Hippokratēs also calls the Sauromatæ ἑθνος Σκυθικόν (De Aëre, Locis et Aquis, c. vi. sect. 89, Petersen).

I cannot think that there is any sufficient ground for the marked ethnical distinction which several authors draw (contrary to Herodotus) between the Scythians and the Sarmatians. Boeckh considers the latter to be of Median or Persian origin, but to be also the progenitors of the modern Slavonian family: "Sarmatæ, Slavorum haud dubie parentes" (Introduct. ad Inscr. Sarmatic. Corp. Insc. part xi. p. 83). Many other

authors have shared this opinion, which identifies the Sarmatians with the Slavi; but Paul Joseph Schafarik (Slavische Alterthümer, vol. i. c. 16) has given powerful reasons against it.

Nevertheless Schafarik admits the Sarmatians to be of Median origin, and radically distinct from the Scythians. But the passages which are quoted to prove this point from Diodorus (ii. 43), from Mela (i. 19), and from Pliny (H. N. vi. 7), appear to me of much less authority than the assertion of Herodotus. In none of these authors is there any trace of inquiries made in or near the actual spot from neighbours and competent informants, such as we find in Herodotus. And the chapter in Diodorus, on which both Boeckh and Schafarik lay especial stress, is one of the least trustworthy in the whole book. To believe in the existence of Scythian kings who reigned over all Asia from the Eastern Ocean to the Caspian, and sent out large colonies of Medians and Assyrians

the women among them were warriors hardly less daring and expert than the men. This attribute of Sarmatian women, as a matter of fact, is well attested—though Herodotus has thrown over it an air of suspicion not properly belonging to it, by his explanatory genealogical mythe, deducing the Sarmatians from a mixed breed between the Scythians and the Amazons.

The wide extent of steppe eastward and north-eastward of the Tanais, between the Ural mountains and the Caspian, and beyond the possessions of the Sarmatians, was traversed by Grecian traders, even to a good distance in the direction of the Altai mountains—the rich produce of gold, both in Altai and Ural, being the great temptation.

Tribes east and north of the Palus Mæotis.

First (according to Herodotus) came the indigenous Nomadic nation called Budini, who dwelt to the northward of the Sarmatians,¹ and among whom were established

is surely impossible; and Wesseling speaks much within the truth when he says, "Verum hæc dubia admodum atque incerta." It is remarkable to see Boeckh treating this passage as conclusive against Herodotus and Hippokratês. M. Boeckh has also given a copious analysis of the names found in the Greek inscriptions from Scythian, Sarmatian and Mæotic localities (Introduct. ad Inscript. Sarmatic.), and he endeavours to establish an analogy between the two latter classes and Median names. But the analogy holds just as much with regard to the Scythian names.

¹ The locality which Herodotus assigns to the Budini creates difficulty. According to his own statement, it would seem that they ought to be near to the Neuri (iv. 105), and so in fact Ptolemy places them (v. 9) near about Volhynia and the sources of the Dniester.

Mannert (Geographie der Griech. und Römer, Der Norden der Erde, v. iv. p. 138) conceives the Budini to be a Teutonic tribe; but Paul

Joseph Schafarik (Slavische Alterthümer, i. 10. p. 185—195) has shown more plausible grounds for believing both them and the Neuri to be of Slavic family. It seems that the names Budini and Neuri are traceable to Slavic roots; that the wooden town described by Herodotus in the midst of the Budini is an exact parallel of the primitive Slavic towns, down even to the twelfth century; and that the description of the country around, with its woods and marshes containing beavers, otters, &c., harmonises better with Southern Poland and Russia than with the neighbourhood of the Ural mountains. From the colour ascribed to the Budini, no certain inference can be drawn: γλαυκόν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶν: ἑστί καὶ ποταμὸν (iv. 108). Mannert construes it in favour of Teutonic family, Schafarik in favour of Slavic; and it is to be remarked, that Hippokratês talks of the Scythians generally as extremely ποταμὸν (De Aëre, Locis et Aquis, c. vi.: compare Aristot. Problem. xxxviii. 2).

These reasonings are plausible;

a colony of Pontic Greeks intermixed with natives and called Gelôni: these latter inhabited a spacious town, built entirely of wood. Beyond the Budini eastward dwelt the Thyssagetæ and the Jurkæ, tribes of hunters, and even a body of Scythians who had migrated from the territories of the Regal Scythians. The Issêdones were the easternmost people respecting whom any definite information reached the Greeks; beyond them we find nothing but fable¹—the one-eyed Arimaspians, the gold-guarding Grypes or Griffins, and the bald-headed Argippæi. It is impossible to fix with precision the geography of these different tribes, or to do more than comprehend approximately their local bearings and relations to each other.

But the best known of all is the situation of the Tauri (perhaps a remnant of the expelled Cimmerians), who dwelt in the southern portion of the Tauric Crimea—Chersonesus (or Crimea), and who immolated human sacrifices to their native virgin goddess—identified by the Greeks with Artemis, and serving as a basis for the affecting legend of Iphigeneia. The Tauri are distinguished by Herodotus from Scythians,² but their

yet we can hardly venture to alter the position of the Budini as Herodotus describes it, eastward of the Tanais. For he states in the most explicit manner that the route as far as the Argippæi is *thoroughly known*, traversed both by Scythian and by Grecian traders, and that all the nations in the way to it are known (iv. 24): μέχρι μὲν τούτων πολλή περιφάνεια τῆς χώρας ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἐθνέων καὶ γὰρ Σκυθῶν τινὲς ἀπικνέονται ἐς αὐτοὺς, τῶν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ πυθέσθαι, καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐκ Βορυσθένης τε ἐμπορίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ποντικῶν ἐμπορίων. These Greek and Scythian traders, in their journey from the Pontic seaports into the interior, employed seven different languages and as many interpreters.

Völcker thinks that Herodotus or his informants confounded the Don with the Volga (Mythische Geographie, sect. 24. p. 190), sup-

posing that the higher parts of the latter belonged to the former: a mistake not unnatural, since the two rivers approach pretty near to each other at one particular point, and since the lower parts of the Volga, together with the northern shore of the Caspian, where its embouchure is situated, appear to have been little visited and almost unknown in antiquity. There cannot be a more striking evidence how unknown these regions were, than the persuasion, so general in antiquity, that the Caspian Sea was a gulf of the ocean, to which Herodotus, Aristotle and Ptolemy are almost the only exceptions. Alexander von Humboldt has some valuable remarks on the tract laid down by Herodotus from the Tanais to the Argippæi (Asie Centrale, vol. i. p. 390—409)

¹ Herodot. iv. 80.

² Herodot. iv. 99—101. Dionysius Periegetês seems to identify Cim-

manners and state of civilization seem to have been very analogous. It appears also that the powerful and numerous Massagetæ, who dwelt in Asia on the plains eastward of the Caspian and southward of the Issêdones, were so analogous to the Scythians as to be reckoned as members of the same race by many of the contemporaries of Herodotus.¹

This short enumeration of the various tribes near the Euxine and the Caspian, as well as we can make them out, from the seventh to the fifth century B.C., is necessary for the comprehension of that double invasion of Scythians and Cimmerians which laid waste Asia between 630 and 610 B.C. We are not to expect from Herodotus, born a century and a half afterwards, any very clear explanations of this event, nor were all his informants unanimous respecting the causes which brought it about. But it is a fact perfectly within the range of historical analogy, that accidental aggregations of number, development of aggressive spirit, or failure in the means of subsistence, among the Nomadic tribes of the Asiatic plains, have brought on the civilised nations of Southern Europe calamitous invasions of which the primary moving cause was remote and unknown. Sometimes a weaker tribe, flying before a stronger, has been in this manner precipitated upon the territory of a richer and less military population, so that an impulse originating in the distant plains of Central Tartary has been propagated until it reached the southern extremity of Europe, through successive intermediate tribes—a phænomenon especially exhibited during the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian æra, in the declining years of the Roman empire. A pressure so transmitted onward is said to have brought down the Cimmerians and Scythians upon the more southerly regions of Asia. The most ancient story in explanation of this incident seems to have been contained in the epic poem (now lost) called *Arimaspia*, of the mystic Aristæas of Prokonêsus, composed apparently about 540 B.C. This

Invasion of Asia by Scythians and Cimmerians.

merians and Tauri (v. 168: compare v. 680, where the Cimmerians are placed on the Asiatic side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, adjacent to the Sindi).

compares the inroads of the Saka, which was the name applied by the Persians to the Scythians, to those of the Cimmerians and the Trêres (xi. p. 511—512).

¹ Herodot. i. 202. Strabo com-

poet, under the inspiration of Apollo,¹ undertook a pilgrimage to visit the sacred Hyperboreans (especial votaries of that god) in their elysium beyond the Rhipæan mountains; but he did not reach farther than the Issêdones. According to him, the movement, whereby the Cimmerians had been expelled from their possessions on the Euxine Sea, began with the Grypes or Griffins in the extreme north—the sacred character of the Hyperboreans beyond was incompatible with aggression or bloodshed. The Grypes invaded the Arimaspians, who on their part assailed their neighbours the Issêdones.² These latter moved southward or westward and drove the Scythians across the Tanais; while the Scythians, carried forward by this onset, expelled the Cimmerians from their territories along the Palus Mœotis and the Euxine.

We see thus that Aristæas referred the attack of the Scythians upon the Cimmerians to a distant impulse proceeding in the first instance from the Grypes or Griffins. But Herodotus had heard it explained in another way which he seems to think more correct—the Scythians, originally occupants of Asia, or the regions east of the Caspian, had been driven across the Araxês, in consequence of an unsuccessful war with the Massagetæ, and precipitated upon the Cimmerians in Europe.³

When the Scythian host approached, the Cimmerians were not agreed among themselves whether to resist or retire. The majority of the people were dismayed and wished to evacuate the territory, while the kings of the different tribes resolved to fight and perish at home. Those who were animated with such fierce despair, divided themselves along with the kings into two equal bodies, and perished by each other's hands near the river Tyras, where the sepulchres of the kings were yet shown in the time of Herodotus.⁴ The mass of the Cimmerians fled and abandoned their country to the Scythians; who, however, not content with possession of the country, followed the fugitives across the Cimmerian Bosphorus from west to east, under the command of their prince Madyês son of Proto-

¹ Herodot. iv. 13. φοιβολαμπτός ἄλλος λόγος, ἔχων ὧδε, τῷ μάλιστα λεγομένῳ αὐτὸς προσκείμεται.

² Herodot. iv. 13.

⁴ Herodot. iv. 11.

³ Herodot. iv. 11. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ

thyês. The Cimmerians, coasting along the east of the Euxine Sea and passing to the west of Mount Caucasus, made their way first into Kolchis, and next into Asia Minor, where they established themselves on the peninsula on the northern coast, near the site of the subsequent Grecian city of Sinôpê. But the Scythian pursuers, mistaking the course taken by the fugitives, followed the more circuitous route east of Mount Caucasus near to the Caspian Sea;¹ which brought them, not into Asia Minor, but into Media. Both Asia Minor and Media became thus exposed nearly at the same time to the ravages of northern Nomads.

These two stories, representing the belief of Herodotus and Aristæas, involve the assumption that the Scythians were comparatively recent immigrants into the territory between the Ister and the Palus Mæotis. But the legends of the Scythians themselves, as well as those of the Pontic Greeks, imply the contrary of this assumption; and describe the Scythians as primitive and indigenous inhabitants of the country. Both legends are so framed as to explain a triple division, which probably may have prevailed, of the Scythian aggregate nationality, traced up to three heroic brothers: both also agree in awarding the predominance to the youngest brother of the three,² though, in other respects, the names and incidents of the two are altogether different. The Scythians called themselves Skoloti.

Such material differences, in the various accounts given to Herodotus of the Scythian and Cimmerian invasions of Asia, are by no means wonderful, seeing that nearly two centuries had elapsed between that event and his visit to the Pontus. That the Cimmerians (perhaps the northernmost portion of the great Thracian name and conterminous with the Gætæ on the Danube) were the previous tenants of much of the territory between the Ister and the Palus Mæotis, and that they were expelled in the seventh century B.C. by the Scythians, we may follow Herodotus in believing. But Niebuhr has shown that there is great intrinsic

Difficulties
in the nar-
rative of
Herodotus.

¹ Herodot. iv. 1—12.

² Herodot. iv. 5—9. At this day, the three great tribes of the Nomadic Turcomans on the north-eastern border of Persia near the Oxus—the Yamud, the Gokla, and

the Tuka—assert for themselves a legendary genealogy deduced from three brothers (Frazer, *Narrative of a Journey in Khorasan*, p. 258).

improbability in his narrative of the march of the Cimmerians into Asia Minor, and in the pursuit of these fugitives by the Scythians. That the latter would pursue at all, when an extensive territory was abandoned to them without resistance, is hardly supposable: that they would pursue and mistake their way, is still more difficult to believe: nor can we overlook the great difficulties of the road and the Caucasian passes, in the route ascribed to the Cimmerians.¹ Niebuhr supposes the latter to have marched into Asia Minor by the western side of the Euxine and across the Thracian Bosphorus, after having been defeated in a decisive battle by the Scythians near the river Tyras, where their last kings fell and were interred.² Though this is both an easier route, and more in accordance with the analogy of other occupants expelled from the same territory, we must, in the absence of positive evidence, treat the point as unauthenticated.

The inroad of the Cimmerians into Asia Minor was doubtless connected with their expulsion from the northern coast of the Euxine by the Scythians, but we may well doubt whether it was at all connected (as Herodotus had been told that it was) with the invasion of Media by the Scythians, except as happening near about the same time. The same great evolution of Scythian power, or propulsion by other tribes behind, may have occasioned both events,

¹ Read the description of the difficult escape of Mithridates Eupator, with a mere handful of men from Pontus to Bosphorus by this route, between the western edge of Caucasus and the Euxine (Strabo, xi. p. 495—496)—*ἡ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ζυγῶν καὶ Ἑνωχῶν παραλία*—all piratical and barbarous tribes—*τῇ παραλίᾳ χαλεπῶς ᾔει, τὰ πολλὰ ἐμβρίων ἐπὶ τῇ θάλασσᾳ*: compare Plutarch, Pompeius, c. 34. Pompey thought the route unfit for his march.

To suppose the Cimmerian tribes with their waggons passing along such a track would require strong positive evidence. According to Ptolemy, however, there were two passes over the range of Caucasus—the Caucasian or Albanian gates,

near Derbend and the Caspian, and the Sarmatian gates, considerably more to the westward (Ptolemy, Geogr. v. 9; Forbiger, Handbuch der Alten Geographie, vol. ii. sect. 56. p. 55). It is not impossible that the Cimmerians may have followed the westernmost, and the Scythians the easternmost, of these two passes; but the whole story is certainly very improbable.

² See Niebuhr's Dissertation above referred to, p. 366—367. A reason for supposing that the Cimmerians came into Asia Minor from the west and not from the east, is, that we find them so much confounded with the Thracian Trères, indicating seemingly a joint invasion.

—brought about by different bodies of Scythians, but nearly contemporaneous.

Herodotus tells us two facts respecting the Cimmerian immigrants into Asia Minor. They committed destructive, though transient, ravages in many parts of Paphlagonia, Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia Cimmerians
in Asia
Minor.—and they occupied permanently the northern peninsula,¹ whereon the Greek city of Sinôpê was afterwards planted. Had the elegies of the contemporary Ephesian poet Kallinus been preserved, we should have known better how to appreciate these trying times. He strove to keep alive the energy of his countrymen against the formidable invaders.²

¹ Herodot. i. 6—15; iv. 12. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμεριοὶ, φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ τὴν Χερσονήσον χτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπῃ πόλιν Ἑλληνίδι οἰκισται.

² Kallinus, Fragment, 2, 3, ed. Bergk. Νῦν δ' ἐπὶ Κιμμερίων στρατός ἔρχεται ὀβριμοσέγων (Strabo, xiii. p. 627: xiv. 633—647). O. Müller (History of the Literature of Ancient Greece, ch. x. s. 4) and Mr. Clinton (Fasti Hellenici, B.C. 716—635) may be consulted about the obscure chronology of these events. The Scythico-Cimmerian invasion of Asia, to which Herodotus alludes, appears fixed for some date in the reign of Ardys the Lydian, 640—629 B.C., and may stand for 635 B.C. as Mr. Clinton puts it. O. Müller is right, I think, in stating that the fragment of the poet Kallinus above cited alludes to this invasion; for the supposition of Mr. Clinton that Kallinus here alludes to an invasion past and not present, appears to be excluded by the word νῦν. Mr. Clinton places both Kallinus and Archilochus (in my judgement) half a century too high; for I agree with O. Müller in disbelieving the story told by Pliny of the picture sold by Bularchus to Kandaulês. O. Müller follows Strabo (i. p. 61) in calling Madys

a Cimmerian prince who drove the Trêres out of Asia Minor; whereas Herodotus mentions him as the Scythian prince who drove the Cimmerians out of their own territory into Asia Minor (i. 103).

The chronology of Herodotus is intelligible and consistent with itself: that of Strabo we cannot settle, when he speaks of many different invasions. Nor does his language give us the smallest reason to suppose that he was in possession of any means of determining dates for these early times—nothing at all calculated to justify the positive chronology which Mr. Clinton deduces from him: compare Fasti Hellenici, B.C. 635, 629, 617. Strabo says, after affirming that Homer knew both the name and the reality of the Cimmerians (i. p. 6; iii. p. 149)—καὶ γὰρ καθ' Ὀμήρου, τῇ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μικρῶν, λέγουσι τὴν τῶν Κιμμερίων ἐξοδὸν γενέσθαι τὴν μέχρι τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίδος—“which places the first appearance of the Cimmerians in Asia Minor a century at least before the Olympiad of Coræbus” (says Mr. Clinton). But what means could Strabo have had to chronologise events as happening at or a little before the time of Homer? No date in the Grecian world was so contested,

From later authors (who probably had these poems before them) we learn that the Cimmerian host, having occupied

or so indeterminable, as the time of Homer: nor will it do to reason, as Mr. Clinton does, *i. e.* to take the latest date fixed for Homer among many, and then to say that the invasion of the Cimmerians *must be at least* B.C. 876: thus assuming it as a certainty that whether the date of Homer be a century earlier or later, the invasion of the Cimmerians must be made to fit it. When Strabo employs such untrustworthy chronological standards, he only shows us (what everything else confirms) that there existed no tests of any value for events of that early date in the Grecian world.

Mr. Clinton announces this ante-Homeric calculation as a chronological certainty: "The Cimmerians first appeared in Asia Minor about a century before B.C. 776. An irruption is *recorded* in B.C. 782. Their last inroad was in B.C. 635. The settlement of Ambrôn (the Milesian, at Sinôpê) may be placed at about B.C. 782, twenty-six years before the æra assigned to (the Milesian or Sinôpic settlement of) Trapezus."

On what authority does Mr. Clinton assert that a Cimmerian irruption was *recorded* in B.C. 782? Simply on the following passage of Orosius, which he cites at B.C. 685:—"Anno ante urbem conditam tricesimo—Tunc etiam Amazonum gentis et Cimmeriorum in Asiam repentinus incursum plurimum diu lateque vastationem et stragem intulit." If this authority of Orosius is to be trusted, we ought to say that the invasion of the Amazons was a *recorded* fact. To treat a fact mentioned in Orosius (an author of the fourth century after Christ) and referred to B.C. 782, as

a *recorded* fact, confounds the most important boundary-lines in regard to the appreciation of historical evidence.

In fixing the Cimmerian invasion of Asia at 782 B.C., Mr. Clinton has the statement of Orosius, whatever it may be worth, to rest upon; but in fixing the settlement of Ambrôn the Milesian (at Sinôpê) at 782 B.C., I know not that he had any authority at all. Eusebius does indeed place the foundation of Trapezus in 756 B.C., and Trapezus is said to have been a colony from Sinôpê; and Mr. Clinton therefore is anxious to find some date for the foundation of Sinôpê anterior to 756 B.C.; but there is nothing to warrant him in selecting 782 B.C., rather than any other year.

In my judgement, the establishment of *any* Milesian colony in the Euxine at so early a date as 756 B.C. is highly improbable: and when we find that the same Eusebius fixes the foundation of Sinôpê (the metropolis of Trapezus) as low down as 620 B.C., this is an argument with me for believing that the date which he assigns to Trapezus is by far too early. Mr. Clinton treats the date which Eusebius assigns to Trapezus as certain, and infers from it, that the date which the same author assigns to Sinôpê is 130 years *later* than the reality: I reverse the inference, considering the date which he assigns to Sinôpê as the more trustworthy of the two, and deducing the conclusion, that the date which he gives for Trapezus is 130 years at least *earlier* than the reality.

On all grounds, the authority of the chronologists is greater with regard to the later of the two

the Lydian chief town Sardis (its inaccessible acropolis defied them), poured with their waggons into the fertile valley of the Kaïster, took and sacked Magnêsia on the Mæander, and even threatened the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. But the goddess so well protected her own town and sanctuary,¹ that Lygdamis the leader of the Cimmerians, whose name marks him for a Greek, after a season of prosperous depredation in Lydia and Ionia, conducting his host into the mountainous regions of Kilikia, was there overwhelmed and slain. Though these marauders perished, the Cimmerian settlers in the territory near Sinôpê remained: and Ambrôn, the first Milesian œkist who tried to colonise that spot, was slain by them, if we may believe Skymnus. They are not mentioned afterwards, but it seems not unreasonable to believe that they appear under the name of the Chalybes, whom Herodotus mentions along that coast between the Mariandynians and Paphlagonians, and whom Mela notices as adjacent to Sinôpê and Amisus.² Other authors place the Chalybes, on several different points, more to the east, though along the same parallel of latitude—between the Mosynoëki and Tibarêni—near the river Thermôdôn—and on the northern boundary of Armenia, near the sources of the Araxês; but Herodotus and Mela recognise Chalybes westward of the river Halys and

periods than to the earlier, and there is besides the additional probability arising out of what is a suitable date for Milesian settlement. To which I will add, that Herodotus places the settlement of the Cimmerians near "that spot where Sinôpê is now settled," in the reign of Ardys, soon after 635 B.C. Sinôpê was therefore *not* founded at the time when the Cimmerians went there, in the belief of Herodotus.

¹ Strabo, i. p. 61; Kallimachus, Hymn. ad Dianam, 251—200—

..... ἡλκίων ἀλαπάξμεν ἡπειλήσε
(Ἐφρσον)

Λύγδαμις ὕβριστής, ἐπὶ δὲ στρατόν
ἱππημόλγων

Ἦγγατε Κυμαρίων, ψαμάθω ἴσον,
οἱ γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶν

Κεχλίμενοι ναίουσι βοός πόρον
'Ιναχίωνης.

Ἄ δειλός βασιλέων ἔσοι ἤλιπεν, οὐ
γὰρ ἐμελλε

Οὔτ' αὐτός Σκυθίηνδε παλίμπετες,
οὔτε τις ἄλλος

Ὅσων ἐν λειμῶνι Καῦστρίῳ ἦσαν
ἄμψαι,

Ἄψ ἀπονότησιν.

In the explanation of the proverb Σκυθῶν ἐρημία, allusion is made to a sudden panic and flight of *Scythians* from Ephesus (Hesychius, v. Σκυθῶν ἐρημία)—probably this must refer to some story of interference on the part of Artemis to protect the town against these Cimmerians. The confusion between Cimmerians and Scythians is very frequent.

² Herodot. i. 28; Mela, i. 19, 9; Skymn. Chii. Fragment. 207.

the Paphlagonians, near to Sinôpê. These Chalybes were brave mountaineers, though savage in manners; distinguished as producers and workers of the iron which their mountains afforded. In the conceptions of the Greeks, as manifested in a variety of fabulous notices, they are plainly connected with Scythians or Cimmerians; whence it seems probable that this connexion was present to the mind of Herodotus in regard to the inland population near Sinôpê.¹

Herodotus seems to have conceived only one invasion of Asia by the Cimmerians, during the reign of Ardys in Lydia. Ardys was succeeded by his son Sadyattês, who reigned twelve years; and it was Alyattês, son and successor of Sadyattês (according to Herodotus), who expelled the Cimmerians from Asia.² But Strabo seems to speak of several invasions, in which the Trêres, a Thracian tribe, were concerned, and which are not clearly discriminated; while Kallisthenês affirmed that Sardis had been taken by the Trêres and Lykians.³ We see only that a large and

¹ The ten thousand Greeks in their homeward march passed through a people called Chalybes between Armenia and the town of Trapezus, and also again after eight days' march westerly from Trapezus, between the Tibarêni and Mosynœki: compare Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. 7, 15; v. 5, 1; probably different sections of the same people. The last-mentioned Chalybes seem to have been the best known, from their iron works, and their greater vicinity to the Greek ports: Ephorus recognised them (see Ephori Fragm. 80—82, ed. Marx); whether he knew of the more easterly Chalybes, north of Armenia, is less certain: so also Dionysius *Periêgêtês*, v. 768; compare Eustathius *ad loc.*

The idea which prevailed among ancient writers, of a connexion between the Chalybes in these regions and the Scythians or Cimmerians (*Χάλυβες; Σκυθῶν ἄποικοι*, *Æschyl.* Sept. ad Thebas, 729; and Hesiod. ap. Clemen. Alex. Str. i. p. 132), and of which the supposed residence of the Amazons

on the river Thermôdôn seems to be one of the manifestations, is discussed in Hoeckh, *Kreta*, book i. p. 294—305; and Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, vi. 2. p. 408—416: compare Stephan. Byz. v. *Χάλυβες*. Mannert believes in an early Scythian immigration into these regions. The Ten Thousand Greeks passed through the territory of a people called Skythini, immediately bordering on the Chalybes to the north; which region some identify with the Sakasênê of Strabo (xi. 511) occupied (according to that geographer) by invaders from Eastern Scythia.

It seems that Sinôpê was one of the most considerable places for the export of the iron used in Greece; the Sinopic as well as the Chalybdic (or Chalybic) iron had a special reputation (Stephan. Byz. v. *Ασπεζίμων*).

About the Chalybes, compare Ukert, *Skythien*, p. 521—523.

² Herodot. i. 15, 16.

³ Strabo, xi. p. 511; xii. p. 552; xiii. p. 627.

fair portion of Asia Minor was for much of this seventh century B. C. in possession of these destroying Nomads, who while on the one hand they afflicted the Ionic Greeks, on the other hand indirectly befriended them by retarding the growth of the Lydian monarchy.

The invasion of Upper Asia by the Scythians appears to have been nearly simultaneous with that of Asia Minor by the Cimmerians, but more ruinous and longer protracted. The Median king Kyaxarês, called away from the siege of Nineveh to oppose them, was totally defeated; and the Scythians became full masters of the country. They spread themselves over the whole of Upper Asia, as far as Palestine and the borders of Egypt, where Psammetichus the Egyptian king met them and only redeemed his kingdom from invasion by prayers and costly presents. In their return a detachment of them sacked the temple of Aphroditê at Askalon; an act of sacrilege which the goddess avenged both upon the plunderers and their descendants, to the third and fourth generation. Twenty-eight years did their dominion in Upper Asia continue,¹ with intolerable cruelty and oppression; until at length Kyaxarês and the Medes found means to entrap the chiefs into a banquet, and slew them in the hour of intoxication. The Scythian host once expelled, the Medes resumed their empire. Herodotus tells us that these Scythians returned to the Tauric Chersonese, where they found that during their long absence, their wives had intermarried with the slaves, while the new offspring which had grown up refused to readmit them. A deep trench had been drawn across a line over which their march lay,² and the new-grown youth defended it with bravery, until at

The poet Kallinus mentioned both Cimmerians and Trêres (Fr. 2, 3, ed. Bergk; Strabo, xiv. p. 633—647).

¹ Herodot. i. 105. The account given by Herodotus of the punishment inflicted by the offended Aphroditê on the Scythian plunderers, and on their children's children down to his time, becomes especially interesting when we combine it with the statement of Hippokratês respecting the peculiar incapacities which were so apt

to affect the Scythians, and the religious interpretation put upon them by the sufferers (De Aëre, Locis et Aquis, c. vi. s. 106-109).

² See, in reference to the direction of this ditch, Völcker, in the work above referred to on the Scythia of Herodotus (Mythische Geographie, ch. vii. p. 177).

That the ditch existed there can be no reasonable doubt; though the tale given by Herodotus is highly improbable.

length (so the story runs) the returning masters took up their whips instead of arms, and scourged the rebellious slaves into submission.

Little as we know about the particulars of these Cimmerian and Scythian inroads, they deserve notice as the first (at least the first historically known) among the numerous invasions of cultivated Asia and Europe by the Nomads of Tartary. Huns, Avars, Bulgarians, Magyars, Turks, Mongols, Tartars, &c. are found in subsequent centuries repeating the same infliction, and establishing a dominion both more durable, and not less destructive, than the transient scourge of the Scythians during the reign of Kyaxarês.

Expulsion
of these
Nomads,
after a tem-
porary oc-
cupation.

After the expulsion of the Scythians from Asia, the full extent and power of the Median empire was re-established; and Kyaxarês was enabled again to besiege Nineveh. He took that great city, and reduced under his dominion all the Assyrians except those who formed the kingdom of Babylon. This conquest was achieved towards the close of his reign, and he bequeathed the Median empire, at the maximum of its grandeur, to his son Astyagês, in 595 B. C.¹

As the dominion of the Scythians in Upper Asia lasted twenty-eight years before they were expelled by Kyaxarês, so also the inroads of the Cimmerians through Asia Minor, which had begun during the reign of the Lydian king Ardys, continued through the twelve years of the reign of his son Sadyattês (629-617 B. C.), and were finally terminated by Alyattês, son of the latter.² Notwithstanding the Cimmerians, however, Sadyattês was in a condition to prosecute a war against the Grecian city of Milêtus, which continued during the last seven years of his reign, and which he bequeathed to his son and successor. Alyattês continued the war for five years longer. So feeble

Lydian
kings Sa-
dyattês
and Aly-
attês—war
against Mi-
lêtus.

¹ Herodot. i. 106. Mr. Clinton fixes the date of the capture of Nineveh at 606 B.C. (F. H. vol. i. p. 269), upon grounds which do not appear to me conclusive: the utmost which can be made out is, that it was taken during the last

ten years of the reign of Kyaxarês.

² From whom Polyænus borrowed his statement, that Alyattês employed with effect savage dogs against the Cimmerians, I do not know (Polyæn. vii. 2, 1).

was the sentiment of union among the various Grecian towns on the Asiatic coast, that none of them would lend any aid to Milêtus except the Chians, who were under special obligations to Milêtus for previous aid in a contest against Erythræ. The Milesians unassisted were no match for a Lydian army in the field, though their great naval strength placed them out of all danger of a blockade; and we must presume that the erection of those mounds of earth against the walls, whereby the Persian Harpagus vanquished the Ionian cities half a century afterwards, was then unknown to the Lydians. For twelve successive years the Milesian territory was annually overrun and ravaged, previous to the gathering in of the crop. The inhabitants, after having been defeated in two ruinous battles, gave up all hope of resisting the devastation; so that the task of the invaders became easy, and the Lydian army pursued their destructive march to the sound of flutes and harps. While ruining the crops and the fruit-trees, Alyattês would not allow the farm-buildings or country-houses to be burnt, in order that the means of production might still be preserved, to be again destroyed during the following season. By such unremitting devastation the Milesians were reduced to distress and famine, in spite of their command of the sea. The fate which afterwards overtook them during the reign of Cræsus of becoming tributary subjects to the throne of Sardis, would have begun half a century earlier, had not Alyattês unintentionally committed a profanation against the goddess Athênê. Her temple at Assêssus accidentally took fire and was consumed, when his soldiers on a windy day were burning the Milesian standing corn. Though no one took notice of this incident at the time, yet Alyattês on his return to Sardis was smitten with prolonged sickness. Unable to obtain relief, he despatched envoys to seek humble advice from the god at Delphi. But the Pythian priestess refused to furnish any healing suggestions until he should have rebuilt the burnt temple of Athênê,—and Periander, at that time despot of Corinth, having learnt the tenor of this reply, transmitted private information of it to Thrasybulus despot of Milêtus, with whom he was intimately allied. Presently there arrived at Milêtus a herald on the part of Alyattês, proposing a truce for the special purpose of enabling him to rebuild

Sacrilege
committed
by Alyattês
—oracle—
he makes
peace with
Milêtus.

the destroyed temple—the Lydian monarch believing the Milesians to be so poorly furnished with subsistence that they would gladly embrace such temporary relief. But the herald on his arrival found abundance of corn heaped up in the agora, and the citizens engaged in feasting and enjoyment; for Thrasybulus had caused all the provision in the town, both public and private, to be brought out, in order that the herald might see the Milesians in a condition of apparent plenty, and carry the news of it to his master. The stratagem succeeded. Alyattês, under the persuasion that his repeated devastation inflicted upon the Milesians no sensible privations, abandoned his hostile designs, and concluded with them a treaty of amity and alliance. It was his first proceeding to build two temples to Athênê, in place of the one which had been destroyed, and he then forthwith recovered from his protracted malady. His gratitude for the cure was testified by the transmission of a large silver bowl, with an iron footstand welded together by the Chian artist Glaukus—the inventor of the art of thus joining together pieces of iron.¹

Alyattês is said to have carried on other operations against some of the Ionic Greeks: he took Smyrna, but was defeated in an inroad on the territory of Klazomenæ.² But on the whole his long reign of fifty-seven years was one of tranquillity to the Grecian cities on the coast, though we hear of an expedition which he undertook against Karia.³ He is reported to have been during youth of overweening insolence, but to have acquired afterwards a just and improved character. By an Ionian wife he became father of Crœsus, whom even during his lifetime he appointed satrap of the town of Adramyttium and the neighbouring plain of Thêbê. But he had also other wives and other sons, and one of the latter, Adramytus, is reported as the founder of Adramyttium.⁴ How far his dominion in the interior of Asia Minor extended, we do not know, but very

¹ Herodot. i. 20-23.

² Herodot. i. 18. Polyænus (vii. 2, 2) mentions a proceeding of Alyattês against the Kolophonians.

³ Nikolaus Damasken. p. 54, ed. Orelli; Xanthi Fragment. p. 243, Creuzer.

Mr. Clinton states Alyattês to have conquered Karia, and also Æolis, for neither of which do I find sufficient authority (Fasti Hellen. ch. xvii. p. 298).

⁴ Aristoteles ap. Stephan. Byz. v. Ἀδραμύττειον.

probably his long and comparatively inactive reign may have favoured the accumulation of those treasures which afterwards rendered the wealth of Cræsus so proverbial. His monument, an enormous pyramidal mound upon a stone base, erected near Sardis by the joint efforts of the whole Sardinian population, was the most memorable curiosity in Lydia during the time of Herodotus. It was inferior only to the gigantic edifices of Egypt and Babylon.¹

Cræsus obtained the throne, at the death of his father, by appointment from the latter. But there was a party among the Lydians who had favoured the pretensions of his brother Pantaleon. One of the richest chiefs of that party was put to death afterwards by the new king, under the cruel torture of a spiked carding machine—his property being confiscated.² The aggressive reign of Cræsus, lasting fourteen years (559-545 B.C.), formed a marked contrast to the long quiescence of his father during a reign of fifty-seven years.

Pretences being easily found for war against the Asiatic Greeks, Cræsus attacked them one after the other. Unfortunately we know neither the particulars of these successive aggressions, nor the previous history of the Ionic cities, so as to be able to explain how it was that the fifth of the Mermnad kings of Sardis met with such unqualified success, in an enterprise which his predecessors had attempted in vain. Milêtus alone, with the aid of Chios, had resisted Alyattès and Sadyattès for eleven years—and Cræsus possessed no naval force, any more than his father and grandfather. But on this occasion, not one of the towns can have displayed the like individual energy. In regard to the Milesians, we may perhaps suspect that the period now under consideration was comprised in that long duration of intestine conflict which Herodotus represents (though without defining exactly when) to have crippled the forces of the city for two generations, and which was at length appeased by a memorable decision of some arbitrators invited from Paros. These latter, called in by mutual consent of the exhausted antagonist parties at Milêtus, found both the city and her territory in a state of general neglect and ruin. But on surveying the lands, they discovered some which still appeared to be tilled with undiminished diligence

Cræsus.

He attacks and conquers the Asiatic Greeks.

¹ Herodot. i. 92, 93.

² Herodot. i. 92.

and skill: to the proprietors of these lands they consigned the government of the town, in the belief that they would manage the public affairs with as much success as their own.¹ Such a state of intestine weakness would partly explain the easy subjugation of the Milesians by Crœsus; while there was little in the habits of the Ionic cities to present the chance of united efforts against a common enemy. These cities, far from keeping up any effective political confederation, were in a state of habitual jealousy of each other, and not unfrequently in actual war.² The common religious festivals—the Deliac festival as well as the Pan-Ionia, and afterwards the Ephesia in place of the Delia—seem to have been regularly frequented by all the cities throughout the worst of times. But these assemblies had no direct political function, nor were they permitted to control that sentiment of separate city-autonomy which was paramount in the Greek mind—though their influence was extremely precious in calling forth social sympathies. Apart from the periodical festival, meetings for special emergencies were held at the Pan-Ionic temple; but from such meetings any city, not directly implicated, kept aloof.³ As in this case, so in others not less critical throughout the historical period—the incapacity of large political combination was the source of constant danger, and ultimately proved the cause of ruin, to the independence of all the Grecian states. Herodotus warmly commends the advice given by Thalês to his Ionic countrymen—and given (to use his remarkable expression) “before the ruin of Ionia”⁴

¹ Herodot. v. 28. κατόπερθε δὲ τούτων, ἐπὶ δύο γενέας ἀνδρῶν νοσήσαντα τὰ μάλιστα στάσει.

Alyattês reigned fifty-seven years, and the vigorous resistance which the Milesians offered to him took place in the first six years of his reign. The “two generations of intestine dissension” may well have succeeded after the reign of Thrasybulus. This indeed is a mere conjecture, yet it may be observed that Herodotus, speaking of the time of the Ionic revolt (600 B.C.), and intimating that Milêtus, though then peaceable, had been for two

generations, at an early period torn by intestine dissension, could hardly have meant these “two generations” to apply to a time earlier than 617 B.C.

² Herodot. i. 17; vi. 99; Athenæ. vi. p. 267. Compare K. F. Hermann, *Lehrbuch der Griech. Staats-Alterthümer*, sect. 77. note 28.

³ See the remarkable case of Milêtus sending no deputies to a Pan-Ionic meeting, being safe herself from danger (Herodot. i. 141).

⁴ Herodot. i. 141-170. χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθερῆναι Ἰωνίαν, Θά-

—that a common senate, invested with authority over all the twelve cities, should be formed within the walls of Teôs, as the most central in position; and that all the other cities should account themselves mere demes of this aggregate commonwealth or Polis. And we cannot doubt that such was the unavailing aspiration of many a patriot of Milêtus or Ephesus, even before the final operations of Crœsus were opened against them.

Unavailing suggestion of Thalês—to merge the twelve Ionic cities into one Pan-Ionic city at Teôs.

That prince attacked the Greek cities successively, finding or making different pretences for hostility against each. He began with Ephesus, which is said to have been then governed by a despot of harsh and oppressive character, named Pindarus, whose father Melas had married a daughter of Alyattês, and who was therefore himself nephew of Crœsus.¹ The latter, having in vain invited Pindarus and the Ephesians to surrender the town, brought up his forces and attacked the walls. One of the towers being overthrown, the Ephesians abandoned all hope of defending their town, and sought safety by placing it under the guardianship of Artemis, to whose temple they carried a rope from the walls—a distance little less than seven furlongs. They at the same time sent a message of supplication to Crœsus, who is said to have granted them the preservation of their liberties, out of reverence to the protection of Artemis; exacting at the same time that Pindarus should quit the place. Such is the tale of which we find a confused mention in Ælian and Polyænus. But Herodotus, while he notices the fact of the long rope whereby the Ephesians sought to place themselves in contact with their divine protectress, does not indicate that Crœsus was induced to treat them more favourably. Ephesus, like

ἡ δὲ ἀνδρὶς Μιλήτιον γνῶμη ἐγένετο, &c.

About the Pan-Ionia and the Ephesia, see Thucyd. iii. 104; Dionys. Halic. iv. 25; Herodot. i. 143-148. Compare also Whitte, De Rebus Chiorum Publicis, sect. vii. p. 22-23.

¹ If we may believe the narrative of Nikolaus Damaskenus, Crœsus had been in relations with Ephesus and with the Ephesians during the

time when he was hereditary prince, and in the life-time of Alyattês. He had borrowed a large sum of money from a rich Ephesian named Pamphaês, which was essential to enable him to perform a military duty imposed upon him by his father. The story is given in some detail by Nikolaus, Fragm. p. 54, ed. Orell.—I know not upon what authority.

all the other Grecian towns on the coast, was brought under subjection and tribute to him.¹ How he dealt with them, and what degree of coercive precaution he employed either to ensure subjection or collect tribute, the brevity of the historian does not acquaint us. But they were required partially at least, if not entirely, to raze their fortifications; for on occasion of the danger which supervened a few years afterwards from Cyrus, they are found practically unfortified.²

Thus completely successful in his aggressions on the continental Asiatic Greeks, Crœsus conceived the idea of assembling a fleet, for the purpose of attacking the islanders of Chios and Samos; but became convinced (as some said, by the sarcastic remark of one of the seven Greek sages, Bias or Pittakus) of the impracticability of the project. He carried his arms, however, with full success, over other parts of the continent of Asia Minor, until he had subdued the whole territory within the river Halys, excepting only the Kilikians and the Lykians. The Lydian empire thus reached the maximum of its power, comprehending, besides the Æolic, Ionic, and Doric Greeks on the coast of Asia Minor, the Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybes, Paphlagonians, Thynian and Bithynian Thracians, Karians, and Pamphylians. And the treasures amassed by Crœsus at Sardis, derived partly from this great number of tributaries, partly from mines in various places as well as the auriferous sands of the Paktôlus, exceeded anything which the Greeks had ever before known.

We learn, from the brief but valuable observations of Herodotus, to appreciate the great importance of these conquests of Crœsus, with reference not merely to the

¹ Herodot. i. 26; Ælian, V. H. iii. 26; Polyæn. vi. 50. The story contained in Ælian and Polyænus seems to come from Batôn of Sinopê: see Guhl, Ephesiaca, ii. 3. p. 26, and iv. 5. p. 150.

The article in Suidas, v. Ἀπισταρχος, is far too vague to be interwoven as a positive fact into Ephesian history (as Guhl interweaves it) immediately consequent on the retirement of Pindarus.

In reference to the rope reaching

from the city to the Artemision, we may quote an analogous case of the Kylonian suppliants at Athens, who sought to maintain their contact with the altar by means of a continuous cord — unfortunately the cord broke (Plutarch, Solon, c. 12).

² Herodot. i. 141. Ἰωνες δὲ, ὡς ἤκουσαν — τειχέα τε περιβάλλοντο ἑαστοῦ, &c.: compare also the statement respecting Phôkœa, c. 168.

Grecian cities actually subjected, but also indirectly to the whole Grecian world.

"Before the reign of Cræsus (observes the historian) all the Greeks were free: it was by him first that Greeks were subdued into tribute." And he treats this event as the initial phænomenon of the series, out of which grew the hostile relations between the Greeks on one side, and Asia as represented by the Persians on the other, which were uppermost in the minds of himself and his contemporaries.

New and important era for the Hellenic world—commencing with the conquests of Cræsus.

It was in the case of Cræsus that the Greeks were first called upon to deal with a tolerably large barbaric aggregate under a warlike and enterprising prince, and the result was such as to manifest the inherent weakness of their political system, from its incapacity of large combination. The separated autonomous cities could only maintain their independence either through similar disunion on the part of barbaric adversaries—or by superiority, on their own side, of military organisation as well as of geographical position. The situation of Greece proper and of the islands was favourable to the maintenance of such a system: not so the shores of Asia with a wide interior country behind. The Ionic Greeks were at this time different from what they became during the ensuing century. Little inferior in energy to Athens or to the general body of European Greeks, they could doubtless have maintained their independence, had they cordially combined. But it will be seen hereafter that the Greek colonies—planted as isolated settlements, and indisposed to political union, even when neighbours—all of them fell into dependence so soon as attack from the interior came to be powerfully organised; especially if that organisation was conducted by leaders partially improved through contact with the Greeks themselves. Small autonomous cities maintain themselves so long as they have only enemies of the like strength to deal with: but to resist larger aggregates requires such a concurrence of favourable circumstances as can hardly remain long without interruption. And the ultimate subjection of entire Greece, under the kings of Macedon, was only an exemplification on the widest scale of this same principle.

The Lydian monarchy under Crœsus, the largest with which the Greeks had come into contact down to that moment, was very soon absorbed into a still larger—the Persian; of which the Ionic Greeks, after unavailing resistance, became the subjects. The partial sympathy and aid which they obtained from the independent or European Greeks, their western neighbours, followed by the fruitless attempt on the part of the Persian king to add these latter to his empire, gave an entirely new turn to Grecian history and proceedings. First, it necessitated a degree of central action against the Persians which was foreign to Greek political instinct; next, it opened to the noblest and most enterprising section of the Hellenic name—the Athenians—an opportunity of placing themselves at the head of this centralising tendency; while a concurrence of circumstances, foreign and domestic, imparted to them at the same time that extraordinary and many-sided impulse, combining action with organisation, which gave such brilliancy to the period of Herodotus and Thucydidês. It is thus that most of the splendid phænomena of Grecian history grew, directly or indirectly, out of the reluctant dependence in which the Asiatic Greeks were held by the inland barbaric powers, beginning with Crœsus.

These few observations will suffice to intimate that a new phase of Grecian history is now on the point of opening. Down to the time of Crœsus, almost everything which is done or suffered by the Grecian cities bears only upon one or other of them separately: the instinct of the Greeks repudiates even the modified form of political centralisation, and there are no circumstances in operation to force it upon them. Relation of power and subjection exists between a strong and a weak state, but no tendency to standing political coordination. From this time forward, we shall see partial causes at work, tending in this direction, and not without considerable influence; though always at war with the indestructible instinct of the nation, and frequently counteracted by selfishness and misconduct on the part of the leading cities.

Action of
the Lydian
empire con-
tinued on a
still larger
scale by the
Persians.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PHENICIANS,

OF the Phenicians, Assyrians, and Egyptians, it is necessary for me to speak so far as they acted upon the condition, or occupied the thoughts, of the early Greeks, without undertaking to investigate thoroughly their previous history. Like the Lydians, all three became absorbed into the vast mass of the Persian empire, retaining however their social character and peculiarities after having been robbed of their political independence.

The Persians and Medes—portions of the Arian race, and members of what has been classified, in respect of language, as the great Indo-European family—occupied a part of the vast space comprehended between the Indus on the east, and the line of Mount Zagros (running eastward of the Tigris and nearly parallel with that river) on the west. The Phenicians as well as the Assyrians belonged to the Semitic, Aramæan, or Syro-Arabian family, comprising, besides, the Syrians, Jews, Arabians, and in part the Abyssinians. To what established family of the human race the swarthy and curly-haired Egyptians are to be assigned, has been much disputed. We cannot reckon them as members of either of the two preceding, and the most careful inquiries render it probable that their physical type was something purely African, approximating in many points to that of the Negro.¹

Phenicians
and Assy-
rians—
members
of the Se-
mitic
family of
the human
race.

¹ See the discussion in Dr. Prichard, *Natural History of Man*, sect. xvii. p. 152.

Μελαγχρόες καὶ ὀλίγοιρες (Herodot. ii. 104; compare Ammian. Marcell. xxii. 16, "subfusculi, atrati," &c.) are certain attributes of the ancient Egyptians, depending upon the evidence of an eyewitness.

"In their complexion, and in many of their physical peculiari-

ties (observes Dr. Prichard, p. 138), the Egyptians were an African race. In the eastern and even in the central parts of Africa, we shall trace the existence of various tribes in physical characters nearly resembling the Egyptians; and it would not be difficult to observe among many nations of that continent a gradual deviation from the physical type of the Egyptian to the strongly-marked character

It has already been remarked that the Phenician merchant and trading vessel figures in the Homeric poems as a well-known visitor, and that the variegated robes and golden ornaments fabricated at Sidon are prized among the valuable ornaments belonging to the chiefs.¹ We have reason to conclude generally, that in these early times, the Phenicians traversed the Ægean Sea habitually, and even formed settlements for trading and mining purposes upon some of its islands. On Thasos, especially, near the coast of Thrace, traces of their abandoned gold-mines were visible even in the days of Herodotus, indicating both persevering labour and considerable length of occupation. But at the time when the historical æra opens, they seem to have been in course of gradual retirement from these regions.² Their commerce had taken a different direction. Of this change we can furnish no particulars; but we may easily understand that the increase of the Grecian marine, both warlike and commercial, would render it inconvenient for the Phenicians to encounter

Early presence of Phenician ships in the Grecian seas—in the Homeric times.

of the Negro, and that without any very decided break or interruption. The Egyptian language also, in the great leading principles of its grammatical construction, bears much greater analogy to the idioms of Africa than to those prevalent among the people of other regions."

¹ Homer, *Iliad*, vi. 290; xxiii. 740; *Odyss.* xv. 116:—

. . . πέπλοι παμπούκιλοι, ἔργα
γυναικῶν
Σιδονίων.

Tyre is not named either in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, though a passage in Probus (ad Virg. *Georg.* ii. 115) seems to show that it was mentioned in one of the epics which passed under the name of Homer: "Tyrum Sarram appellatam esse, Homerus docet: quem etiam Ennius sequitur cum dicit, Pœnos Sarrâ oriundos."

The Hesiodic catalogue seems to have noticed both Byblus and Si-

don: see Hesiodi Fragment. xxx. ed. Marktscheffel, and *Etymolog. Magnum*, v. Βύβλος.

² The name Adramyttion or Atramyttion (very like the Africo-Phenician name *Adrumêtum*) is said to be of Phenician origin (Olshausen. *De Origine Alphabeti*, p. 7, in *Kieler Philologische Studien*, 1841). There were valuable mines afterwards worked for the account of Cræsus near Pergamus, and these mines may have tempted Phenician settlers to those regions (Aristotel. *Mirab. Auscult.* c. 52).

The African inscriptions, in the Monumenta Phenic. of Gesenius, recognise Makar as a cognomen of Baal: and Movers imagines that the hero Makar, who figures conspicuously in the mythology of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Kôs, Rhodes, &c., is traceable to this Phenician god and Phenician early settlements in those islands (Movers, *die Religion der Phönicier*, p. 420).

such enterprising rivals—piracy (or private war at sea) being then an habitual proceeding, especially with regard to foreigners.

The Phenician towns occupied a narrow strip of the coast of Syria and Palestine, about 120 miles in length—never more, and generally much less, ^{Situation and cities of Phenicia.} than twenty miles in breadth—between Mount Libanus and the sea. Aradus (on an islet, with Antaradus and Marathus over against it on the mainland) was the northernmost, and Tyre the southernmost (also upon a little island, with Palæ-Tyrus and a fertile adjacent plain over against it). Between the two were situated Sidon, Berytus, Tripolis, and Byblus, besides some smaller towns ¹

¹ Strabo, xvi. p. 754-758; Skylax, *Peripl.* c. 104; Justin, xviii. 3; Arrian, *Exp. Al.* ii. 16-19; Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 5, 6.

Unfortunately the text of Skylax is here extremely defective, and Strabo's account is in many points perplexed, from his not having travelled in person through Phenicia, Cœle-Syria, or Judæa: see Grosskurd's note on p. 755, and the *Einleitung* to his Translation of Strabo, sect. 6.

Respecting the original relation between Palæ-Tyrus and Tyre, there is some difficulty in reconciling all the information, little as it is, which we possess. The name Palæ-Tyrus (it has been assumed as a matter of course: compare Justin. xi. 10) marks that town as the original foundation from which the Tyrians subsequently moved into the island: there was also on the mainland a place named Palæ-Byblos (Plin. H. N. v. 2; Ptolem. v. 15), which was in like manner construed as the original seat from whence the town properly called Byblus was derived. Yet the account of Herodotus plainly represents the insular Tyrus, with its temple of Hēraklēs, as the original foundation (ii. 44), and the Tyrians are described as

living in an island even in the time of their king Hiram, the contemporary of Solomon (Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* viii. 2, 7). Arrian treats the temple of Hēraklēs in the island Tyre as the most ancient temple within the memory of man (*Exp. Al.* ii. 16). The Tyrians also lived on their island during the invasion of Salmaneser king of Nineveh, and their position enabled them to hold out against him, while Palæ-Tyrus on the terra firma was obliged to yield itself (Joseph. *ib.* ix. 14, 2). The town taken (or reduced to capitulate), after a long siege, by Nebuchadnezzar, was the insular Tyrus, not the continental or Palæ-Tyrus, which had surrendered without resistance to Salmaneser. It is not correct, therefore, to say—with Volney (*Recherches sur l'Hist. Anc. ch.* xiv. p. 249), Heeren (*Ideen über den Verkehr der Alten Welt*, part i. Abth. 2. p. 11) and others—that the insular Tyre was called new Tyre, and that the site of Tyre was changed from continental to insular, in consequence of the taking of the continental Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar: the site remained unaltered, and the insular Tyrians became subject to him and his successors until the destruction of

attached to one or other of these last-mentioned, and several islands close to the coast occupied in like manner; while the colony of Myriandrus lay farther north, near the borders of Kilikia. Whether Sidon or Tyre was the most ancient, seems not determinable. If it be true, as some authorities affirmed, that Tyre was originally planted from Sidon, the colony must have grown so rapidly as to surpass its metropolis in power and consideration; for it became the chief of all the Phenician towns.¹ Aradus, the next

the Chaldean monarchy by Cyrus. Hengstenberg's Dissertation, *De Rebus Tyrionum* (Berlin, 1832), is instructive on many of these points: he shows sufficiently that Tyre was, from the earliest times traceable, an insular city; but he wishes at the same time to show, that it was also, from the beginning, joined on to the mainland by an isthmus (p. 10-25)—which is both inconsistent with the former position and unsupported by any solid proofs. It remained an island strictly so-called, until the siege by Alexander: the mole, by which that conqueror had stormed it, continued after his day, perhaps enlarged, so as to form a permanent connection from that time forward between the island and the mainland (Plin. H. N. v. 19; Strabo, xvi. p. 757), and to render the insular Tyros capable of being included by Pliny in one computation of circumference jointly with Palæ-Tyros, the mainland town.

It may be doubted whether we know the true meaning of the word which the Greeks called Παλαι-Τύρος. It is plain that the Tyrians themselves did not call it by that name: perhaps the Phenician name which this continental adjacent town bore, may have been something resembling Palæ-Tyros in sound but not coincident in meaning.

The strength of Tyre lay in its

insular situation; for the adjacent mainland, whereon Palæ-Tyros was placed, was a fertile plain, thus described by William of Tyre during the time of the Crusaders:—

“*Erat prædicta civitas non solum munitissima, sed etiam fertilitate præcipuâ et amenitate quasi singularis: nam licet in medio mari sita est, et in modum insulæ tota fluctibus cineta; habet tamen proforibus latitudinum per omnia commendabile, et plantitiem sibi continuam divitis glebæ et opimi soli, multas civibus ministrans commoditates. Quæ licet modica videatur respectu aliarum regionum, exiguitatem suam multâ redimit ubertate, et infinita jugera multiplici fecunditate compensat. Nec tamen tantis arctatur angustiis. Protenditur enim Austrum versus Ptolemaidem usque ad eum locum, qui hodie vulgo dicitur districtum Scandarionis, milliariibus quatuor aut quinque: e regione in Septentrionem versus Sareptam et Sidonem iterum porrigitur totidem milliariibus. In latitudinem vero ubi minimum ad duo, ubi plurimum ad tria, habens milliaria.*” (Apud Hengstenberg *ut sup.* p. 5.) Compare Maundrell, *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 50, ed. 1749; and Volney, *Travels in Egypt and Syria*, vol. ii. p. 210—226.

¹ Justin (xviii. 3) states that Sidon was the metropolis of Tyre, but the series of events which he

in importance after these two, was founded by exiles from Sidon, and all the rest either by Tyrian or Sidonian settlers. Within this confined territory was concentrated a greater degree of commercial wealth, enterprise, and manufacturing ingenuity, than could be found in any other portion of the contemporary world. Each town was an independent community, having its own surrounding territory and political constitution and its own hereditary prince;¹ though the annals of Tyre display many instances of princes assassinated by men who succeeded them on the throne. Tyre appears to have enjoyed a certain presiding, perhaps controlling, authority over all of them, which was not always willingly submitted to; and examples occur in which the inferior towns, when Tyre was pressed by a foreign enemy,² took the opportunity of revolting, or at least stood aloof. The same difficulty of managing satisfactorily the relations between a presiding town and its confederates, which Grecian history manifests, is found also to prevail in Phenicia, and will be hereafter remarked in regard to Carthage; while the same effects are also perceived, of the autonomous city polity, in keeping alive the individual energies and regulated aspirations of the inhabitants. The predominant sentiment of jealous town-isolation is forcibly illustrated by the circumstances of Tripolis, established jointly by Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus. It consisted of three distinct towns, each one furlong apart from the other two, and each with its own separate walls: though probably constituting to a certain extent one political community, and serving as a place of common meeting and deliberation for the entire Phenician name.³ The outlying promontories of Libanus and Anti-Libanus touched the sea along the Phenician coast, and those mountainous ranges, though rendering a large portion of the very confined area unfit for cultivation of corn, furnished what was perhaps yet more indispensable—abundant

recounts is confused and unintelligible. Strabo also, in one place, calls Sidon the *μεγροπολις τῶν Φοινίκων* (i. p. 40); in another place he states it as a point disputed between the two cities, which of them was the *μεγροπολις τῶν Φοινίκων* (xvi. p. 756).

(Quintus Curtius affirms both Tyre

and Sidon to have been founded by Agênôr (iv. 4, 15).

¹ See the interesting citations of Josephus from Dios and Menander, who had access to the Tyrian *ἀναγγραφαί*, or chronicles (Josephus cont. Apion. i. c. 17, 18, 21; Antiqq. J. x. 11, 1).

² Joseph. Antiqq. J. ix. 14, 2.

³ Diodor. xvi. 41; Skylax, c. 104.

supplies of timber for ship-building; while the entire want of all wood in Babylonia, except the date palm, restricted the Assyrians of that territory from maritime traffic on the Persian Gulf. It appears however that the mountains of Lebanon also afforded shelter to tribes of predatory Arabs, who continually infested both the Phenician territory and the rich neighbouring plain of Coele-Syria.¹

The splendid temple of that great Phenician god (Melkarth), whom the Greeks called Hêraklês,² was situated in Tyre. The Tyrians affirmed that its establishment had been coeval with the first foundation of the city, 2300 years before the time of Herodotus. This god, the companion and protector of their colonial settlements, and the ancestor of the Phœnico-Libyan kings, is found especially at Carthage, Gadês and Thasos.³ Some supposed that the Phenicians had migrated to their site on the Mediterranean coast from previous abodes near the mouth of the Euphrates,⁴

¹ Strabo, xvi. p. 756.

² A Maltese inscription identifies the Tyrian Melkarth with Ἡρακλῆς (Gesenius, Monument. Phœnic. tab. vi.).

³ Herodot. ii. 44; Sallust, Bell. Jug. c. 18; Pausan. x. 12, 2; Arrian, Exp. Al. ii. 16; Justin, xlv. 5; Appian, vi. 2.

⁴ Herodot. i. 2; Ephorus, Frag. 40, ed. Marx; Strabo, xvi. p. 766—784, with Grosskurd's note on the former passage; Justin, xviii. 3. In the animated discussion carried on among the Homeric critics and the great geographers of antiquity, to ascertain *where* it was that Menelaus actually went during his eight years' wandering (Odys. iv. 85)—

.....ἦ γὰρ πολλὰ παθὼν καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθεῖς

Ἡγαρόμην ἐν νηυσὶ, καὶ ὀγδοάτωρ ἔπει ἦλθον,

Κύπρον, Φοινίκην τε, καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπαληθεῖς

Αἰθιοπᾶς τ' ἰκόμην, καὶ Σιδονίους, καὶ Ἑρεβούς,

Καὶ Αἰβύην, &c.

one idea started was, that he had visited these Sidonians in the Persian Gulf, or in the Erythraean Sea (Strabo, i. p. 42). The various opinions which Strabo quotes, including those of Eratosthenês and Kratês, as well as his own comments, are very curious. Kratês supposed that Menelaus had passed the Straits of Gibraltar and circumnavigated Libya to Æthiopia and India, which voyage would suffice (he thought) to fill up the eight years. Other supposed that Menelaus had sailed first up the Nile, and then into the Red Sea, by means of the canal (διωρόζ) which existed in the time of the Alexandrine critics between the Nile and the sea; to which Strabo replies that this canal was not made until after the Trojan war. Eratosthenês stated a still more remarkable idea: he thought that in the time of Homer the Strait of Gibraltar had not yet been burst open, so that the Mediterranean was on that side a closed sea; but, on the other hand, its level

or on islands (named Tylus and Aradus) of the Persian Gulf; while others treated the Mediterranean Phenicians as original, and the others as colonists. Whether such be the fact or not, history knows them in no other portion of Asia earlier than in Phenicia proper.

Though the invincible industry and enterprise of the Phenicians maintained them as a people of importance down to the period of the Roman empire, yet the period of their widest range and greatest efficiency is to be sought much earlier—anterior to 700 B.C. In these remote times they and their colonists were the exclusive navigators of the Mediterranean: the rise of the Greek maritime settlements banished their commerce to a great degree from the Egean Sea, and embarrassed it even in the more westerly waters. Their colonial establishments were formed in Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Isles, and Spain. The greatness as well as the antiquity of Carthage, Utica, and Gadês, attest the long-sighted plans of Phenician traders, even in days anterior to the first Olympiad. We trace the wealth and industry of Tyre, and the distant navigation of her vessels through the Red Sea and along the coast of Arabia, back to the days of David and Solomon. And as neither Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, or Indians, addressed themselves to a sea-faring life, so it seems that both the importation and the distribution of the

Phenician commerce flourished more in the earlier than in the later times.

was then so much higher, that it covered the Isthmus of Suez, and joined the Red Sea. It was (he thought) the disruption of the Strait of Gibraltar which first lowered the level of the water, and left the Isthmus of Suez dry; though Menelaus, in *his* time, had sailed from the Mediterranean into the Red Sea without difficulty. This opinion Eratosthenês had imbibed from Stratôn of Lampsakus, the successor of Theophrastus: Hipparchus controverted it, together with many other of the opinions of Eratosthenês (see Strabo, i. pp. 38, 49, 56; Seidel, *Fragmenta Eratosthenis*, p. 39).

In reference to the view of Kra-

tês—that Menelaus had sailed round Africa—it is to be remarked that all the geographers of that day formed to themselves a very insufficient idea of the extent of that continent, believing that it did not even reach so far southward as the equator.

Strabo himself adopts neither of these three opinions, but construes the Homeric words describing the wanderings of Menelaus as applying only to the coasts of Egypt, Libya, Phenicia, &c. He suggests various reasons, more curious than convincing, to prove that Menelaus may easily have spent eight years in these visits of mixed friendship and piracy.

products of India and Arabia into Western Asia and Europe were performed by the Idumæan Arabs between Petra and the Red Sea—by the Arabs of Gerrha on the Persian Gulf, joined as they were in later times by a body of Chaldæan exiles from Babylonia—and by the more enterprising Phenicians of Tyre and Sidon in these two seas as well as in the Mediterranean.¹

The most ancient Phenician colonies were Utica, nearly on the northernmost point of the coast of Africa and in the same gulf (now called the Gulf of Tunis) as Carthage, over against Cape Lilybæum in Sicily—and Gadês, or Gadeira, in Tartêssus, or the southwestern coast of Spain. The latter town, founded perhaps near 1000 years before the Christian æra,² has maintained a continuous prosperity, and a name (Cadiz) substantially unaltered, longer than any town in Europe. How well the site of Utica was suited to the circumstances of Phenician colonists may be inferred from the fact that Carthage was afterwards established in the same gulf and near to the same spot, and that both the two cities reached a high pitch of prosperity. The distance of Gadês from Tyre seems surprising, and if we calculate by time instead of by space, the Tyrians were separated from their Tartêssian colonists by an interval greater than that which now divides an Englishman from Bombay; for the ancient navigator always coasted along the land, and Skylax reckons seventy-five days³ of voyage from the Kanôpic (westernmost) mouth of the Nile to the pillars of Hêraklês (Strait of Gibraltar); to which some

¹ See Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, West-Asien, Buch iii. Abtheilung iii. Abschnitt i. s. 29. p. 50.

² Strabo speaks of the earliest settlements of the Phenicians in Africa and Iberia as *μειρόν τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὕστερον* (i. p. 48). Utica is affirmed to have been 287 years earlier than Carthage (Aristot. *Mirab. Auscult.* c. 134): compare *Valleius Patere.* i. 2.

Archaleus, son of Phoenix, was stated as the founder of Gadês in the Phenician history of Claudius Julius, now lost (*Etymolog. Magn.*

v. Γαδαιρα). Archaleus is a version of the name Hercules, in the opinion of Movers.

³ Skylax, *Periplus*, c. 110. "Car-teia, ut quidam putant, aliquando Tartessus; et quam transvecti ex Africâ Phœnices habitant, atque unde nos sumus, Tingentera," (*Mela*, ii. 6, 75.) The expression *transvecti ex Africâ* applies as much to the Phenicians as to the Carthaginians: "*uterque Pœnus*" (*Horat.* *Od.* ii. 11), means the Carthaginians, and the Phenicians of Gadês.

more days must be added to represent the full distance between Tyre and Gadès. But the enterprise of these early mariners surmounted all difficulties consistent with the principle of never losing sight of the coast. Proceeding along the northern coast of Libya, at a time when the mouths of the Nile were still closed by Egyptian jealousy against all foreign ships, they appear to have found little temptation to colonise¹ on the dangerous coast near to the two gulfs called the Great and Little Syrtis—in a territory for the most part destitute of water, and occupied by rude Libyan Nomads, who were thinly spread over the wide space between the western Nile² and Cape Hermæa, now called Cape Bona. The subsequent Grecian towns of Kyrênê and Barka, whose well-chosen site formed an exception to the general character of the region, were not planted with any view to commerce;³ while the Phenician town of Leptis, near the gulf called the Great Syrtis, was established more as a shelter for exiles from Sidon, than by a preconcerted scheme of colonization. The site of Utica and Carthage, in the gulf immediately westward of Cape Bona, was convenient for commerce with Sicily, Italy and Sardinia; and the other Phenician colonies, Adrumêtum, Neapolis, Hippo (two towns so called), the Lesser Leptis, &c., were settled on the coast not far distant from the eastern or western

¹ Strabo, xvii. p. 836.

² Cape Soloeis, considered by Herodotus as the westernmost headland of Libya, coincides in name with the Phenician town Soloeis in Western Sicily, also (seemingly) with the Phenician settlement *Suel* (Mela, ii. 6, 65) in Southern Iberia or Tartessus. Cape Hermæa was the name of the north-eastern headland of the Gulf of Tunis, and also the name of a cape in Libya two days' sail westward of the Pillars of Héraklès (Skylax, c. 111).

Probably all the remarkable headlands in these seas received their names from the Phenicians. Both Manners (Geogr. d. Gr. und Röm. x. 2. p. 495) and Forbiger (Alte Geogr. sect. 111. p. 867) identify

Cape Soloeis with what is now called Cape Cantin; Heeren considers it to be the same as Cape Blanco; Bougainville as Cape Boyador.

³ Sallust, Bell. Jug. c. 78. It was termed Leptis Magna, to distinguish it from another Leptis, more to the westward and nearer to Carthage, called Leptis Parva: but this latter seems to have been generally known by the name Leptis (Forbiger, Alte Geogr. sect. 109. p. 814). In Leptis Magna the proportion of Phenician colonists was so inconsiderable that the Phenician language had been lost, and that of the natives, whom Sallust calls Numidians, spoken; but these people had embraced Sidonian institutions and civilization (Sall. *ib.*).

promontories which included the Gulf of Tunis, common to Carthage and Utica.

These early Phenician settlements were planted thus in the territory now known as the kingdom of Tunis and the eastern portion of the French province of Constantine. From thence to the Pillars of Hêraklês (Strait of Gibraltar) we do not hear of any others. But the colony of Gadês, outside of the Strait, formed the centre of a flourishing and extensive commerce, which reached on one side far to the south, not less than thirty days' sail along the western coast of Africa¹—and on the other side to Britain and the Scilly Islands. There were numerous Phenician factories and small trading towns along the western coast of what is now the empire of Morocco; while the island of Kernê, twelve days' sail along the coast from the Strait of Gibraltar, formed an established *dépôt* for Phenician merchandise in trading with the interior. There were, moreover, not far distant from the coast, towns of Libyans or Ethiopians, to which the inhabitants of the central regions resorted, and where they brought their leopard skins and elephants' teeth to be exchanged against the unguents of Tyre and the pottery of Athens.² So distant a trade with the limited navigation

¹ Strabo, xvii. p. 825, 826. He found it stated by some authors that there had once been three hundred trading establishments along this coast, reaching thirty days' voyage southward from Tingis (Tangier); but that they had been chiefly ruined by the tribes of the interior—the Pnarusians and Nigritæ. He suspects the statement of being exaggerated, but there seems nothing at all incredible in it. From Strabo's language we gather that Eratosthenês set forth the statement as in his judgement a true one. The text of Strabo, p. 25, as we read it, compounds Tingis with Lixus; another Phenician settlement about two days' journey southward along the coast, and according to some reports even older than Gadês. See the inter-

esting and valuable Travels of Dr. Barth, the last describer of this now uninviting region—Wanderungen durch die Kussenländer des Mittelmeers, ch. i. p. 23-49. I had in my former edition followed Strabo in confounding Tingis with Lixus: an error pointed out by Dr. Barth, and by Grosskurd.

² Compare Skylax, c. 111. and the Periplus of Hanno, ap. Hudson, Geogr. Græc. Min. vol. i. p. 1-6. I have already observed that the τάρυχος (salt provisions) from Gadeira was currently sold in the markets of Athens, from the Peloponnesian war downward. —Eupolis, Fragm. 23; Mærzke, p. 506, ed. Meineke, Comic. Græc.

Πότερ ἦν το τάρυχος: Φρόνητος ἢ Γαδειρικόν;
Compare the citations from the

of that day, could not be made to embrace very bulky goods.

But this trade, though seemingly a valuable one, constituted only a small part of the sources of wealth, open to the Phenicians of Gadès. The Turditanians and Turduli, who occupied the south-western portion of Spain between the Anas river (Guadiana) and the Mediterranean, seem to have been the most civilized and improveable section of the Iberian tribes, well-suited for commercial relations with the settlers who occupied the Isle of Leon, and who established the temple, afterwards so rich and frequented, of the Tyrian Hêraklês. And the extreme productiveness of the southern region of Spain, in corn, fish, cattle, and wine, as well as in silver and iron, is a topic upon which we find but one language among ancient writers. The territory round Gadès, Carteia, and the other Phenician settlements in this district, was known to the Greeks in the sixth century B.C. by the name of Tartêssus, and regarded by them somewhat in the same light as Mexico and Peru appeared to the Spaniards of the sixteenth century. For three or four centuries the Phenicians had possessed the entire monopoly of this Tartêssian trade, without any rivalry on the part of the Greeks. Probably the metals there procured were in those days their most precious acquisition, and the tribes who occupied the mining regions of the interior found a new market and valuable demand, for produce then obtained with a degree of facility exaggerated into fable.¹ It was from Gadès as a centre that these enterprising traders, pushing their coasting voyage yet farther, established relations with the tin-mines of Cornwall, perhaps also with amber-gatherers from the coasts of the Baltic. It requires some effort to carry back our imaginations to the time when, along all this vast length of country, from Tyre and Sidon to the coast of Cornwall, there was no merchant-ship to buy or sell goods except these Phenicians. The rudest tribes find advantage in such visitors: and we cannot doubt, that the men whose resolute love of gain braved so many hazards and difficulties,

Productive
region
round Ga-
dès, called
Tartêssus.

other comic writers, Antiphanês and Nilôstratus ap. Athenæ. ii. p. 138. The Phenician merchants bought in exchange Attic pottery for their African trade.

¹ About the productiveness of the Spanish mines, Polybius cxxxiv. 9, 8) ap. Strabo, iii. p. 147; Aristot. Mirab. Ausc. c. 135.

must have been rewarded with profits on the largest scale of monopoly.

The Phenician settlers on the coast of Spain became gradually more and more numerous, and appear to have been distributed, either in separate townships or intermingled with the native population, between the mouth of the Anas (Guadiana) and the town of Malaka (Malaga) on the Mediterranean. Unfortunately we are very little informed about their precise localities and details, but we find no information of Phenician settlements on the Mediterranean coast of Spain northward of Malaka; for

Phenicians
and Car-
thaginians
—the estab-
lishments
of the
latter com-
bined views
of empire
with views
of com-
merce.

Carthagera or New Carthage was a Carthaginian settlement, founded only in the third century B. C.—after the first Punic war.¹ The Greek word Phenicians being used to signify as well the inhabitants of Carthage as those of Tyre and Sidon, it is not easy to distinguish what belongs to each of them. Nevertheless we can discern a great and important difference in the character of their establishments, especial-

ly in Iberia. The Carthaginians combined with their commercial projects large schemes of conquest and empire. It is thus that the independent Phenician establishments in and near the Gulf of Tunis in Africa were reduced to dependence upon them—while many new small townships, direct from Carthage itself, were planted on the Mediterranean coast of Africa, and the whole of that coast from the Greek Syrtis westward to the Pillars of Hêraklês (Strait of Gibraltar) is described as their territory in the *Periplus of Skylax* (B. C. 360). In Iberia, during the third century B. C., they maintained large armies,² constrained the inland tribes to subjection, and acquired a dominion which nothing but the superior force of Rome prevented from being durable; while in Sicily also the resistance of the Greeks prevented a similar consummation. But the foreign settlements of Tyre and Sidon were formed with views purely commercial. In the region of Tartêssus, as well as in the western coast of Africa outside of the Strait of Gibraltar, we hear only of pacific interchange and metallurgy; and the number of Phenicians who acquired gradually settlements in the

¹ Strabo, iii. pp. 156, 158, 161; Polybius, iii. 10, 3-10.

² Polyb. i. 10; ii. 1.

interior was so great, that Strabo describes these towns (not less than 200 in number) as altogether phenicised.¹ Since, in his time, the circumstances favourable to new Phenician immigrations had been long past and gone—there can be little hesitation in ascribing the preponderance, which this foreign element had then acquired, to a period several centuries earlier, beginning at a time when Tyre and Sidon enjoyed both undisputed autonomy at home and the entire monopoly of Iberian commerce, without interference from the Greeks.

The earliest Grecian colony founded in Sicily was that of Naxos, planted by the Chalkidians in 735 B. C.: Syracuse followed in the next year, and during the succeeding century many flourishing Greek cities took root on the island. These Greeks found the Phenicians already in possession of many outlying islets and promontories all round the island, which served them in their trade with the Sikels and Sikans who occupied the interior. The safety and facilities of this established trade were to so great a degree broken up by the newcomers, that the Phenicians, relinquishing their numerous petty settlements round the island, concentrated themselves in three considerable towns at the south-western angle near Lilybaeum²—Motyâ, Soloeis and Panormus—and in the island of Malta, where they were least widely separated from Utica and Carthage. The Tyrians of that day were hard-pressed by the Assyrians under Salmaneser, and the power of Carthage had not yet reached its height; otherwise probably this retreat of the Sicilian Phenicians before the Greeks would not have taken place without a struggle. But the early Phenicians, superior to the Greeks in mercantile activity, and not disposed to contend, except under circumstances of very superior force, with warlike adventurers bent on permanent settlement—took the prudent course of circumscribing their sphere of operations. A similar change appears to have taken place in Cyprus, the other island in which Greeks and Phenicians came into close contact. If we may trust the Tyrian annals consulted

Phenicians
and Greeks
in Sicily
and Cyprus
—the latter
partially
supplant
the former.

¹ Strabo, iii. p. 141-150. Οἵτοι γὰρ διττὰς πόλεων καὶ τῶν πλησίον πό-
λεων οὕτως ἐγένετο ὑποχέισται,
ὥστε τὰς πλείους τῶν ἐν τῇ Τυρί-
ῳ, ὅτι ἐκείνοι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο.

² Thucyd. vi. 2; Diod. v. 12.

by the historian Menander, Cyprus was subject to the Tyrians even in the time of Solomon.¹ We do not know the dates of the establishment of Paphos, Salamis, Kitium, and the other Grecian cities there planted—but there can be no doubt that they were posterior to this period, and that a considerable portion of the soil and trade of Cyprus thus passed from Phenicians to Greeks; who on their part partially embraced and diffused the rites, sometimes voluptuous, embodied in the Phenician religion.² In Kilikia, too, especially at Tarsus, the intrusion of Greek settlers appears to have gradually hellenised a town originally Phenician and Assyrian; contributing, along with the other Grecian settlements (Phasêlis, Aspendus and Sidê) on the southern coast of Asia Minor, to narrow the Phenician range of adventure in that direction.³

Such was the manner in which the Phenicians found themselves affected by the Greek settlements. And if the Ionians of Asia Minor, when first conquered by Harpagus and the Persians, had followed the advice of the Prienean Bias to emigrate in a body and found one great Pan-Ionic colony in the island of Sardinia, these early merchants would have experienced the like hindrance⁴ carried still farther westward—perhaps indeed the whole subsequent history of Carthage might have been sensibly modified.

Iberia and
Tartêssus
—unvi-
sited by
the Greeks
before
about 630
B.C.

But Iberia, and the golden region of Tartêssus, remained comparatively little visited, and still less colonised, by the Greeks; nor did it even become known to them, until more than a century after their first settlements had been formed in Sicily. Easy as the voyage from Corinth to Cadiz may now appear to us, to a Greek of the seventh or sixth centuries B.C. it was a formidable undertaking. He was under the necessity of first coasting along Akarnania and Epirus,

¹ See the reference in Joseph. Antiq. Jud. viii. 5. 3, and Joseph. cont. Apion. i. 18; an allusion is to be found in Virgil, *Æneid*, i. 642, in the mouth of Dido:—

"Genitor tum Belus opimam
Vastabat Cyprum, et late ditio-
tenebat." (t. v.)

² Respecting the worship at Salamis (in Cyprus) and Paphos, see Lactant. i. 21; Strabo, xiv. p. 683.

³ Tar-us is mentioned by Dio Chrysostom as a colony from the Phenician Arâdus (Orat. Tarsens. ii. p. 20. ed. Reisk.), and Herodotus makes Kilix brother of Phœnix and son of Agênôr (vii. 92).

Phenician coins of the city of Tarsus are found, of a date towards the end of the Persian empire: see Movers, *Die Phönizier*, i. p. 13.

⁴ Herodot. i. 170.

then crossing, first to the island of Korkyra, and next to the Gulf of Tarentum. Proceeding to double the southernmost cape of Italy, he followed the sinuosities of the Mediterranean coast, by Tyrrhenia, Liguria, Southern Gaul and Eastern Iberia, to the Pillars of Hêraklês or Strait of Gibraltar: or if he did not do this, he had the alternative of crossing the open sea from Krête or Peloponnesus to Libya, and then coasting westward along the perilous coast of the Syrtes until he arrived at the same point. Both voyages presented difficulties hard to be encountered: but the most serious hazard of all, was the direct transit across the open sea from Krête to Libya. It was about the year 630 B.C. that the inhabitants of the island of Thêra, starved out by a seven years' drought, were enjoined by the Delphian god to found a colony in Libya. Nothing short of the divine command would have induced them to obey so terrific a sentence of banishment; for not only was the region named quite unknown to them, but they could not discover, by the most careful inquiries among practised Greek navigators, a single man who had ever intentionally made the voyage to Libya.¹ One Kretan only could they find—a fisherman named Korôbius—who had been driven thither accidentally by violent gales, and he served them as guide.

At this juncture Egypt had only been recently opened to Greek commerce—P'sammetichus having been the first king who partially relaxed the jealous exclusion of ships from the entrance of the Nile, enforced by all his predecessors. The incitement of so profitable a traffic emboldened some Ionian traders to make the direct voyage from Krête to the mouth of that river. It was in the prosecution of one of these voyages, and in connexion with the foundation of Kyrênê (to be recounted in a future chapter), that we are made acquainted with the memorable adventure of the Samian merchant Kôlæus. While bound for Egypt, he had been driven out of his course by contrary winds and had found shelter on an uninhabited islet called Platea, off the coast of Libya—the spot where the emigrants intended for Kyrênê first established themselves, not long afterwards. From hence he again started to proceed to Egypt, but again

Memorable
voyage of
the Samian
Kôlæus to
Tartês-us.

¹ Herodot. iv. 151.

without success; violent and continuous east winds drove him continually to the westward, until he at length passed the Pillars of Hêraklê's, and found himself, under the providential guidance of the gods,¹ an unexpected visitor among the Phenicians and Iberians of Tartêssus. What the cargo was which he was transporting to Egypt, we are not told. But it sold in this yet virgin market for the most exorbitant prices. He and his crew (says Herodotus²) "realised a profit larger than ever fell to the lot of any known Greek except Sostratus the Æginetan, with whom no one else can compete." The magnitude of their profits may be gathered from the votive offering which they erected on their return in the sacred precinct of Hêrê at Samos, in gratitude for the protection of that goddess during their voyage. It was a large bronze vase, ornamented with projecting griffins' heads and supported by three bronze kneeling figures of colossal stature: it cost six talents, and represented the tithe of their gains. The aggregate of sixty talents³ (about £16,000, speaking roughly), corresponding to this tithe, was a sum which not many even of the rich men of Athens in her richest time, could boast of possessing.

To the lucky accident of this enormous vase and the inscription doubtless attached to it, which Herodotus saw in the Hêræon at Samos, and to the impression which such miraculous enrichment made upon his imagination—we are indebted for our knowledge of the precise period at which the secret of Phenician commerce at Tartêssus first became

¹ Herodot. iv. 152. Θειῇ πομπῇ χρεώμενος.

² Herodot. iv. 152. Τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο (Tartêssus) ἦν ἀκήρατον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὥστε ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι ὁπίσω μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκέως ἴδμεν, ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν, μετὰ γε Σωστράτου τὸν Λαοδόμαντος, Αἰγινήτην· τοῦτω γὰρ οὐκ οἷά τε ἐρίσει ἄλλον.

Allusions to the prodigious wealth of Tartêssus were found in Anakreon, Fragm. 8, ed. Bergh; Stephan. Byz. Ταρτησός; Eustath. ad Dionys. Periêgêt. 332, Ταρτησός, ἧ, καὶ ὁ Ἀνακρέων φησὶ πανευδαίμονα; Himerius ap. Photium, Cod. 243. p. 599—

Ταρτησούβιον, Ἀνακλείας κέρας, πᾶν ὅσον εὐδαίμονος κεφαλῆον.

³ These talents cannot have been Attic talents; for the Attic talent first arose from the debasement of the Athenian money standard by Solon, which did not occur until a generation after the voyage of Kôlaus. They must have been either Euboic or Æginæan talents; probably the former, seeing that the case belongs to the island of Samos. Sixty Euboic talents would be about equivalent to the sum stated in the text. For the proportion of the various Greek monetary scales, see above, part. 2. ch. iv. and ch. xii.

known to the Greeks. The voyage of Kôlæus opened to the Greeks of that day a new world hardly less important (regard being had to their previous aggregate of knowledge) than the discovery of America to the Europeans of the last half of the fifteenth century. But Kôlæus did little more than make known the existence of this distant and lucrative region: he cannot be said to have shown the way to it. Nor do we find, in spite of the foundation of Kyrênê and Barka, which made the Greeks so much more familiar with the coast of Libya than they had been before—that the route, by which he had been carried against his own will, was ever deliberately pursued by Greek traders.

Probably the Carthaginians, altogether unscrupulous in proceedings against commercial rivals,¹ would have aggravated its natural maritime difficulties by false information and hostile proceedings. The simple report of such gains, however, was well-calculated to act as a stimulus to other enterprising navigators. The Phôkæans, during the course of the next half-century, pushing their exploring voyages both along the Adriatic and along the Tyrrhenian coast, and founding Massalia in the year 600 B.C., at length reached the Pillars of Hêraklês and Tartôssus along the eastern coast of Spain. These men were the most adventurous mariners² that Greece had yet produced, creating a jealous uneasiness even among their Ionian neighbours.³ Their voyages were made, not with round and bulky merchantships, calculated only for the maximum of cargo, but with armed pentekonters—and they were thus enabled to defy the privateers of the Tyrrhenian cities on the Mediterranean, which had long deterred the Greek trader from any habitual traffic near the Strait of Messina.⁴ There can be little doubt that the progress of the Phôkæans was very slow, and the foundation of Massalia (Marseilles), one of

Exploring
voyages of
the Phô-
kæans,
between
630-570 B.C.

¹ Strabo, xvii. p. 802; Aristot. Mirab. Ausc. c. 84-132.

² Herodot. i. 163. Οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες οὗτοι ναυτολῆσαι μακρῆσαι πρῶτοι Ἰλλήρων ἐγρήσαντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρρηάην καὶ τὴν Ἰόνιον καὶ τὴν Ταρτησσὴν οὗτοί εἰσιον αἰ καταβιβάσαντες ναυτολῶντο δὲ ὡς στρογγύλαι γῆραι, ἀλλὰ πεντηκον-

τέραιον—the expressions are remarkable.

³ Herodot. i. 164, 165 gives an example of the jealousy of the Chians in respect to the islands called Gêussæ.

⁴ Ephorus, Fragm. 52, ed. Marx; Strabo, vi, p. 267.

the most remote of all Greek colonies, may for a time have absorbed their attention: moreover they had to pick up information as they went on, and the voyage was one of discovery, in the strict sense of the word. The time at which they reached Tartêssus, may seemingly be placed between 570-560 B.C. They made themselves so acceptable to Arganthônus—king of Tartêssus, or at least king of part of that region—that he urged them to relinquish their city of Phôkæa and establish themselves in his territory, offering to them any site which they chose to occupy. Though they declined this tempting offer, yet he still continued anxious to aid them against dangers at home, and gave them a large donation of money—whereby they were enabled at a critical moment to complete their fortifications. Arganthônus died shortly afterwards, having lived (we are told) to the extraordinary age of 120 years, of which he had reigned 80. The Phôkæans had probably reason to repent of their refusal; since in no very long time their town having been taken by the Persians, half their citizens became exiles, and were obliged to seek a precarious abode in Corsica, in place of the advantageous settlement which old Arganthônus had offered to them in Tartêssus.¹

By such steps did the Greeks gradually track out the lines of Phenician commerce in the Mediterranean, and accomplish that vast improvement in their geographical knowledge—the circumnavigation of what Eratosthenês and Strabo termed “our sea,” as distinguished from the external Ocean.² Little practical advantage however was derived from the discovery, which was only made during the last years of Ionian independence. The Ionian cities became subjects of Persia, and Phôkæa especially was crippled and half-depopulated in the struggle. Had the period of Ionian enterprise been prolonged, we should probably have heard of other Greek settlements in Iberia and Tartêssus,—over and above Emporia and Rhodes, formed by the Massaliots between the Pyrenees and the Ebro,—as well as of increasing Grecian traffic with those regions. The misfortunes of Phôkæa and the other Ionic towns saved the Phenicians of Tartêssus from Grecian interference and competition,

Important addition to Grecian geographical knowledge, and stimulus to Grecian fancy, thus communicated.

¹ Herodot. i. 165.

² ‘Η κατὰ ἡμᾶς ὁράουσα (Strabo); τῆς τοῦ πελάγους (Herod. iv. 41).

such as that which their fellow-countrymen in Sicily had been experiencing for a century and a half.

But though the Ephesian Artemis, the divine protectress of Phôkæan emigration, was thus prevented from becoming consecrated in Tartêssus along with the Tyrian Hêrâklês, an impulse not the less powerful was given to the imaginations of philosophers like Thalês and poets like Stesichorus—whose lives cover the interval between the supernatural transport of Kôlæus on the wings of the wind, and the persevering, well-planned, exploration which emanated from Phôkæa. While, on the one hand, the Tyrian Hêrâklês with his venerated temple at Gadês furnished a new locality and details for mythes respecting the Grecian Hêrâklês—on the other hand, intelligent Greeks learnt for the first time that the waters surrounding their island and the Peloponnesus formed part of a sea circumscribed by assignable boundaries. Continuous navigation of the Phôkæans round the coasts, first of the Adriatic, next of the Gulf of Lyons to the Pillars of Hêrâklês and Tartêssus, first brought to light this important fact. The hearers of Archilochus, Simonidês of Amorgus, and Kallinus, living before or contemporary with the voyage of Kôlæus, had no known sea-limit either north of Korkyra or west of Sicily: but those of Anakreon and Hippônax, a century afterwards, found the Euxine, the Palus Mæotis, the Adriatic, the Western Mediterranean, and the Libyan Syrtes, all so far surveyed as to present to the mind a definite conception, and to admit of being visibly represented by Anaximander on a map. However familiar such knowledge has now become to us, at the time now under discussion it was a prodigious advance. The Pillars of Hêrâklês, especially, remained deeply fixed in the Greek mind, as a terminus of human adventure and aspiration: of the Ocean beyond, men were for the most part content to remain ignorant.

It has already been stated, that the Phenicians, as coast explorers, were even more enterprising than the Phôkæans. But their jealous commercial spirit induced them to conceal their track,—to give information designedly false:

Circumnavigation of Africa by the Phenicians.

¹ The geographer Ptolemy, with genuine scientific zeal, complains bitterly of the reserve and frauds common with the old traders, respecting the countries which they visited (Ptolem. Geogr. i. 11).

respecting dangers and difficulties,—and even to drown any commercial rivals when they could do so with safety.¹ One remarkable Phenician achievement, however, contemporary with the period of Phôkæan exploration, must not be passed over. It was somewhere about 600 B.C. that they circumnavigated Africa; starting from the Red Sea, by direction of the Egyptian king Nekôs, son of Psammetichus—going round the Cape of Good Hope to Gadès—and from thence returning to the Nile.

It appears that Nekôs, anxious to procure a water-communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, began digging a canal from the former to the Nile, but desisted from the undertaking after having made considerable progress. In prosecution of the same object, he despatched these Phenicians on an experimental voyage from the Red Sea round Libya, which was successfully accomplished, though in a time not less than three years; for during each autumn, the mariners landed and remained on shore a sufficient time to sow their seed and raise a crop of corn. They reached Egypt again through the Strait of Gibraltar, in the course of the third year, and recounted a tale—"which (says Herodotus) others may perhaps believe, but I cannot believe"—that in sailing round Libya they had the sun on their right hand, *i. e.* to the north.²

The reality of this circumnavigation was confirmed to Herodotus by various Carthaginian informants,³ and he himself fully believes it. There seems good reason for sharing in his belief, though several able critics reject the tale as incredible. The Phenicians were expert and daring masters of coast navigation, and in going round Africa they had no occasion ever to lose sight of land. We may presume that their vessels were amply stored, so that they could take their

This circumnavigation was really accomplished—doubts of critics, ancient and modern, examined.

¹ Strabo, iii. p. 175, 176; xvii. p. 802.

² Herodot. iv. 42. Καὶ ἔλεγον, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά, ἄλλω δὲ δὴ πέρι, ὡς περιπλῶντες τὴν Αἴθιοιαν, τοὺς ἡέροντες ἐσθον ἐν τα δεξιᾷ.

³ Herodot. Οὕτω μὲν αὐτὴ ἐγνώσθη τοπικῶν (i. e. ἡ Αἴθιοιαν ἐγνώσθη, ἐοῦσα περίπλοτος) μετὰ δὲ, Καρχη-

δόνοι εἰπον οἱ λέγοντες. These Carthaginians, to whom Herodotus here alludes, told him that Libya was circumnavigable: but it does not seem that they knew of any other actual circumnavigation except that of the Phenicians sent by Nekôs; otherwise Herodotus would have made some allusion to it,

own time, and lie by in bad weather; we may also take for granted that the reward consequent upon success was considerable. For any other mariners then existing, indeed, the undertaking might have been too hard, but it was not so for them, and that was the reason why Nekôs chose them. To such reasons, which show the story to present no intrinsic incredibility (that indeed is hardly alleged even by Mannert and others who disbelieve it), we may add one other, which goes far to prove it positively true. They stated that in the course of their circuit, while going westward, they had the sun on their right hand (*i. e.* to the northward); and this phænomenon, observable according to the season even when they were within the tropics, could not fail to force itself on their attention as constant, after they had reached the southern temperate zone. But Herodotus at once pronounces this part of the story to be incredible, and so it might appear to almost every man, Greek,¹ Phœnician or Egyptian, not only of the age of Nekôs, but even of the time of Herodotus, who heard it: since none of them possessed either actual experience of the phænomena of a southern latitude, or a sufficiently correct theory of the relation between sun and earth, to understand the varying direction of the shadows: and few men would consent to set aside the received ideas with reference to the solar motions, from pure confidence in the veracity of these Phœnician narrators. Now that under such circumstances the latter should invent the tale is highly improbable; and if they were not inventors, they must have experienced the phænomenon during the southern portion of their transit.

instead of proceeding, as he does immediately, to tell the story of the Persian Satastês, who tried and failed.

The testimony of the Carthaginians is so far valuable, as it declares their persuasion of the truth of the statement made by those Phœnicians.

Some critics have construed the words, in which Herodotus alludes to the Carthaginians as his informants, as if what they told him was the story of the fruitless attempt made by Sataspês. But this is

evidently not the meaning of the historian: he brings forward the opinion of the Carthaginians as confirmatory of the statement made by the Phœnicians employed by Nekôs.

¹ Diodorus (iii. 40) talks correct language about the direction of the shadows southward of the tropic of Cancer (compare Pliny, H. N. vi. 29)—one mark of the extension of geographical and astronomical observations during the four intervening centuries between him and Herodotus.

Some critics disbelieve this circumnavigation, from supposing that if so remarkable an achievement had really taken place once, it must have been repeated, and practical application must have been made of it. But though such a suspicion is not unnatural, with those who recollect how great a revolution was operated when the passage was rediscovered during the fifteenth century—yet the reasoning will not be found applicable to the sixth century before the Christian æra.

Pure scientific curiosity, in that age, counted for nothing. The motive of Nekôs for directing this enterprise was the same as that which had prompted him to dig his canal,—in order that he might procure the best communication between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. But, as it has been with the north-west passage in our time, so it was with the circumnavigation of Africa in his—the proof of its practicability at the same time showed that it was not available for purposes of traffic or communication, looking to the resources then at the command of navigators—a fact, however, which could not be known until the experiment was made. To pass from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea by means of the Nile still continued to be the easiest way; either by aid of the land journey, which in the times of the Ptolemies was usually made from Koptos on the Nile to Berenikê on the Red Sea—or by means of the canal of Nekôs, which Darius afterwards finished, though it seems to have been neglected during the Persian rule in Egypt, and was subsequently repaired and put to service under the Ptolemies. Without any doubt the successful Phenician mariners underwent both severe hardship and great real perils, besides those still greater supposed perils, the apprehension of which so constantly unnerved the minds even of experienced and resolute men in the unknown Ocean. Such was the force of these terrors and difficulties, to which there was no known termination, upon the mind of the Achæmenid Sataspês (upon whom the circumnavigation of Africa was imposed as a penalty “worse than death” by Xerxês, in commutation of a capital sentence), that he returned without having finished the circuit, though by so doing he forfeited his life. He affirmed that he had sailed “until his vessel stuck fast, and could move on no farther”—a persuasion not uncommon in ancient times and even down to Columbus, that there was a point, beyond which

the Ocean, either from mud, sands, shallows, fogs, or accumulations of sea-weed, was no longer navigable.¹

¹ Skylax, after following the line of coast from the Mediterranean outside of the Strait of Gibraltar, and then south-westward along Africa as far as the island of Kernê, goes on to say, that "beyond Kernê the sea is no longer navigable from shallows and mud and sea-weed"—Τῆς δὲ Κέρνης νήσου τὰ ἐπέκεινα οὐκέτι ἐστὶ πλωτὰ διὰ βραχύτης καὶ θαλάττης καὶ πηλὸν καὶ φύκος. Ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ φύκος τῆς δοχμῆς τὸ πύκνους καὶ ἀσπιδίου ὄψις, ὥστε κεντεῖν (Skylax, c. 109). Nearchus, on undertaking his voyage down the Indus and from thence into the Persian Gulf, is not certain whether the external sea will be found navigable—εἰ δὲ πλωτός γέ ἐστιν ὁ παύτῃ πόντος (Nearchi Periplus, p. 2: compare p. 40 ap. Geogr. Minor. vol. i. ed. Hudson). Pytheas described the neighbourhood of Thulé as a sort of chaos—a medley of earth, sea and air in which you could neither walk nor sail—οὔτε γὰρ καθ' αὐτὴν ὑπάρχειν οὔτε θάλασσαν οὔτε ἀήρ, ἀλλὰ συγχρημά τι ἐκ τούτων περιμεινέμεν θαλάσσης εἰκότος, ἐν ᾧ φρεσὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θάλασσαν κίωρεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ τούτοις ὡς ἂν δεσφόν εἶναι τῶν βίων, μήτε πορευτοῖν μήτε πλωτοῖν ὑπάρχοντι τομοῖς, οὐδ' ὅπως περιμεινέμεν εἰκότος οὔτος (Pytheas) ἐνοργακεῖναι, τὰλλα δὲ λέγειν ἐξ ἀκοῆς (Strabo, ii. p. 104). Again, the priests of Memphis told Herodotus that their conquering hero Sesostris had equipped a fleet in the Arabian Gulf, and made a voyage into the Erythraean Sea, subjugating people everywhere, "until he came to a sea no longer navigable from shallows"—οὐκέτι πλωτὴ, ὁπὸ βραχέων (Herod. ii. 109). Plato represents the sea without the Pillars of Hēraklēs as impenetrable and unfit for navigation, in

consequence of the large admixture of earth, mud, or vegetable covering, which had arisen in it from the disruption of the great island or continent Atlantis (Timæus, p. 25; and Kritias, p. 10); which passages are well-illustrated by the Scholiast, who seems to have read geographical descriptions of the character of this outer sea—τούτο καὶ οἱ τοῦς ἐκείνη τόπους ἱστοροῦντες λέγουσιν, ὡς πάντα τεναγῶδη τὴν ἐκεῖ εἶναι χώρον τέναγος δὲ ἐστὶν ἰλὺς τις, ἐπιπολάζοντος ὕδατος οὐ πολλοῦ, καὶ βοτάνης ἐπιφανισμένης τούτῳ. See also Plutarch's fancy of the dense, earthy, and viscous Kronian sea (some days to the westward of Britain), in which a ship could with difficulty advance, and only by means of severe pulling with the oars (Plutarch, De Facie in Orbe Lunæ, c. 26. p. 941). So again in the two geographical productions in verse by Rufus Festus Avienus (Hudson, Geogr. Minor. vol. iv., Descriptio Orbis Terræ, v. 57, and Ora Maritima, v. 406-415): in the first of these two, the density of the water of the Western Ocean is ascribed to its being saturated with salt—in the second, we have shallows, large quantities of sea-weed, and wild beasts swimming about, which the Carthaginian Himilco affirmed himself to have seen:

"Plerumque porro tenue tenditur
salum,
Utrix arenas subiacentes occulat;
Exsuperat autem gurgitem fucus
frequens
Atque impeditur æstus ex uligine:
Vis vel terarum pelagus omne
internatat,
Mutusque terror ex feris habitat
freta.

Now we learn from hence that the enterprise, even by those who believed the narrative of Nekôs's captains, was

Hæc olim Himilco Pœnus Oceano
super

Spectasse semet et probasse retulit:

Hæc nos, ab imis Punicorum analibus

Prolata longo tempore, edidimus tibi."

Compare also v. 115-130 of the same poem, where the author again quotes from a voyage of Himilco, who had been four months in the ocean outside of the Pillars of Hercules:—

"Sic nulla late flabra propellunt
ratem,

Sic segnis humor æquoris pigri
stupet,

Adjicit et illud, plurimum inter
gurgites

Extare fucum, et sæpe virgulti
vice

Retinere puppim," &c.

The dead calm, mud, and shallows of the external ocean are touched upon by Aristot. Meteorolog. ii. 1, 14, and seem to have been a favourite subject of declamation with the rhetors of the Augustan age. See Seneca, Suasoriar. i. 1.

Even the companions and contemporaries of Columbus, when navigation had made such comparative progress, still retained much of these fears respecting the dangers and difficulties of the unknown ocean:—"Le tableau exagéré (observe A. von Humboldt, Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie, t. iii. p. 95) que la ruse des Phéniciens avait tracé des difficultés qu'opposaient à la navigation au delà des Colonnes d'Hercule, de Cerné, et de l'Île Sacrée (Ierné), le fucus, le limon, le manque de fond, et le calme perpétuel de la mer, ressemble d'une

manière frappante aux récits animés des premiers compagnons de Colomb."

Columbus was the first man who traversed the sea of Sargasso, or area of the Atlantic Ocean south of the Azores, where it is covered by an immense mass of sea-weed for a space six or seven times as large as France: the alarm of his crew at this unexpected spectacle was considerable. The sea-weed is sometimes so thickly accumulated, that it requires a considerable wind to impel the vessel through it. The remarks and comparisons of M. von Humboldt in reference to ancient and modern navigation are highly interesting (Examen. *ut sup.* pp. 69, 88, 91, &c.).

J. M. Gesner (Dissertat. de Navigationibus extra Columnas Herculis, sect. 6 and 7) has a good defence of the story told by Herodotus. Major Rennell also adopts the same view, and shows by many arguments how much easier the circumnavigation was from the East than from the West (Geograph. System of Herodotus, p. 183): compare Ukert, Geograph. der Griechen und Römer, vol. i. p. 61; Mannert, Geog. d. G. und Römer, vol. i. p. 19-26. Gossellin (Recherches sur la Géogr. des Anc. i. p. 149) and Mannert both reject the story as not worthy of belief: Heeren defends it (Ideen über den Verkehr der Alten Welt, i. 2. p. 86-95).

Agatharchides, in the second century, B.C., pronounces the eastern coast of Africa, southward of the Red Sea, to be as yet unexamined: he treats it as a matter of certainty however that the sea to the southwestward is continuous with the Western Ocean (De Rubro Mari, Geogr. Minores, ed. Huds. v. i. p. 11).

regarded as at once desperate and unprofitable; but doubtless many persons treated it as a mere "Phenician lie"¹ (to use an expression proverbial in ancient times). The circumnavigation of Libya is said to have been one of the projects conceived by Alexander the Great.² We may readily believe that if he had lived longer, it would have been confided to Nearchus or some other officer of the

¹ Strabo, iii. p. 170. Sataspês (the unsuccessful Persian circumnavigator of Libya, mentioned just above) had violated the daughter of another Persian nobleman, Zopyrus son of Megabyzus, and Xerxês had given orders that he should be crucified for this act: his mother begged him off by suggesting that he should be condemned to something "*worse than death*"—the circumnavigation of Libya (Herod. iv. 43). Two things are to be remarked in respect to his voyage:—1. He took with him a ship and seamen from Egypt; we are not told that they were Phenician; probably no other mariners than Phenicians were competent to such a voyage—and even if the crew of Sataspês had been Phenicians, he could not offer rewards for success equal to those at the disposal of Nekôs. 2. He began his enterprise from the Strait of Gibraltar instead of from the Red Sea; now it seems that the current between Madagascar and the eastern coast of Africa sets very strongly towards the Cape of Good Hope, so that while it greatly assists the southerly voyage, on the other hand, it makes return by the same way very difficult. (See Humboldt, *Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie*, t. i. p. 3433.) Strabo however affirms that all those who had tried to circumnavigate Africa, both from the Red Sea and from the Strait of Gibraltar, had been forced to return without success (i. p. 32), so that most people believed that

there was a continuous isthmus which rendered it impracticable to go by sea from the one point to the other; he is himself however persuaded that the Atlantic is *ὁρῶντος* on both sides of Africa, and therefore that circumnavigation is possible. He as well as Poseidonius (ii. p. 98-100) disbelieved the tale of the Phenicians sent by Nekôs. He must have derived his complete conviction, that Libya might be circumnavigated, from geographical theory, which led him to contract the dimensions of that continent southward—inasmuch as the thing in his belief never had been done, though often attempted. Mannert (*Geog. d. G. und Röm.* i. p. 24) erroneously says that Strabo and others founded their belief on the narrative of Herodotus.

It is worth while remarking that Strabo cannot have read the story in Herodotus with much attention, since he mentions Darius as the king who sent the Phenicians round Africa, not Nekôs; nor does he take notice of the remarkable statement of these navigators respecting the position of the sun. There were doubtless many apocryphal narratives current in his time respecting attempts, successful and unsuccessful, to circumnavigate Africa, as we may see by the tale of Eudoxus (Strabo, ii. 98; *Cornel. Nep. ap. Plin. H. N.* ii. 67, who gives the story very differently; and *Pomp. Mela*, iii. 9).

² Arrian, *Exp. Al.* vii. 1, 2.

like competence, and in all probability would have succeeded, especially since it would have been undertaken from the eastward—to the great profit of geographical knowledge among the ancients, but with little advantage to their commerce. There is then adequate reason for admitting that these Phenicians rounded the Cape of Good Hope from the East about 600 B.C., more than 2000 years earlier than Vasco de Gama did the same thing from the West; though the discovery was in the first instance of no avail, either for commerce or for geographical science.

Besides the maritime range of Tyre and Sidon, their trade by land in the interior of Asia was of great value and importance. They were the speculative merchants who

Caravan-
trade by
land carried
on by the
Phenicians. directed the march of the caravans laden with Assyrian and Egyptian products across the deserts which separated them from inner Asia¹—an operation which presented hardly less difficulties, considering the Arabian depredators whom they were obliged to conciliate and even to employ as carriers, than the longest coast voyage. They seem to have stood alone in antiquity in their willingness to brave, and their ability to surmount, the perils of a distant land-traffic;² and their descendants at Carthage and Utica were not less active in pushing caravans far into the interior of Africa.

¹ Herodot. i. 1. Φοίνικας—ἀπαγινόμεν-
τας φόρτια Ἀσσυρία τε καὶ Αἰγύπτια.

about the land trade of the Phenicians.

² See the valuable chapter in Heeren (Ueber den Verkehr der Alten Welt, i. 2. Abschn. 4. p. 96)

The twenty-seventh chapter of the Prophet Ezekiel presents a striking picture of the general commerce of Tyro.

CHAPTER XIX.

ASSYRIANS—BABYLON.

THE name of the Assyrians who formed one wing of this early system of intercourse and commerce, rests chiefly upon the great cities of Nineveh and Babylon. To the Assyrians of Nineveh (as has been already mentioned) is ascribed in early times a very extensive empire, covering much of Upper Asia, as well as Mesopotamia or the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Respecting this empire—its commencement, its extent, or even the mode in which it was put down—nothing certain can be affirmed. But it seems unquestionable that many great and flourishing cities—and a population inferior in enterprise, but not in industry, to the Phenicians—were to be found on the Euphrates and Tigris, in times anterior to the first Olympiad. Of these cities, Nineveh on the Tigris and Babylon on the Euphrates were the chief: the latter being in some sort of dependence, probably, on the sovereigns of Nineveh, yet governed by kings or chiefs of its own, and comprehending an hereditary order of priests named Chaldeans, masters of all the science and literature as well as of the religious ceremonies current among the people, and devoted from very early times to that habit of astronomical observation which their brilliant sky so much favoured.

The people called Assyrians or Syrians (for among the Greek authors no constant distinction is maintained between the two²⁾) were distributed over the wide territory

¹ Herodot. i. 178. Τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίης
ἐστὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα
μεγάλα πολλά· τὸ δὲ ὀνομασσωτάτου
καὶ ισχυρώτατου, καὶ ἐνθα σφί, τῆς
Νινυς ἀναστάντος γενόμενης, τὰ βασι-
λῆα κατεστήκασι, ἢ Βαβυλῶν.

ception of the old Assyria: Opis on the Tigris, and Sittakê very near the Tigris, were among them (Xenoph. Anab. ii. 4, 13-25): compare Diodor. ii. 11.

² Herodot. i. 72; iii. 90—91; vii. 63; Strabo, xvi. p. 736, also ii. p. 84, in which he takes exception to the distribution of the *οἰκουμένη*.

bounded on the east by Mount Zagros and its north-west-erly continuation towards Mount Ararat, by which they were separated from the Medes—and extending from thence westward and southward to the Euxine Sea, the river Halys, the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf—thus covering the whole course of the Tigris and Euphrates south of Armenia, as well as Syria and Syria-Palæstine, and the territory eastward of the Halys called Kappadokia.

But the Chaldæan order of priests appears to have been peculiar to Babylon and other towns in its territory, especially between that city and the Persian Gulf. The vast, rich, and lofty temple of Bêlus in that city served them at once as a place of worship and an astronomical observatory. It was the paramount ascendancy of this order which seems to have caused the Babylonian people generally to be spoken of as Chaldæans—though some writers have supposed, without any good proof, a conquest of Assyrian Babylon by barbarians called Chaldæans from the mountains near the Euxine.¹

(inhabited portion of the globe) made by Eratosthenès, because it did not include in the same compartment (συγκριτικ) Syria proper and Mesopotamia; he calls Ninus and Semiramis, Syrians. Herodotus considers the Armenians as colonists from the Phrygians (vii. 73).

The Homeric names Ἀρίμοι, Ἐρμύβοι (the first in the Iliad, ii. 783, the second in the Odyssey, iv. 84) coincide with the Oriental name of this race *Aram*: it seems more ancient in the Greek habits of speech, than *Syrians* (see Strabo, xvi. p. 785).

The Hesiodic Catalogue too, as well as Stésichorus, recognised *Arabus* as the son of Hermès by Throniè daughter of Bêlus (Hesiod, Frag. 29, ed. Marktscheffel; Strabo, i. p. 42).

¹ Heeren, in his account of the Babylonians (Ideen über den Verkehr der Alten Welt, part i. Abtheilung 2. p. 168), speaks of this conquest of Babylon by Chaldæan

barbarians from the northern mountains as a certain fact, explaining the great development of the Babylonian empire under Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar from 630—560 B.C.; it was (he thinks) the new Chaldæan conquerors who thus extended their dominion over Judæa and Phenicia.

I agree with Volney (Chronologie des Babyloniens, ch. x. p. 215) in thinking this statement both unsupported and improbable. Manert seems to suppose the Chaldæans of Arabian origin (Geogr. der G. und Röm., part v. s. 2. ch. xii. p. 419). The passages of Strabo (xvi. p. 739) are more favourable to this opinion than to that of Heeren; but we make out nothing distinct respecting the Chaldæans except that they were the priestly order among the Assyrians of Babylon, as they are expressly termed by Herodotus—ὡς λέγουσι αἱ Χαλδαῖαι, εὐντες τοῦτοιοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ (of Zeus Bêlus) (Herodot. i. 181).

There were exaggerated statements respecting the antiquity of their astronomical observations, which cannot be traced as of definite and recorded date higher than the æra of Nabonassar¹ (747 B.C.), as well as respecting the extent of their acquired knowledge,

Their astronomical observations.

¹ The earliest Chaldean astronomical observation, known to the astronomer Ptolemy, both precise and of ascertained date to a degree sufficient for scientific use, was a lunar eclipse of the 19th March 721 B.C.—the 27th year of the æra of Nabonassar (Ideler, *Ueber die Astronomischen Beobachtungen der Alten*, p. 19, Berlin, 1806). Had Ptolemy known any older observations conforming to these conditions, he would not have omitted to notice them: his own words in the *Almagest* testify how much he valued the knowledge and comparison of observations taken at distant intervals (*Almagest*, b. 3. p. 62, ap. Ideler, *l. c.* p. 1), and at the same time imply that he had none more ancient than the æra of Nabonassar (*Alm.* iii. p. 77, ap. Ideler, p. 169).

That the Chaldeans had been, long before this period, in the habit of observing the heavens, there is no reason to doubt; and the exactness of those observations cited by Ptolemy implies (according to the judgement of Ideler, *ib.* p. 167) long previous practice. The period of 223 lunations, after which the moon reverts nearly to the same positions in reference to the apsides and nodes, and after which eclipses return nearly in the same order and magnitude, appears to have been discovered by the Chaldeans (*"Defectus ducentis viginti tribus mensibus redire in suos orbes certum est,"* Pliny, *H. N.* ii. 13), and they deduced from hence the mean daily motions of the moon with a degree of accuracy which differs only by four seconds from

modern lunar tables (Geminus, *Isagoge in Arati Phænomena*, c. 15: Ideler, *l. c.* pp. 153, 154, and in his *Handbuch der Chronologie*, vol. i. Absch. ii. p. 207).

There seem to have been Chaldean observations, both made and recorded, of much greater antiquity than the æra of Nabonassar; though we cannot lay much stress on the date of 1903 years anterior to Alexander the Great, which is mentioned by Simplicius (*ad Aristot. de Cælo*, p. 123) as being the earliest period of the Chaldean observations sent from Babylon by Kallisthenēs to Aristotle. Ideler thinks that the Chaldean observations anterior to the æra of Nabonassar were useless to astronomers from the want of some fixed æra, or definite cycle, to identify the date of each of them. The common civil year of the Chaldeans had been from the beginning (like that of the Greeks) a lunar year, kept in a certain degree of harmony with the sun by cycles of lunar years and intercalation. Down to the æra of Nabonassar, the calendar was in confusion, and there was nothing to verify either the time of accession of the kings or that of astronomical phenomena observed, except the days and months of this lunar year. In the reign of Nabonassar the astronomers at Babylon introduced (not into civil use, but for their own purposes and records) the Egyptian solar year—of 365 days, or 12 months of thirty days each, with five added days, beginning with the first of the month Thoth, the commencement of the Egyptian

solargely blended with astrological fancies and occult influences of the heavenly bodies on human affairs. But however incomplete their knowledge may appear when judged by the standard of after-times, there can be no doubt, that compared with any of their contemporaries of the sixth century B.C. (either Egyptians, Greeks or Asiatics) they stood pre-eminent, and had much to teach, not only to Thalès and Pythagoras, but even to later inquirers, such as Eudoxus and Aristotle. The conception of the revolving celestial sphere, the gnomon, and the division of the day into twelve parts, are affirmed by Herodotus¹ to have been first taught to the Greeks by the Babylonians; and the continuous observation of the heavens both by the Egyptian and Chaldæan priests, had determined with considerable exactness both the duration of the solar year and other longer periods

tian year—and they thus first obtained a continuous and accurate mode of marking the date of events. It is not meant that the Chaldæans then for the first time obtained from the Egyptians the *knowledge* of the solar year of 365 days, but that they then for the first time adopted it in their notation of time for astronomical purposes, fixing the precise moment at which they began. Nor is there the least reason to suppose that the æra of Nabonassar coincided with any political revolution or change of dynasty. Ideler discusses this point (pp. 146-173, and *Handbuch der Chronol.* pp. 215-220). Syncellus might correctly say—'Ἀπὸ Νοβωνασάρου τοῦς χρόνους τῆς τῶν ἀστρον παρατηρήσεως Χαλδαῖοι ἤκριβωσαν (*Chronogr.* p. 207).

We need not dwell upon the back reckonings of the Chaldæans for periods of 720,000, 490,000, 470,000 years, mentioned by Cicero, Diodorus and Pliny (Cicero, *De Divin.* ii. 43; Diod. ii. 31; Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 57), and seemingly presented by Berosus and others as the preface of Babylonian history.

It is to be noted that Ptolemy

always cited the Chaldæan observations as made by "*the Chaldæans*," never naming any individual; though in all the other observations to which he alludes, he is very scrupulous in particularising the name of the observer. Doubtless he found the Chaldæan observations registered just in this manner; a point which illustrates what is said in the text respecting the collective character of their civilization, and the want of individual development or prominent genius.

The superiority of the Chaldæan priests to the Egyptian as astronomical observers is shown by the fact, that Ptolemy, though living at Alexandria, never mentions the latter as astronomers, nor cites any Egyptian observations; while he cites thirteen Chaldæan observations in the years B. C. 721, 720, 523, 502, 491, 383, 382, 245, 237, 229: the first ten being observations of lunar eclipses; the last three, of conjunctions of planets and fixed stars (Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, vol. i. Ab. ii. p. 195—199).

¹ Herodot. ii. 109.

of astronomical recurrence; thus impressing upon intelligent Greeks the imperfection of their own calendars, and furnishing them with a basis not only for enlarged observations of their own, but also for the discovery and application of those mathematical theories whereby astronomy first became a science.

It was not only the astronomical acquisitions of the priestly caste which distinguished the early Babylonians. The social condition, the fertility of the country, Babylonia the dense population, and the persevering —its labo- industry of the inhabitants, were not less re- rious cul- markable. Respecting Nineveh,¹ once the great- tivation and est of the Assyrian cities, we have no good information, fertility. nor can we safely reason from the analogy of Babylon, inasmuch as the peculiarities of the latter were altogether determined by the Euphrates, while Nineveh was seated considerably farther north, and on the east bank of the Tigris. But Herodotus gives us valuable particulars respecting Babylon as an eye-witness. We may judge by his account, representing its condition after much suffering from the Persian conquest, what it had been a century earlier in the days of its full splendour.

The neighbouring territory, receiving but little rain,²

¹ The ancient Ninus or Nineveh was situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris, nearly opposite the modern town of Mousul or Mosul. Herodotus (i. 193) and Strabo (xvi. p. 737) both speak of it as being destroyed; but Tacitus (Ann. xii. 13) and Ammian. Marcell. (xviii. 7) mention it as subsisting. Its ruins had been long remarked (see Thevenot, Voyages, liv. i. ch. xi. p. 176, and Niebuhr, Reisen, vol. ii. p. 360), but have never been examined carefully until recently by Rich, Layard, and others: see Ritter, West-Asien, b. iii. Abtheil. iii. Abschn. i. s. 45. p. 171-221; and Forbiger, Handbuch der Alten Geographie, s. 96, p. 612; and above all the interesting work of Mr. Layard, who has procured from the spot so many valuable remains of antiquity.

Ktêsias, according to Diodorus (ii. 3), placed Ninus or Nineveh on the Euphrates, which we must presume to be an inadvertence—probably of Diodorus himself, for Ktêsias would be less likely than he to confound the Euphrates and the Tigris. Compare Wesseling ad Diodor. ii. 3, and Bähr ad Ktesias Fragm. ii. Assy. p. 392.

² Herodot. i. 193. Ἡ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὕεται μὲν ὀλίγω—while he speaks of rain falling at Thebes in Egypt as a prodigy, which never happened except just at the moment when the country was conquered by Cambysës—οὗ γάρ δὴ ὕεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παράπαν (iii. 10). It is not unimportant to notice this distinction between the little rain of Babylonia, and the no rain of Upper Egypt—as a mark of measured assertion in the historian

owed its fertility altogether to the annual overflowing of the Euphrates, on which the labour bestowed, for the purpose of limiting, regularising, and diffusing its supply of water, was stupendous. Embankments along the river—artificial reservoirs in connexion with it to receive an excessive increase—new curvilinear channels dug for the water in places where the stream was too straight and rapid—broad and deep canals crossing the whole space between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and feeding numerous rivulets¹ or ditches which enabled the whole breadth of land to be irrigated—all these toilsome applications were requisite to ensure due moisture for the Babylonian soil. But they were rewarded with an exuberance of produce, in the various descriptions of grain, such as Herodotus hardly dares to particularise. The country produced no trees except the date-palm; which was turned to account in many different ways, and from the fruit of which, both copious and of extraordinary size, wine as well as bread was made.² Moreover, Babylonia was still more barren of stone than of wood, so that buildings as well as walls were constructed almost entirely of brick, for which the earth was well-adapted; while a flow of mineral bitumen, found near the town and river of Is, higher up the Euphrates, served for cement. Such persevering and systematic labour applied for the purpose of irrigation, excites our astonishment; yet the description of what was done for defence is still more imposing. Babylon, tra-

City of
Babylon—
its dimensions
and
walls.

versed in the middle by the Euphrates, was surrounded by walls three hundred feet in height, seventy-five feet in thickness, and composing a square of which each side was one hundred and twenty stadia (or nearly fifteen English miles) in length. Around the outside of the walls was

from whom so much of our knowledge of Grecian history is derived.

It chanced to rain hard during the four days which the traveller Niebuhr spent in going from the ruins of Babylon to Bagdad, at the end of November 1763 (Reisen, vol. ii. p. 292).

¹ Herodot. i. 193; Xenophon, Anab. i. 7, 15; ii. 4, 13-22.

² About the date-palms (φαινίξες)

in the ancient Babylonia, see Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. ii. 6, 2-6; Xenoph. Cyrop. vii. 5, 12; Anab. ii. 3, 15; Diodor. ii. 53; there were some which bore no fruit, but which afforded good wood for house-purposes and furniture.

Theophrastus gives the same general idea of the fertility and produce of the soil in Babylonia as Herodotus, though the two-

a broad and deep moat from whence the material for the bricks composing them had been excavated; while one hundred brazen gates served for ingress and egress. Besides, there was an interior wall less thick, but still very strong; and as a still farther obstruction to invaders from the north and north-east, another high and thick wall was built at some miles from the city, across the space between the Euphrates and the Tigris—called the wall of Media, seemingly a little to the north of that point where the two rivers most nearly approach to each other, and joining the Tigris on its west bank. Of the houses many were three or four stories high, and the broad and straight streets, unknown in a Greek town until the distribution of the Peiræus by Hippodamus near the time of the Peloponnesian war, were well-calculated to heighten the astonishment raised by the whole spectacle in a visitor like Herodotus. The royal palace, with its memorable terraces or hanging gardens, formed the central and commanding edifice in one half of the city—the temple of Bêlus in the other half.

That celebrated temple, standing upon a basis of one square stadium, and enclosed in a precinct of two square stadia in dimension, was composed of eight solid towers, built one above the other, and is alleged by Strabo to have been as much as a stadium or furlong high (the height is not specified by Herodotus¹). It was full of costly decorations, and possessed an extensive landed property. Along

hundred-fold, and sometimes three-hundred-fold, which was stated to the latter as the produce of the land in grain, appears in his statement cut down to fifty-fold or one-hundred-fold (Hist. Plant. viii. 7, 4).

Respecting the numerous useful purposes for which the date-palm was made to serve (a Persian song enumerated three hundred and sixty), see Strabo, xvi. p. 742; Ammian Marcell. xxiv. 3.

¹ Herodot. i. 178; Strabo, xvi. p. 738; Arrian, E. A. vii. 17, 7. Strabo does not say that it was a stadium in *perpendicular* height: we may suppose that the stadium

represents the entire distance in upward march from the bottom to the top. He as well as Arrian says that Xerxès destroyed both the temple of Bêlus and all the other temples at Babylon (καθίκεν, κατέκαψεν, iii. 16, 6; vii. 17, 4); he talks of the intention of Alexander to rebuild it, and of his directions given to level the foundation anew, carrying away the loose earth and ruins. This cannot be reconciled with the narrative of Herodotus, nor with the statement of Pliny (vi. 30), nor do I believe it to be true. Xerxès plundered the temple of much of its wealth and ornaments; but that he knocked down

the banks of the river, in its passage through the city, were built spacious quays, and a bridge on stone piles—for the placing of which (as Herodotus was told) Semiramis had caused the river Euphrates to be drained off into the large side reservoir and lake constructed higher up its course.¹

the vast building and the other Babylonian temples, is incredible. Babylon always continued one of the chief cities of the Persian empire.

¹ What is stated in the text respecting Babylon, is taken almost entirely from Herodotus: I have given briefly the most prominent points in his interesting narrative (i. 178-193), which well deserves to be read at length.

Herodotus is in fact our only original witness, speaking from his own observation and going into details, respecting the marvels of Babylon. Ktésias, if his work had remained, would have been another original witness; but we have only a few extracts from him by Diodorus. Strabo seems not to have visited Babylon, nor can it be affirmed that Kleitarchus did so. Arrian had Aristobulus to copy, and is valuable as far as he goes; but he does not enter into many particulars respecting the magnitude of the city or its appurtenances. Berosus also, if we possessed his book, would have been an eye-witness of the state of Babylon more than a century and a half later than Herodotus, but the few fragments remaining are hardly at all descriptive (see Berosi *Fragm.* p. 64-67, ed. Richter).

The magnitude of the works described by Herodotus naturally provokes suspicions of exaggeration. But there are good grounds for trusting him, in my judgement, on all points which fell under his own vision and means of verification—as distinguished from past facts, on which he could do no

more than give what he heard. He had bestowed much attention on Assyria and its phenomena, as is evident from the fact that he had written (or prepared to write, if the suspicion be admissible that the work was never completed—Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græc.* ii. 20, 5) a special Assyrian history, which has not reached us (*Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγους*, i. 106-184). He is very precise in the measures of which he speaks: thus having described the dimensions of the walls in "royal cubits," he goes on immediately to tell us how much that measure differs from an ordinary cubit. He designedly suppresses a part of what he had heard respecting the produce of the Babylonian soil, from the mere apprehension of not being believed.

To these reasons for placing faith in Herodotus we may add another, not less deserving of attention. That which seems incredible in the constructions which he describes, arises simply from their enormous bulk, and the frightful quantity of human labour which must have been employed to execute them. He does not tell us, like Berosus (*Fragm.* p. 66), that these wonderful fortifications were completed in fifteen days—nor, like Quintus Curtius, that the length of one stadium was completed on each successive day of the year (v. 1, 26). To bring to pass all that Herodotus has described, is a mere question of time, patience, number of labourers, and cost of maintaining them—for the materials were both close at hand and inexhaustible.

Besides this great town of Babylon itself, there were throughout the neighbourhood, between the canals which

Now what would be the limit imposed upon the power and will of the old kings of Babylonia on these points? We can hardly assign that limit with so much confidence as to venture to pronounce a statement of Herodotus incredible, when he tells us something which he has seen, or verified from eye-witnesses. The pyramids and other works in Egypt are quite sufficient to make us mistrustful of our own means of appreciation; and the great wall of China (extending for 120 English miles along what was once the whole northern frontier of the Chinese empire—from 20 to 25 feet high—wide enough for six horses to run abreast, and furnished with a suitable number of gates and bastions) *contains more material than all the buildings of the British empire put together*, according to Barrow's estimate (Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 7. t. v.; and Ideler, Ueber die Zeitrechnung der Chinesen, in the Abhandlungen of the Berlin Academy for 1837, ch. 3. p. 291).

Ktésias gave the circuit of the walls of Babylon as 360 stadia; Kleitarchus, 365 stadia; Quintus Curtius, 368 stadia; and Strabo, 385 stadia; all different from Herodotus, who gives 480 stadia, a square of 120 stadia each side. Grosskurd (ad Strabon. xvi. p. 738), Letronne, and Heeren, all presume that the smaller number must be the truth, and that Herodotus must have been misinformed; and Grosskurd farther urges, that Herodotus cannot have seen the walls, inasmuch as he himself tells us that Darius caused them to be razed after the second siege and reconquest (Herodot. iii. 159). But upon

this we may observe—First, the expression (τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε) does not imply that the wall was so thoroughly and entirely razed by Darius as to leave no part standing,—still less that the great and broad moat was in all its circuit filled up and levelled. This would have been a most laborious operation in reference to such high and bulky masses, and withal not necessary for the purpose of rendering the town defenceless; for which purpose the destruction of certain portions of the wall is sufficient. Next, Herodotus speaks distinctly of the walls and ditch as existing in his time, when he saw the place; which does not exclude the possibility that numerous breaches may have been designedly made in them, or mere openings left in the walls without any actual gates, for the purpose of obviating all idea of revolt. But however this latter fact may be, certain it is that the great walls were either continuous, or discontinuous only to the extent of these designed breaches, when Herodotus saw them. He describes the town and its phenomena in the *present tense*: λέγεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγας ἐὼσα μέτωπον ἕκαστον 120 σταδίων, ἐὼσης τετραγώνου· οὕτω στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς πόλεως γίνονται συνάπαντες 480. Το μὲν νῦν μέγας τοσαύτην ἐστὶ τοῦ ἄστεως τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου. Ἐκείσμενος δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· τσέρως μὲν πρῶτά μιν βόθρα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλέη ὕδατος περιέειν· μετὰ δὲ, τεῖχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιλῆων ἐὼν τὸ εὐρύς, ὕψος δὲ, διηκοσίων πηχέων. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πηγὴς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐστὶ πηγὴς μέλων τρισὶ ὀκταυλίαισι (c. 178). Again

united the Euphrates and the Tigris, many rich and populous villages, while Borsippa and other considerable towns were situated lower down on the Euphrates itself. And

(c. 181)—Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστὶν ἑτερον δὲ ἐσθλὸν τεῖχος περιθεῖται, οὐ πολλῶς τέφ' ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἐτέρου τείχους, σταινότερον δέ. Then he describes the temple of Zeus Bélus with its vast dimensions—καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἰόν, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἰόν τετραγώνου—in the language of one who had himself gone up to the top of it. After having mentioned the striking present phenomena of the temple, he specifies a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high, which the Chaldeans told him had once been there, but which he did not see, and he carefully marks the distinction in his language—ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ περμέναι τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἔκεινον καὶ ἀνδρίας δωῶδεκα πήχεων, χρόσεος στέρεος. Ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον· τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω (c. 183).

The argument therefore by which Gresskurd justifies the rejection of the statement of Herodotus is not to be reconciled with the language of the historian: Herodotus certainly saw both the walls and the ditch. Ktésias saw them too, and his statement of the circuit, as 360 stadia, stands opposed to that of 480 stadia, which appears in Herodotus. But the authority of Herodotus is in my judgement so much superior to that of Ktésias, that I accept the larger figure as more worthy of credit than the smaller. Sixty English miles (speaking in round numbers) of circuit is doubtless a wonder, but forty-five miles in circuit is a wonder also: granting means and will to execute the lesser of these two, the Babylonian kings can hardly be supposed inadequate to the greater.

To me the *height* of these artifi-

cial mountains, called *walls*, appears even more astonishing than their length or breadth. Yet it is curious that on this point the two eye-witnesses, Herodotus and Ktésias, both agree, with only the difference between royal cubits and common cubits. Herodotus states the height at 200 royal cubits: Ktésias, at fifty fathoms, which are equal to 200 common cubits (Diod. ii. 7)—τὸ δὲ ὕψος, ὡς μέν Κτησίας φησὶ, πεντήκοντα ὀργυῶν, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι τῶν νεωτέρων ἔγραψαν, πηχῶν πεντήκοντα. Olearius (ad Philostratum Vit. Apollon. Tyan. i. 25) shows plausible reason for believing that the more recent writers (νεώτεροι) cut down the dimensions stated by Ktésias simply because they thought such a vast height incredible. The difference between the royal cubit and the common cubit (as Herodotus on this occasion informs us) was three digits in favour of the former; his 200 royal cubits are thus equal to 337 feet 8 inches: Ktésias has not attended to the difference between royal cubits and common cubits, and his estimate therefore is lower than that of Herodotus by 37 feet 8 inches.

On the whole, I cannot think that we are justified, either by the authority of such counter-testimony as can be produced, or by the intrinsic wonder of the case, in rejecting the dimensions of the walls of Babylon as given by Herodotus.

Quintus Curtius states that a large proportion of the enclosed space was not occupied by dwellings, but sown and planted (v. 1, 26: compare Diodor. ii. 7).

the industry, agricultural as well as manufacturing, of the collective population was not less persevering than productive. Their linen, cotton, and woollen fabrics, and their richly ornamented carpets, were celebrated throughout all the Eastern regions. Their cotton was brought in part from islands in the Persian Gulf. The flocks of sheep tended by the Arabian Nomads supplied them with wool finer even than that of Milêtus or Tarentum. Besides the Chaldæan order of priests, there seem to have been among them certain other tribes with peculiar hereditary customs. Thus there were three tribes, probably near the mouth of the river, who restricted themselves to the eating of fish alone; but we have no evidences of a military caste (like that in Egypt) nor any other hereditary profession.

In order to present any conception of what Assyria was, in the early days of Grecian history and during the two centuries preceding the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus in 536 B.C., we unfortunately have no witness earlier than Herodotus, who did not see Babylon until near a century after that event—about seventy years after its still more disastrous revolt and second subjugation by Darius. Babylonia had become one of the twenty satrapies of the Persian empire, and besides paying a larger regular tribute than any of the other nineteen, supplied, from its exuberant soil, provision for the Great King and his countless host of attendants during one-third part of the year.¹ Yet it was then in a state of comparative degradation, having had its immense walls breached by Darius, and having afterwards undergone the ill-usage of Xerxês; who, since he stripped its temples, and especially the venerated temple of Bêlus, of some of their richest ornaments, would probably be still more reckless in his mode of dealing with the civic edifices.² If in spite of such inflictions, and in spite of that manifest evidence of poverty and suffering in the people which Herodotus expressly notices, it continued to be what he describes, still counted as almost the chief city of the Persian empire, both in the time of the younger Cyrus and in that of Alexander³—we may judge what it must once have been, without

Babylon—
only
known
during the
time of its
degradation—yet
even then
the first
city in
Western
Asia.

¹ Herodot. i. 196.

² Arrian, Exp. Al. iii. 16, 6; vii. 17, 3; Quint. Curtius, iii. 3, 16.

³ Xenoph. Anab. i. 4, 11; Arrian,

Exp. Al. iii. 16, 3. καὶ ἄμα τοῦ
πολέμου τὸ ἄλλο, ἡ Βαβυλωνία καὶ τὰ
Σούσα ἐφάνιστο.

either foreign satrap or foreign tribute,¹ under its Assyrian kings and Chaldæan priests, during the last of the two centuries which intervened between the æra of Nabonassar and the capture of the city by Cyrus the Great. Though several of the kings, during the first of these two centuries, had contributed much to the great works of Babylon, yet it was during the second century of the two, after the capture of Nineveh by the Medes, and under Nebuchadnezzar and Nitôkris, that the kings attained the maximum of their power and the city its greatest enlargement. It was Nebuchadnezzar who constructed the seaport Terêdon, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and who probably excavated the long ship canal of near 400 miles, which joined it. That canal was perhaps formed partly from a natural western branch of the Euphrates.² The brother of the poet Alkæus—Antimenidas, who served in the Babylonian army, and distinguished himself by his personal valour (600-580 B.C.)—would have seen it in its full glory.³ He is the earliest Greek of whom we hear individually in connexion with the Babylonians. It marks⁴ strikingly the contrast between the Persian kings and the Babylonian kings, on whose ruin they rose—that while the latter incurred immense expense

¹ See the statement of the large receipts of the satrap Tritantachmes, and his immense establishment of horses and Indian dogs (Herodot. i. 192).

² There is a valuable examination of the lower course of the Euphrates, with the changes which it has undergone, in Ritter, *West-Asien*, b. iii. Abtheil. iii. Abschnitt i. sect. 29. p. 45-49, and the passage from Abydenus in the latter page.

For the distance between Terêdon or Diridôtis, at the mouth of the Euphrates (which remained separate from that of the Tigris until the first century of the Christian æra), to Babylon, see Strabo, ii. p. 80; xvi. p. 739.

It is important to keep in mind the warning given by Ritter, that none of the maps of the course of the river Euphrates, prepared previously to the publication of Co-

lonel Chesney's expedition in 1836, are to be trusted. That expedition gave the first complete and accurate survey of the course of the river, and led to the detection of many mistakes previously committed by Mannert, Reichard, and other able geographers and chartographers. To the immense mass of information contained in Ritter's comprehensive and laborious work, is to be added the farther merit, that he is always careful in pointing out where the geographical data are insufficient and fall short of certainty. See *West-Asien*, B. iii. Abtheilung iii. Abschnitt i. sect. 41. p. 959.

³ Strabo, xiii. p. 617, with the mutilated fragment of Alkæus, which O. Müller has so ingeniously corrected (*Rheinisch. Museum*, i. 4. p. 287).

⁴ Strabo, xvi. p. 740.

to facilitate the communication between Babylon and the sea, the former artificially impeded the lower course of the Tigris, in order that their residence at Susa might be out of the reach of assailants.

That which strikes us most, and which must have struck the first Grecian visitors much more, both in Assyria and Egypt, is the unbounded command of naked human strength possessed by these early kings, and the effect of mere mass and indefatigable perseverance, unaided either by theory or by artifice, in the accomplishment of gigantic results.¹ In Assyria the results were in great part exaggerations of enterprises in themselves useful to the people for irrigation and defence: religious worship was ministered to in the like manner, as well as the personal fancies and pomp of their kings: while in Egypt the latter class predominates more over the former. We scarcely trace in either of them the higher sentiment of art, which owes its first marked development to Grecian susceptibility and genius. But the human mind is in every stage of its progress, and most of all in its rude and unreflecting period, strongly impressed by visible and tangible magnitude, and awe-struck by the evidences of great power. To this feeling, for what exceeded the demands of practical convenience and security, the wonders both in Egypt and Assyria chiefly appealed. The execution of such colossal works demonstrates habits of regular industry, a concentrated population under one government, and above all, an implicit submission to the regal and priestly sway—contrasting forcibly with the small autonomous communities of Greece and Western Europe, wherein the will of the individual citizen was so much more energetic and uncontrolled. The acquisition of habits of regular industry, so foreign to the natural temper of man, was brought about in Egypt and Assyria, in China and Hindostan, before it had acquired any footing in Europe; but it was purchased either by prostrate obedience to a despotic rule, or by imprisonment within the chain of a consecrated institution of caste. Even during the Homeric period of Greece,

Immense
command
of human
labour pos-
sessed by
the Baby-
lonian
kings.

¹ Diodor. (i. 31) states this point justly with regard to the ancient kings of Egypt—ἐργα μεγάλα καὶ

θουραστά διὰ τὰς πολυχρησίας κατασκευάσαντες, ἀθάνατα τῆς ἐκπύων δοξῆς καταλείπει, ὑπομνήματα.

Collective
civilization
in Asia,
without
individual
freedom
or deve-
lopment.

these countries had attained a certain civilization in mass, without the acquisition of any high mental qualities or the development of any individual genius. The religious and political sanction, sometimes combined and sometimes separate, determined for every one his mode of life, his creed, his duties, and his place in society, without leaving any scope for the will or reason of the agent himself. Now the Phenicians and Carthaginians manifest a degree of individual impulse and energy which puts them greatly above this type of civilization, though in their tastes, social feelings and religion, they are still Asiatic. And even the Babylonian community—though their Chaldean priests are the parallel of the Egyptian priests, with a less measure of ascendancy—combine with their industrial aptitude and constancy of purpose, something of that strenuous ferocity of character which marks so many people of the Semitic race—Jews, Phenicians, and Carthaginians. These Semitic people stand distinguished as well from

Graduated
contrast
between
Egyptians,
Assyrians,
Phenicians,
and Greeks.

the Egyptian life—enslaved by childish caprices and antipathies, and by endless frivolities of ceremonial detail—as from the flexible, many-sided, and self-organising Greek; the latter not only capable of opening both for himself and for the human race the highest walks of intellect, and the full creative agency of art, but also gentler by far in his private sympathies and dealings than his contemporaries on the Euphrates, the Jordan, or the Nile—for we are not of course to compare him with the exigencies of Western Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Both in Babylonia and in Egypt, the vast monuments, embankments and canals, executed by collective industry, appeared the more remarkable to an ancient traveller by contrast with the desert regions and predatory tribes immediately surrounding them. West of the Euphrates, the sands of Arabia extended northward, with little interruption, to the latitude of the Gulf of Issus: they even covered the greater part of Mesopotamia,¹ or the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, beginning a short distance northward of the wall called the wall of Media above-mentioned,

Deserts and
predatory
tribes sur-
rounding
the Baby-
lonians.

¹ See the description of this desert in Xenoph. Anab. i. 5, 1-8.

which (extending in a direction nearly southward from the Tigris to the Euphrates) had been erected to protect Babylonia against the incursions of the Medes.¹ Eastward of the Tigris again, along the range of Mount Zagros, but at no great distance from the river, were found the Elymæi, Kossæi, Uxii, Parætakêni, &c.—tribes which (to use the expression of Strabo),² “as inhabiting a poor country, were under the necessity of living by the plunder of their neighbours.” Such rude bands of depredators on the one side, and such wide tracts of sand on the two others, without vegetation or water, contrasted powerfully with the industry and productiveness of Babylonia. Babylon itself is to be considered, not as one continuous city, but as a city together with its surrounding district enclosed within immense walls, the height and thickness of which were in themselves a sufficient defence, so that the place was assailable only at its gates. In case of need it would serve as shelter for the persons and property of the village-inhabitants in Babylonia. We shall see hereafter how useful under trying circumstances such a resource was, when we come to review the invasions of Attica by the Peloponnesians, and the mischiefs occasioned by a temporary crowd pouring in from the country, so as to overcharge the intramural accommodations of Athens. Spacious as Babylon was, however, it is affirmed by Strabo that Ninus or Nineveh was considerably larger.

¹ The Ten Thousand Greeks passed from the outside to the inside of the wall of Media: it was 100 feet high, 20 feet wide, and was reported to them as extending 20 parasangs or 100 stadia (= 70 miles) in length (Xenoph. Anab. ii. 4, 12). Eratosthenês called it τὸ Σμυρναῖος διατείχιον (Strabo, ii. p. 80).

There is some confusion about the wall of Media: Mannert (Geogr. der G. und R. v. 2. p. 280) and Forbiger also (Alte Geogr. sect. 97. p. 616. note 94) appear to have confounded the ditch dug by special

order of Artaxerxês to oppose the march of the younger Cyrus with the Nahar-Malcha or Royal Canal between the Tigris and the Euphrates: see Xenoph. Anab. i. 7, 15.

It is singular that Herodotus makes no mention of the wall of Media, though his subject (i. 185) naturally conducts him to it. The little information which can be found about it, will be seen put together in Ch. 70; where I recount the Expedition of Cyrus.

² Strabo, xvi. p. 744.

APPENDIX.

Since the first edition of these volumes, the interesting work of Mr. Layard—"Nineveh and its Remains," together with his illustrative Drawings—"The Monuments of Nineveh"—have been published. And through his unremitting valuable exertions in surmounting all the difficulties connected with excavations on the spot, the British Museum has been enriched with a valuable collection of real Assyrian sculptures and other monuments. A number of similar relics of Assyrian antiquity, obtained by M. Botta and others, have also been deposited in the museum of the Louvre at Paris.

In respect to Assyrian art, indeed to the history of art in general, a new world has thus been opened, which promises to be fruitful of instruction; especially when we consider that the ground out of which the recent acquisitions have been obtained, has been yet most imperfectly examined, and may be expected to yield an ampler harvest hereafter, assuming circumstances tolerably favourable to investigation. The sculptures to which we are now introduced, with all their remarkable peculiarities of style and idea, must undoubtedly date from the eighth or seventh century B.C. at the latest—and may be much earlier. The style which they display forms a parallel and subject of comparison, though in many points extremely different, to that of early Egypt—at a time when the ideal combinations of the Greeks were, as far as we know, embodied only in epic and lyric poetry.

But in respect to early Assyrian history, we have yet to find out whether much new information can be safely deduced from these interesting monuments. The cuneiform inscriptions now brought to light are indeed very numerous: and if they can be deciphered, on rational and trustworthy principles, we can hardly fail to acquire more or less of positive knowledge respecting a period now plunged in total darkness. But from the monuments of art alone, it would be unsafe to draw historical inferences. For example, when we find sculptures representing a king taking a city by assault, or receiving captives brought to him, &c., we are not to conclude that this commemorates any real and positive conquest recently made by the Assyrians. Our knowledge of the subjects of Greek sculpture on temples is quite sufficient to make us disallow any such inference, unless there be some corroborative proof. Some means must first be discovered, of discriminating historical from mythical subjects: a distinction which I here notice, the rather, because Mr. Layard shows occasional tendency to overlook it in his interesting remarks and explanations: see especially, vol. ii. ch. vi. p. 409.

From the rich and abundant discoveries made at Nimroud, combined with those at Kouyunjik and Khorsabad, Mr. Layard is inclined to comprehend all these three within the circuit of ancient Nineveh: admitting for that circuit the prodigious space alleged by Diodorus out of Ktésias, 480 stadia or above fifty English miles. (See *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. ch. ii. p. 242-253.) Mr. Layard considers that the north-west portion of Nimroud exhibits monument—more ancient, and at the same time better in style and execution, than the south-west portion,—or than Kouyunjik and Khorsabad (vol. ii. ch. i. p. 204; ch. iii. p. 305). If this hypothesis, as to the ground covered by Nineveh,

be correct, probably future excavations will confirm it—or, if incorrect, refute it. But I do not at all reject the supposition on the simple ground of excessive magnitude: on the contrary, I should at once believe the statement, if it were reported by Herodotus after a visit to the spot, like the magnitude of Babylon. The testimony of Ktêsius is indeed very inferior in value to that of Herodotus: yet it ought hardly to be outweighed by the supposed improbability of so great a walled space, when we consider how little we know where to set bounds to the power of the Assyrian kings in respect to command of human labour for any process merely simple and toilsome, with materials both near and inexhaustible. Not to mention the great wall of China, we have only to look at the Picts Wall, and other walls built by the Romans in Britain, to satisfy ourselves that a great length of fortification under circumstances much less favourable than the position of the ancient Assyrian kings, is noway incredible in itself. Though the walls of Nineveh and Babylon were much *larger* than those of Paris as it now stands, yet when we compare the two not merely in size, but in respect of costliness, elaboration, and contrivance, the latter will be found to represent an infinitely greater *amount of work*.

Larissa and Mespila, those deserted towns and walls which Xenophon saw in the retreat of the Ten Thousand (Anab. iii. 4, 6-10), coincide in point of distance and situation with Nimroud and Kouyunjik, according to Mr. Layard's remark. And his supposition seems not improbable, that both of them were formed by the Medes out of the ruins of the conquered city of Nineveh. Neither of them singly seems at all adequate to the reputation of that ancient city, or walled circuit. According to the account of Herodotus, Phraortes the second Median king had attacked Nineveh, but had been himself slain in the attempt, and lost nearly all his army. It was partly to revenge this disgrace that Kyaxarês son of Phraortes assailed Nineveh (Herod. i. 102-103): we may thus see a special reason, in addition to his own violence of temper (i. 73), why he destroyed the city after having taken it (Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης, i. 178). It is easy to conceive that this vast walled space may have been broken up and converted into two Median towns, both on the Tigris. In the subsequent change from Median to Persian dominion, these towns also became depopulated, as far as the strange tales which Xenophon heard in his retreat can be trusted. The interposition of these two Median towns doubtless contributed, for the time, to put out of sight the traditions respecting the old Ninus which had before stood upon their site. But such traditions never became extinct, and a new town bearing the old name of Ninus must have subsequently arisen on the spot. This second Ninus is recognised by Tacitus, Ptolemy, and Ammianus, not only as existing, but as pretending to uninterrupted continuity of succession from the ancient "caput Assyriæ."

Mr. Layard remarks on the facility with which edifices, such as those in Assyria, built of sunburnt bricks, perish when neglected, and crumble away into earth, leaving little or no trace.

CHAPTER XX.

EGYPTIANS.

IF, on one side, the Phenicians were separated from the productive Babylonia by the Arabian Desert. Phenicians — the link of commerce between Egypt and Assyria. on the other side, the western portion of the same desert divided them from the no less productive valley of the Nile. In those early times which preceded the rise of Greek civilization, their land trade embraced both regions, and they served as the sole agents of international traffic between the two. Conveniently as their towns were situated for maritime commerce with the Nile, Egyptian jealousy had excluded Phenician vessels not less than those of the Greeks from the mouths of that river, until the reign of Psammetichus (672-618 B.C.); and thus even the merchants of Tyre could then reach Memphis only by means of caravans, employing as their instruments (as I have already observed) the Arabian tribes,¹ alternately plunderers and carriers.

Respecting Egypt, as respecting Assyria, since the works of Hekataëus are unfortunately lost, our earliest information is derived from Herodotus, Herodotus — earliest Grecian informant about Egypt. who visited Egypt about two centuries after the reign of Psammetichus, when it formed part of one of the twenty Persian satrapies. The Egyptian marvels and peculiarities which he recounts, are more numerous as well as more diversified, than the Assyrian: and had the vestiges been effaced as completely in the former as in the latter, his narrative would probably have met with an equal degree of suspicion. But the hard stone,

¹ Strabo, xvi. p. 766, 776, 778; Pliny, H. N. 32. "Arabes, mirum dictu, ex innumeris populis pars æqua in commercio est aut latrociniis degunt: in universum gentes ditissimæ, ut apud quas maximæ opes Romanorum Parthorumque subsistant—veredentibus quæ a mari

aut sylvis capiunt, nihil invicem redimentibus."

The latter part of this passage of Pliny presents an enumeration sufficiently distinct, though by implication only, of what has been called the *mercantile theory* in political economy.

combined with the dry climate of Upper Egypt (where a shower of rain counted as a prodigy), have given such permanence to the monuments in the valley of the Nile, that enough has remained to bear out the father of Grecian history, and to show, that in describing what he professes to have seen, he is a guide perfectly trustworthy. For that which he heard, he appears only in the character of a reporter, and often an incredulous reporter. Yet though this distinction between his hearsay and his ocular evidence is not only obvious, but of the most capital moment¹—it has been too often neglected by those who depreciate him as a witness.

The mysterious river Nile, a god² in the eyes of ancient Egyptians, and still preserving both its volume and its usefulness undiminished amidst the general degradation of the country, reached the sea in the time of Herodotus by five natural mouths, besides two others artificially dug. Its Pelusiatic branch formed the eastern boundary of Egypt, its Kanôpic branch (170 miles distant) the western; while the Sebennytic branch was a continuation of the straight line of the upper river:

¹ To give one example:—Herodotus mentions an opinion given to him by the γραμματιστής (comptroller) of the property of Athênê at Sais, to the effect that the sources of the Nile were at an immeasurable depth in the interior of the earth, between Syênê and Elephantinê, and that Psammetichus had vainly tried to sound them with a rope many thousand fathoms in length (ii. 28). In mentioning this tale (perfectly deserving of being recounted at least, because it came from a person of considerable station in the country), Herodotus expressly says,—“this comptroller seemed to me to be only bantering, though he professed to know accurately”—οὗτος δὲ ἐποίησεν παίειν ἐδόκεε, φάμενος εἰδέναι ἀκριβέως. Now Strabo (xvii. p. 819), in alluding to this story, introduces it just as if Herodotus had told it for a fact—Πολλὰ δὲ

Ἡρόδοτος τε καὶ ἄλλοι φλοαροῦσιν, οἶον, &c.

Many other instances might be cited, both from ancient and modern writers, of similar carelessness or injustice towards this admirable author.

² Οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Νείλου, Herod. ii. 90. The water of the Nile is found, on chemical analysis, to be of remarkable purity. It was supposed also by the Egyptian priests to have a fattening property. In their eyes, all fat, flesh, or superfluous excrescence (such as hair or nails) on the body, was impure. Accordingly the bull Apis was not allowed to drink out of the Nile, lest he should become fat; but had a well especially sunk for him (Plutarch, De Isid. et Osir. c. 5. p. 353, with the note of Parthey, in his recent edition of that treatise, p. 161).

from this latter branched off the Saitic and the Mendesian arms.¹ The overflowings of the Nile are far more fertilising than those of the Euphrates in Assyria,—partly from their more uniform recurrence both in time and quantity, partly from the rich silt which they bring down and deposit, whereas the Euphrates served only as moisture. The patience of the Egyptians had excavated, in Middle Egypt, the vast reservoir (partly, it seems, natural and pre-existing) called the Lake of Mœris—and in the Delta, a network of numerous canals. Yet on the whole the hand of man had been less tasked than in Babylonia; whilst the soil, annually enriched, yielded its abundant produce without either plough or spade to assist the seed cast in by the husbandman.² That under these circumstances a dense

¹ The seven months of the Nile, so notorious in antiquity, are not conformable to the modern geography of the country: see Mannert, *Geogr. der Gr. und Röm.* x. 1. p. 539.

The breadth of the base of the Delta, between Pelusium and Kanôpus, is overstated by Herodotus (ii. 6-9) at 3600 stadia; Diodorus (i. 34) and Strabo give 1300 stadia, which is near the truth, though the text of Strabo in various passages is not uniform on this matter, and requires correction. See Grosskurd's note on Strabo, ii. p. 64 (note 3. p. 101), and xvii. p. 186 (note 9. p. 332). Pliny gives the distance at 170 miles (*H. N.* v. 9).

² Herod. i. 193. Παραγίνεται ὁ σίτος (in Babylonia) οὐ, κατάπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ τε καὶ κηλῶν ἵκται ἀρόμενος· ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα πᾶσα, κατάπερ ἡ Αἰγύπτῳ, κατατέμεται ἐς διώρυγας, &c.

Herodotus was informed that the canals in Egypt had been dug by the labour of that host of prisoners whom the victorious Sesostris brought home from his conquests (ii. 108). The canals in

Egypt served the purpose partly of communication between the different cities, partly of a constant supply of water to those towns which were not immediately on the Nile: "that vast river, so constantly at work," (to use the language of Herodotus—ὁ ποταμὸς τε ποτάμου καὶ οὕτως ἐργατικοῦ, ii. 11.) spared the Egyptians all the toil of irrigation which the Assyrian cultivator underwent (ii. 14).

Lower Egypt, as Herodotus saw it, though a continued flat, was unfit either for horse or car, from the number of intersecting canals—ἄνιστος καὶ ἀναμάχευτος (ii. 108). But Lower Egypt, as Volney saw it, was among the countries in the world best suited to the action of cavalry, so that he pronounces the native population of the country to have no chance of contending against the Mamelukes (Volney, *Travels in Egypt and Syria*, vol. i. ch. 12, sect. 2, p. 199). The country has reverted to the state in which it was (ἡσυχία καὶ ἀμαχυσμένη, πᾶσα) before the canals were made—one of the many striking illustrations of the difference between the Egypt which a modern traveller visits, and that which Herodotus and even Strabo saw

and regularly organised population should have been concentrated in fixed abodes along the valley occupied by this remarkable river, is no matter of wonder. The marked peculiarities of the locality seem to have brought about such a result, in the earliest periods to which human society can be traced. Along the 550 miles of its undivided course from Syênê to Memphis, where for the most part the mountains leave only a comparatively narrow strip on each bank—as well as in the broad expanse between Memphis and the Mediterranean—there prevailed a peculiar form of theocratic civilization, from a date which even in the time of Herodotus was immemorially ancient. But if we seek for some measure of this antiquity, earlier than the time when Greeks were first admitted into Egypt in the reign of Psammetichus, we find only the computations of the priests, reaching back for many thousand years, first of government by immediate and present gods, next of human kings. Such computations have been transmitted to us by Herodotus, Manetho, and Diodorus¹—agreeing in their essential conception of the foretime, with gods in the first part of her series and men in the second, but differing materially in events, names, and epochs. Probably, if we possessed lists from other Egyptian temples, besides those which Manetho drew up at Heliopolis or which Herodotus learnt at Memphis, we should find discrepancies from both these two. To compare these lists, and to reconcile them as far as they admit of being reconciled, is interesting as enabling us to understand the Egyptian mind, but conducts to no trustworthy chronological results, and forms no part of the task of an historian of Greece.

—Ζῆλιν πλωτὴν διωρύγων ἐπὶ διώρυξι
 τεχθεῖσων (Strabo, xvii. p. 788).

Considering the early age of Herodotus, his remarks on the geological character of Egypt as a deposit of the accumulated mud by the Nile, appear to me most remarkable (ii. 8—14). Having no fixed number of years included in his religious belief as measuring the past existence of the earth, he carries his mind back without difficulty to what may have been ef-

fected by this river in 10,000 or 20,000 years, or “in the whole space of time elapsed before I was born” (ii. 11). So also, Anaxagoras (Fragm. p. 179, Schaub.) entertained just views about the cause of the rising of the Nile, though Herodotus did not share his views.

About the lake of Mœris, see a note a little farther on.

¹ See note in Appendix to this chapter.

To the Greeks Egypt was a closed world before the reign of Psammetichus, though after that time it gradually became an important part of their field both of observation and action. The astonishment which the country created in the mind of the earliest Grecian visitors may be learnt even from the narrative of Herodotus, who doubtless knew it by report long before he went there. Both the physical and moral features of Egypt stood in strong contrast with Grecian experience. "Not only (says Herodotus) does the climate differ from all other climates, and the river from all other rivers, but Egyptian laws and customs are opposed on almost all points to those of other men."¹ The Delta was at that time full of large and populous cities,² built on artificial elevations of ground and seemingly not much inferior to Memphis itself, which was situated on the left bank of the Nile (opposite to the site of the modern Cairo), a little higher up than the spot where the Delta begins. From the time when the Greeks first became cognizant of Egypt, to the building of Alexandria and the reign of the Ptolemies, Memphis was the first city in Egypt. Yet it seems not to have been always so; there had been an earlier period when Thebes was the seat of Egyptian power, and Upper Egypt of far more consequence than Middle Egypt. Vicinity to the Delta, which must always have contained the largest number of cities and the widest surface of productive territory, probably enabled Memphis to usurp this honour from Thebes; and the predominance of Lower Egypt was still farther confirmed when Psammetichus introduced Ionian and Karian troops as his auxiliaries in the government of the country. But the stupendous magnitude of the tem-

Thebes and Upper Egypt—of more importance in early times than Lower Egypt, but not so in the days of Herodotus.

¹ Herodot. ii. 35. Αἰγύπτιοι ἄμα τῇ οὐρανῷ τῇ κατὰ σπῆας ἔοντι ἑτεροίῳ, καὶ τῇ ποτάμῳ φύσιν ἄλλοιῳ παρεχομένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐστήσαντο ἥθη καὶ νόμους.

² Theokritus (Idyll. xvii. 83) celebrates Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt as ruling over 33,333 cities: the manner in which he strings these figures into three hexameter verses is somewhat ingenious. The priests, in descri-

bing to Herodotus the unrivalled prosperity which they affirmed Egypt to have enjoyed under Amasis, the last king before the Persian conquest, said that there were then 20,000 cities in the country (ii. 177). Diodorus tells us that 18,000 different cities and considerable villages were registered in the Egyptian ἀνογραφαί (i. 31) for the ancient times, but that 30,000 were numbered under the Ptolemies.

ples and palaces, the profusion of ornamental sculpture and painting, the immeasurable range of sepulchres hewn in the rocks still remaining as attestations of the grandeur of Thebes—not to mention Ombi, Edfu and Elephantinë—show that Upper Egypt was once the place to which the land-tax from the productive Delta was paid, and where the kings and priests who employed it resided. It has been even contended that Thebes itself was originally settled by immigrants from still higher regions of the river; and the remains, yet found along the Nile in Nubia, are analogous, both in style and in grandeur, to those in the Thebais.¹ What is remarkable is, that both the one and the other are strikingly distinguished from the Pyramids, which alone remain to illustrate the site of the ancient Memphis. There are no pyramids either in Upper Egypt or in Nubia; but on the Nile above Nubia, near the Ethiopian Meroë, pyramids in great number, though of inferior dimensions, are again found.

From whence, or in what manner, Egyptian institutions first took their rise, we have no means of determining. Yet there seems little to bear out the supposition of Heeren² and other eminent authors, that they were

¹ Respecting the monuments of ancient Egyptian art, see the summary of O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, sect. 215-233, and a still better account and appreciation of them in Carl Schnaase, *Geschichte der Bildenden Künste bey den Alten*, Düsseldorf, 1843, vol. i. book ii. ch. 1 and 2.

In regard to the credibility and value of Egyptian history anterior to Psammetichus, there are many excellent remarks by Mr. Kenrick, in the preface to his work, 'The Egypt of Herodotus' (the second book of Herodotus, with notes). About the recent discoveries derived from the hieroglyphics, he says, "We know that it was the custom of the Egyptian kings to inscribe the temples and obelisks which they raised with their own names or with distinguishing hieroglyphics; but in no one instance do these names as read by the modern decipherers of hierogly-

phics on monuments said to have been raised by kings before Psammetichus, correspond with the names given by Herodotus." (Preface, p. xliv.) He farther adds in a note, "A name which has been read phonetically *Mena*, has been found at Thebes, and Mr. Wilkinson supposes it to be Menes. It is remarkable, however, that the names which follow are not phonetically written, so that it is probable that this is not to be read *Mena*. Besides, the cartouche, which immediately follows, is that of a king of the eighteenth dynasty; so that, at all events, it cannot have been engraved till many centuries after the supposed age of Menes; and the occurrence of the name no more decides the question of historical existence than that of Cecrops in the Parian Chronicle."

² Heeren, *Ideen über den Verkehr der Alten Welt*, part ii. l. p. 403. The opinion given by Parthey,

transmitted down the Nile by Ethiopian colonists from Meroë. Herodotus certainly conceived Egyptians and Ethiopians (who in his time jointly occupied the border island of Elephantinê, which he had himself visited) as completely distinct from each other, in race and customs not less than in language; the latter being generally of the rudest habits, of great stature, and still greater physical strength—the chief part of them subsisting on meat and milk, and blest with unusual longevity. He knew of Meroë, as the Ethiopian metropolis and a considerable city, fifty-two days' journey higher up the river than Elephantinê. But his informants had given him no idea of analogy between its institutions and those of Egypt.¹ He states that the migration of a large number of the Egyptian military caste, during the reign of Psammetichus, into Ethiopia, had first communicated civilised customs to these southern barbarians. If there be really any connexion between the social phænomena of Egypt and those of Meroë, it seems more reasonable to treat the latter as derivative from the former.²

however (De Philis Insulâ, p. 100, Berlin, 1830), may perhaps be just: "Antiquissimâ ætate eundem populum, dicamus Ægyptiacum, Nili ripas inde a Meroë insulâ usque ad Ægyptum inferiorem occupasse, e monumentorum congruentiâ apparet: posteriore tempore, tabulis et annalibus nostris longe superiorem, alia stirps Æthiopica interiora terræ usque ad cataractam Syenensem obtinuit. Ex quâ ætate certarum rerum notitia ad nos pervenit, Ægyptiorum et Æthiopum segregatio jam facta est. Herodotus cæterique scriptores Græci populos acute discernunt."

At this moment, Syênê and its cataract mark the boundary of two people and two languages—Egyptians and Arabic language to the north, Nubians and Berber language to the south (Parthey, *ibid.*).

¹ Compare Herodot. ii. 30-32; iii. 19-25; Strabo, xvi. p. 818. Herodotus gives the description of their armour and appearance as part of the army of Xerxês (vii.

69); they painted their bodies: compare Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 36. How little Ethiopia was visited in his time, may be gathered from the tenor of his statements: according to Diodorus (i. 37), no Greeks visited it earlier than the expedition of Ptolemy Philadelphus—οὕτως ἄξενα ἦν τὰ περὶ τοὺς τόπους τούτους, καὶ παντελῶς ἐπικιχιδονα. Diodorus however is incorrect in saying that no Greek had ever gone as far southward as the frontier of Egypt: Herodotus certainly visited Elephantinê, probably other Greeks also.

The statements respecting the theocratical state of Meroë and its superior civilization come from Diodorus (iii. 2, 5, 7), Strabo (xvii. p. 822) and Pliny (H. N. vi. 29-33), much later than Herodotus. Diodorus seems to have had no older informants before him (about Ethiopia) than Agatharchidês and Artemidôrus, both in the second century B.C. (Diod. iii. 10).

² Wesseling ad Diodor. iii. 3.

The population of Egypt was classified into certain castes or hereditary professions; of which the number was not exactly defined, and is represented differently by different authors. The priests stand clearly marked out, as the order richest, most powerful, and most venerated. Distributed all over the country, they possessed exclusively the means of reading and writing,¹ besides a vast amount of narrative matter treasured up in the memory, the whole stock of medical and physical knowledge then attainable, and those rudiments of geometry (or rather land-measuring) which were so often called into use in a country annually inundated. To each god, and to each temple, throughout Egypt, lands and other properties belonged, whereby the numerous bands of priests attached to him were maintained. It seems too that a farther portion of the lands of the kingdom was set apart for them in individual property, though on this point no certainty is attainable.

Egyptian
castes or
hereditary
professions.

Their ascendancy, both direct and indirect, over the minds of the people, was immense. They prescribed that minute ritual under which the life of every Egyptian, not excepting the king himself², was passed, and which was for themselves more full of harassing particularities than for any one else.³ Every day in the year belonged to some particular god; the priests alone knew to which. There were different gods in every Nome, though Isis and

Priests.

¹ Herodot. ii. 37. Θεοσεβέες δὲ περισσῶς ἔόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, &c. He is astonished at the retentiveness of their memory; some of them had more stories to tell than any one whom he had ever seen (ii. 77-109; Diodor. i. 73).

The word *priest* conveys to a modern reader an idea very different from that of the Egyptian *ἱερεὺς*, who were not a profession, but an order, 'comprising many occupations and professions—Josephus the Jew was in like manner an *ἱερεὺς κατὰ γένος* (cont. Apion. c. 3). So also the Brahmins in British India are an order.

² Diodorus (i. 70-73) gives an elaborate description of the monastic strictness with which the

daily duties of the Egyptian king were measured out by the priests: compare Plutarch, *De Isid.* et *Osirid.* p. 353, who refers to Hekataus (probably Hekataus of Abdêra) and Eudoxus. The priests represented that Psammetichus was the first Egyptian king who broke through the priestly canon limiting the royal allowance of wine: compare Strabo, xvii. p. 790.

The Ethiopian kings at Meroë are said to have been kept in the like pupillage by the priestly order, until a king named Ergamenès during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus in Egypt, emancipated himself and put the chief priest to death (Diodor. iii. 6).

³ Herodot. ii. 82, 83.

Osiris were common to all. The priests of each god constituted a society apart, more or less important, according to the comparative celebrity of the temple. The high priests of Hephæstos, whose dignity was said to have been transmitted from father to son through a series of 341 generations¹ (commemorated by the like number of colossal statues, which Herodotus himself saw), were second in importance only to the king. The property of each temple included troops of dependents and slaves, who were stamped with "holy marks,"² and who must have been numerous in order to suffice for the large buildings and their constant visitors.

Next in importance to the sacerdotal caste were the military caste or order, whose native name³ indicated that they stood on the left-hand of the king, while the priests occupied the right. They were classified into Kalasiries and Hermotybiei, who occupied lands in eighteen particular Nomes or provinces principally in Lower Egypt. The Kalasiries had once amounted to 160,000 men, the Hermotybiei to 250,000, when at the maximum of their population; but that highest point had long been past in the time of Herodotus. To each man of this soldier-caste was assigned a portion of land equal to about 6½ English acres, free from any tax; but what measures were taken to keep the lots of land in suitable harmony with a fluctuating number of holders, we know not. The statement of Herodotus relates to a time long past and gone, and describes what was believed, by the priests with whom he talked, to have been the primitive constitution of their country anterior to the Persian conquest. The like is still more true respecting the statement of Diodorus;⁴ who says that the territory of Egypt was divided into three parts—one part belonging to the king, another to the priests, and the remainder to the soldiers.⁵ His language seems to intimate that every Nome was so divided, and even that the three portions were equal, though he does not expressly say so. The result of these statements, combined with the history of Joseph in the book of Genesis, seems to be, that the lands of the priests and the soldiers

¹ Herodot. ii. 143.

² Herodot. ii. 113. *στυγματα ἱερά*.

³ Herodot. ii. 30.

⁴ Herodot. i. 165, 166; Diodor.

i. 73.

⁵ Diodor. i. 73.

were regarded as privileged property and exempt from all burthens, while the remaining soil was considered as the property of the king, who however received from it a fixed proportion, one-fifth of the total produce, leaving the rest in the hands of the cultivators.¹ We are told that Sethos, priest of the god Phtha (or Hephæstos) at Memphis and afterwards named King, oppressed the military caste and deprived them of their lands. In revenge for this they withheld from him their aid when Egypt was invaded by Sennacherib. Farther, in the reign of Psammetichus, a large number (240,000) of these soldiers migrated into Ethiopia from a feeling of discontent, leaving their wives and children behind them.² It was Psammetichus who first introduced Ionian and Karian mercenaries into the country, and began innovations on the ancient Egyptian constitution: so that the disaffection towards him, on the part of the native soldiers, no longer permitted to serve as exclusive guards to the king, is not difficult to explain. The Kalasiries and Hermotybii were interdicted from every description of art or trade. There can be little doubt that under the Persians their lands were made subject to the tribute. This may partly explain the frequent revolts which they maintained, with very considerable bravery against the Persian kings.

Herodotus enumerates five other *races* (so he calls them) or castes, besides priests and soldiers³—herdsmen, swineherds, tradesmen, interpreters, and pilots; an enumeration which perplexes us, inasmuch as it takes no account of the husbandmen, who must always have constituted the majority of the population. It is perhaps for this very reason that they are not comprised in the list—not standing out specially marked or congregated together, like the five above-named, and therefore not seeming to constitute a race apart. The distribution of Diodorus, who specifies (over and above

Different
statements
about the
castes.

¹ Besides this general rent or land-tax received by the Egyptian kings, there seem also to have been special crown-lands. Strabo mentions an island in the Nile (in the Tachaid) celebrated for the extraordinary excellence of its date-palms; the whole of this island

belonged to the kings, without any other proprietor: it yielded a large revenue, and passed into the hands of the Roman government in Strabo's time (xvii. p. 818).

² Herodot. ii. 20-141.

³ Herodot. i. 164.

priests and soldiers) husbandmen, herdsmen, and artificers, embraces much more completely the whole population.¹ It seems more the statement of a reflecting man, pushing out the principle of hereditary occupations to its consequences; (and the comments which the historian so abundantly interweaves with his narrative show that such was the character of the authorities which he followed;)—while the list given by Herodotus comprises that which struck his observation. It seems that a certain proportion of the soil of the Delta consisted of marsh land, including pieces of habitable ground, but impenetrable to an invading enemy, and favourable only to the growth of papyrus and other aquatic plants. Other portions of the Delta, as well as of the upper valley in parts where it widened to the eastward, were too wet for the culture of grain, though producing the richest herbage, and eminently suitable to the race of Egyptian herdsmen, who thus divided the soil with the husbandmen.² Herdsmen generally were held reputable; but the race of swineherds were hated and despised, from the extreme antipathy of all other Egyptians to the pig—which animal yet could not be altogether proscribed, because there were certain peculiar occasions on which it was imperative to offer him in sacrifice to Selênê or Dionysus. Herodotus acquaints us that the swineherds were interdicted from all the temples, and that they always intermarried among themselves, other Egyptians disdaining such an alliance—a statement which indirectly intimates that there was no standing objection against intermarriage of the remaining castes with each other. The caste or race of interpreters began only with the reign of Psammetichus, from the admission of Greek settlers, then for the first time tolerated in the country. Though they were half Greeks, the historian does not note them as of inferior account, except as compared with the two ascendant castes of soldiers and priests. Moreover the creation of a new caste shows that there was no consecrated or unchangeable total number.

¹ Diodor. i. 74. About the Egyptian castes generally, see Heeren, *Ideen über den Verkehr der Alten Welt*, part ii. 2. p. 572-595.

² See the citation from Maillet's *Travels in Egypt*, in Heeren, *Ideen*, p. 590; also Volney's *Travels*, vol. i. ch. 6. p. 77.

The expression of Herodotus—οἱ περὶ τῆν σπαιρουμένην Ἀγροπτον οἰκέουσι—indicates that the portion of the soil used as pasture was not inconsiderable.

The inhabitants of the marsh land were the most warlike part of the population (Thucyd. i. 110).

Those whom Herodotus denominates tradesmen (ζάπτελοι) are doubtless identical with the artisans (τεχνῖται) specified by Diodorus—the town population generally as distinguished from that of the country. During the three months of the year when Egypt was covered with water, festival days were numerous—the people thronging by hundreds of thousands, in vast barges, to one or other of the many holy places, combining worship and enjoyment.¹ In Egypt weaving was a trade, whereas in Greece it was the domestic occupation of females. Herodotus treats it as one of those reversals of the order of nature which were seen only in Egypt,² that the weaver staid at home plying his web while his wife went to market. The process of embalming bodies was elaborate and universal, giving employment to a large special class of men. The profusion of edifices, obelisks, sculpture and painting, all executed by native workmen, required a large body of trained sculptors,³ who in the mechanical branch of their business attained a high excellence. Most of the animals in Egypt were objects of religious reverence, and many of them were identified in the closest manner with particular gods. The order of priests included a large number of hereditary feeders and tenders of these sacred animals.⁴

¹ Herodot. ii. 59, 60.

² Herodot. ii. 35; Sophokl. Œdip. Colon. 332: where the passage cited by the Scholiast of Nymphodôrus is a remarkable example of the habit of ingenious Greeks to represent all customs which they thought worthy of notice, as having emanated from the design of some great sovereign; here Nymphodôrus introduces Sesostris as the author of the custom in question, in order that the Egyptians might be rendered effeminate.

³ The process of embalming is minutely described (Herod. ii. 85–90); the word which he uses for it is the same as that for salting meat and fish—τεγγίζουσι: compare Strabo, xvi. p. 764.

Perfectness of execution, mastery of the hardest stone, and undeviating obedience to certain rules

of proportion, are general characteristics of Egyptian sculpture. There are yet seen in their quarries obelisks not severed from the rock, but having three of their sides already adorned with hieroglyphics; so certain were they of cutting off the fourth side with precision (Schnaase, Gesch. der Bild. Künste, i. p. 428).

All the Nomes of Egypt, however, were not harmonious in their feelings respecting animals: particular animals were worshipped in some Nomes, which in other Nomes were objects even of antipathy, especially the crocodile (Herod. ii. 69; Strabo, xvii. p. 817: see particularly the fifteenth Satire of Juvenal).

⁴ Herodot. ii. 65–72; Diodor. i. 83–90; Plutarch, Isid. et Osir. p. 380.

Hasselquist identified all the

Among the sacerdotal order were also found the computers of genealogies, the infinitely subdivided practitioners in the art of healing, &c.,¹ who enjoyed good reputation, and were sent for as surgeons to Cyrus and Darius. The Egyptian city-population was thus exceedingly numerous, so that king Sethon, when called upon to resist an invasion without the aid of the military caste, might well be supposed to have formed an army out of "the tradesmen, the artisans, and the market-people."² And Alexandria, at the commencement of the dynasty of the Ptolemies, acquired its numerous and active inhabitants at the expense of Memphis and the ancient towns of Lower Egypt.

The mechanical obedience and fixed habits of the mass of the Egyptian population (not priests or soldiers) was a point which made much impression upon Grecian observers. Solon is said to have introduced at Athens a custom prevalent in Egypt, whereby the Nomarch or chief of each Nome was required to investigate every man's means of living, and to punish with death those who did not furnish evidence of some recognised occupation.³ It does not seem that the institution of Caste in Egypt—though ensuring unapproachable ascendancy to the Priests and much consideration to the Soldiers—was attended with any such profound debasement to the rest as that which falls upon the lowest caste or Sudras in India. No such gulf existed between them as that between the Twice-born and the Once-born in the religion of Brahma. Yet those stupendous works, which form the permanent memorials of the country, remain at the same time as proofs of the oppressive exactions of the kings, and of the reckless caprice with which the lives

as well as the contributions of the people were lavished. One hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians were said to have perished in the digging of the canal, which king Nekôs began but did not finish, between the Pelusian arm of the Nile and the Red Sea;⁴ while the construction of the

birds carved on the Obelisk near Matarea (Heliopolis) (Travels in Egypt, p. 99).

¹ Herodot. ii. 82, 83; iii. 1, 129. It is one of the points of distinction between Egyptians and Babylonians that the latter had no surgeons or *laṛ-poi*: they brought

out the sick into the market-place to profit by the sympathy and advice of the passers-by (Herodot. i. 197).

² Herod. ii. 141.

³ Herodot. iii. 177.

⁴ Herodot. ii. 158. Read the account of the foundation of Pe-

two great pyramids, attributed to the kings Cheops and Chephrên, was described to Herodotus by the priests as a period of exhausting labour and extreme suffering to the whole Egyptian people. And yet the great Labyrinth¹ (said to have been built by the Dodekarchs) appeared to him a more stupendous work than the Pyramids, so that the toil employed upon it cannot have been less destructive. The moving of such vast masses of stone as were seen in the ancient edifices both of Upper and Lower Egypt, with the imperfect mechanical resources then existing, must have tasked the efforts of the people yet more severely than the excavation of the half-finished canal of Nekôs. Indeed the associations with which the Pyramids were connected, in the minds of those with whom Herodotus conversed, were of the most odious character. Such vast works, Aristotle observes, are suitable to princes who desire to consume the strength and break the spirit of their people. With Greek despots, perhaps such an intention may have been sometimes deliberately conceived. But the Egyptian kings may be presumed to have followed chiefly caprice or love of pomp—sometimes views of a permanent benefit to be achieved—as in the canal of Nekôs and the vast reservoir of Mœris,²

tersburg by Peter the Great:—
 “Au milieu de ces réformes, grandes et petites, qui faisaient les amusements du czar, et de la guerre terrible qui l'occupait contre Charles XII., il jeta les fondemens de l'importante ville et du port de Pétersbourg, en 1714, dans un marais où il n'y avait pas une cabane. Pierre travailla de ses mains à la première maison: rien ne le rebuta: des ouvriers furent forcés de venir sur ce bord de la mer Baltique, des frontières d'As-trachan, des bords de la Mer Noire et de la Mer Caspienne. Il périt plus de cent mille hommes dans les travaux qu'il fallut faire, et dans les fatigues et la disette qu'on essuya: mais en fin la ville existe.”
 (Voltaire, *Anecdotes sur Pierre le Grand*, in his *Œuvres Complètes* éd. Paris, 1825, tom. xxxi. p. 491).

¹ Herodot. ii. 124—129. τὸν λαβύρινθον

τετραμύκρον ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ. (Diodor. i. 63, 64).

Περὶ τῶν Πυραμίδων (Diodorus observes) οὐδέν ὄλως οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἐγγωρίοις, οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς συγγράψουσιν, συμφωνεῖται. He then alludes to some of the discrepant stories about the date of the Pyramids, and the names of their constructors. This confession, of the complete want of trustworthy information respecting the most remarkable edifices of Lower Egypt, forms a striking contrast with the statement which Diodorus had given (c. 44), that the priests possessed records, “continually handed down from reign to reign, respecting 470 Egyptian kings.”

² It appears that the lake of Mœris is, at least in great part, a natural reservoir, though improved by art for the purposes wanted, and connected with the river by

with its channel joining the river—when they thus expended the physical strength and even the lives of their subjects.

Sanctity of animal life generally, veneration for particular animals in particular Nomes, and abstinence on religious grounds from certain vegetables, were among the marked features of Egyptian life, and served pre-eminent-

ly to impress upon the country that air of singularity which foreigners like Herodotus remarked in it. The two specially marked bulls, called

Apis at Memphis and Mnevis at Heliopolis, seemed to have enjoyed a sort of national worship.¹ The ibis, the cat, and the dog, were throughout most of the Nomes venerated during life, embalmed like men after death, and if killed, avenged by the severest punishment of the offending party: but the veneration of the crocodile was confined to the neighbourhood of Thebes and the lake of Mœris. Such veins of religious sentiment, which distinguished Egypt from Phenicia and Assyria not less than from Greece, were explained by the native priests after their manner to Herodotus; though he declines from pious scruples to communicate what was told to him.² They seem remnants continued from a very early stage of Fetichism—and the attempts of different persons, noticed in Diodorus and Plutarch, to account for their origin, partly by legends, partly by theory, will give little satisfaction to any one.³

Though Thebes first, and Memphis afterwards, were

an artificial canal, sluices, &c. (Kenrick ad Herodot. ii. 149.)

"The lake still exists, of diminished magnitude, being about 60 miles in circumference, but the communication with the Nile has ceased." Herodotus gives the circumference as 3600 stadia,=between 400 and 450 miles.

I incline to believe that there was more of the hand of man in it than Mr. Kenrick supposes, though doubtless the receptacle was natural.

¹ Herodot. ii. 38—46, 65—72; iii. 27—30; Diodor. i. 83—90.

It is surprising to find Pindar introducing into one of his odes a plain mention of the monstrous

circumstances connected with the worship of the goat in the Mendesian Nome (Pindar, Fragm. Inc. 179, ed. Bergk). Pindar had also dwelt, in one of his Prosodia, upon the mythe of the gods having disguised themselves as animals, when seeking to escape Typhon: which was one of the tales told as an explanation of the consecration of animals in Egypt: see Pindar, Fragm. Inc. p. 61, ed. Bergk; Porphy. de Abstin. iii. p. 251, ed. Rhoer.

² Herodot. ii. 65. Diodorus does not feel the same reluctance to mention these ἀνὸρρητα (i. 86).

³ Diodor. i. 86, 87; Plutarch, De Isid. et Osirid. p. 377 seq.

undoubtedly the principal cities of Egypt, yet if the dynasties of Manetho are at all trustworthy even in their general outline, the Egyptian kings were not taken uniformly either from one or the other. Manetho enumerates on the whole twenty-six different dynasties or families of kings, anterior to the conquest of the country by Kambyssês—the Persian kings between Kambyssês and Darius Nôthus, down to the death of the latter in 405 B.C. constituting his twenty-seventh dynasty. Of these twenty-six dynasties, beginning with the year 5702 B.C., the first two are Thinites—the third and fourth, Memphites—the fifth, from the island of Elephantinê—the sixth, seventh and eighth, again Memphites—the ninth and tenth, Herakleopolites—the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth, Diospolites or Thebans—the fourteenth, Choites—the fifteenth and sixteenth, Hyksos or Shepherd Kings—the seventeenth, Shepherd Kings, overthrown and succeeded by Diospolites—the eighteenth (B.C. 1655-1327, in which is included Rameses the great Egyptian conqueror, identified by many authors with Sesostris, 1411 B.C.), nineteenth and twentieth, Diospolites—the twenty-first, Tanites—the twenty-second, Bubastites—the twenty-third, again Tanites—the twenty-fourth, Saïtes—the twenty-fifth, Ethiopians, beginning with Sabakôn, whom Herodotus also mentions—the twenty-sixth, Saïtes, including Psammetichus, Nekôs, Apries or Uaphris, and Amasis or Amosis. We see by these lists, that according to the manner in which Manetho construed the antiquities of his country, several other cities of Egypt, besides Thebes and Memphis, furnished kings to the whole territory. But we cannot trace any correspondence between the Nomes which furnished kings, and those which Herodotus mentions to have been exclusively occupied by the military caste. Many of the separate Nomes were of considerable substantive importance, and had a marked local character each to itself, religious as well as political: though the whole of Egypt, from Elephantinê to Pelusium and Kanôpus, is said to have always constituted one kingdom, from the earliest times which the native priests could conceive.

Egyptian
kings—
taken from
different
parts of the
country.

We are to consider this kingdom as engaged, long before the time when Greeks were admitted into it,¹ in a

¹ On this early trade between Egypt, Phenicia, and Palestine,

standing caravan commerce with Phenicia, Palestine, Arabia, and Assyria. Ancient Egypt having neither vines nor olives, imported both wine and oil;¹ while it also needed especially the frankincense and aromatic products peculiar to Arabia, for its elaborate religious ceremonies. Towards the last quarter of the eighth century B.C. (a little before the time when the dynasty of the Mermnadæ in Lydia was commencing in the person of Gygês), we trace events tending to alter the relation which previously subsisted between these countries, by continued aggressions on the part of the Assyrian monarchs of Nineveh—Salmaneser and Sennacherib. The former having conquered and led into captivity the ten tribes of Israel, also attacked the Phenician towns on the adjoining coast: Sidon, Palæ-Tyrus, and Akê yielded to him, but Tyre itself resisted, and having endured for five years the hardships of a blockade with partial obstruction of its continental aqueducts, was enabled by means of its insular position to maintain independence. It was just at this period that the Grecian establishments in Sicily were forming, and I have already remarked that the pressure of the Assyrians upon Phenicia probably had some effect in determining that contraction of the Phenician occupations in Sicily which really took place (B.C. 730—720). Respecting Sennacherib, we are informed by the Old Testament that he invaded Judæa—and by Herodotus (who calls him king of the Assyrians and Arabians) that he assailed the pious king Sethos in Egypt: in both cases his army experienced a miraculous repulse and destruction. After this the Assyrians of Nineveh, either torn by intestine dissension, or shaken by the attacks of the Medes, appear no longer active; but about the year 630 B.C., the Assyrians or Chaldæans of Babylon manifest a formidable and increasing power. It is moreover during this century that the old routine of the Egyptian kings was broken through,

anterior to any acquaintance with the Greeks, see Josephus cont. Apion. i. 12.

¹ Herodotus notices the large importation of wine into Egypt in his day, from all Greece as well as from Phenicia, as well as the employment of the earthen vessels in which it had been brought for

the transport of water, in the return journeys across the Desert (iii. 6).

In later times, Alexandria was supplied with wine chiefly from Laodikeia in Syria near the mouth of the Orontes (Strabo, xvi. p. 751).

and a new policy displayed towards foreigners by Psammetichus—which, while it rendered Egypt more formidable to Judæa and Phenicia, opened to Grecian ships and settlers the hitherto inaccessible Nile.

Herodotus draws a marked distinction between the history of Egypt before Psammetichus and the following period. The former he gives as the narration of the priests, without professing to guarantee it—the latter he evidently believes to be well-ascertained.¹ And we find that from Psammetichus downward, Herodotus and Manetho are in tolerable harmony, whereas even for the sovereigns occupying the last fifty years before Psammetichus, there are many and irreconcilable discrepancies between them;² but they both agree in stating that Psammetichus reigned fifty-four years.

So important an event, as the first admission of the Greeks into Egypt, was made, by the informants of Herodotus, to turn upon two prophecies. After the death of Sethos (priest of Hephæstos as well as king), who left no son, Egypt became divided among twelve kings, of whom Psammetichus was one. It was under this dodekarchy, according to Herodotus, that the marvellous labyrinth near the Lake of Mæris was constructed. The twelve lived and reigned for some time in perfect harmony. But a prophecy had been made known to them, that the one who should make libations in the temple of Hephæstos out of a brazen goblet, would reign over all Egypt. Now it happened that one day when they all appeared armed in that temple to offer sacrifice, the high priest brought out by mistake only eleven golden goblets instead of twelve; and Psammetichus, left without a goblet, made use of his brazen helmet as a substitute. Being thus considered, though unintentionally, to have fulfilled the condition of the prophecy, by making libations in a brazen goblet, he became an object of terror to his eleven colleagues, who united to despoil him of his dignity and drove him into the inaccessible marshes. In this extremity

Egyptian history not known before Psammetichus.

First introduction of Greeks into Egypt under Psammetichus—stories connected with it.

¹ Herodot. ii. 147-151. ἀπὸ Ψαμμήτιχου—πάντα καὶ τὰ ὕστερον ἐπιστάμεθα ἀπαραίτως.

and considered in Boeckh, Manetho und die Hundssternperiode, p. 326-336.

² See these differences stated

he sent to seek counsel from the oracle of Lêtô at Butô, and received for answer an assurance that "vengeance would come to him by the hands of brazen men showing themselves from the seaward." His faith was for the moment shaken by so startling a conception as that of brazen men for his allies. But the prophetic veracity of the priest at Butô was speedily shown, when an astonished attendant came to acquaint him in his lurking-place, that brazen men were ravaging the sea-coast of the Delta. It was a body of Ionian and Karian soldiers, who had landed for pillage; and the messenger who came to inform Psammetichus had never before seen men in an entire suit of brazen armour. That prince, satisfied that these were the allies whom the oracle had marked out for him, immediately entered into negotiation with the Ionians and Karians, enlisted them in his service, and by their aid in conjunction with his other partisans overpowered the other eleven kings—thus making himself the one ruler of Egypt.¹

Such was the tale by which the original alliance of an Egyptian king with Grecian mercenaries, and the first introduction of Greeks into Egypt, was accounted for and dignified. What followed is more authentic and more important. Psammetichus provided a settlement and lands for his new allies, on the Pelusiac or eastern branch of the Nile, a little below Bubastis. The Ionians were planted on one side of the river, the Karians on the other; and the place was made to serve as a military position, not only for the defence of the eastern border, but also for the support of the king himself against malcontents at

¹ Herodot. ii. 149-152. This narrative of Herodotus, however little satisfactory in an historical point of view, bears evident marks of being the genuine tale which he heard from the priests of Hephæstos. Diodorus gives an account more historically plausible, but he could not well have had any positive authorities for that period, and he gives us seemingly the ideas of Greek authors of the days of the Ptolemies. Psammetichus (he tells us), as one of the twelve

kings, ruled at Saïs and in the neighbouring part of the Delta: he opened a trade, previously unknown in Egypt, with Greeks and Phenicians, so profitable that his eleven colleagues became jealous of his riches and combined to attack him. He raised an army of foreign mercenaries and defeated his colleagues (Diodor. i. 66, 67). Polyænus gives a different story about Psammetichus and the Karian mercenaries (vii. 3).

home: it was called the Stratopeda, or the Camps.¹ He took pains moreover to facilitate the intercourse between them and the neighbouring inhabitants by causing a number of Egyptian children to be domiciled with them, in order to learn the Greek language. Hence sprung the Interpreters, who in the time of Herodotus constituted a permanent hereditary caste or breed.

Though the chief purpose of this first foreign settlement in Egypt, between Pelusium and Bubastis, was to create an independent military force, and with it a fleet, for the king,—yet it was of course an opening both for communication and traffic, to all Greeks and to all Phenicians, such as had never before been available. And it was speedily followed by the throwing open of the Kanôpic or westernmost branch of the river for the purposes of trade specially. According to a statement of Strabo, it was in the reign of Psammetichus that the Milesians with a fleet of thirty ships made a descent on that part of the coast, first built a fort in the immediate neighbourhood, and then presently founded the town of Naukratis on the right bank of the Kanôpic Nile. There is much that is perplexing in this affirmation of Strabo; but on the whole I am inclined to think that the establishment of the Greek factories and merchants at Naukratis may be considered as dating in the reign of Psammetichus²—Naukratis however must have been a city

Opening of the Kanôpic branch of the Nile to Greek commerce—Greek establishment at Naukratis.

¹ Herodot. ii. 154.

² Strabo, xvii. p. 801. καὶ τὸ Μιλήσιον πτεῖχος· πλεῖστοντες γὰρ ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου τριάκοντα ναυσὶν Μιλήσιοι κατὰ Κυαξάρη (οὗτος δὲ τῶν Μήδων) κατέσχον εἰς τὸ Βολβίτινον εἰς ἐχθάντες ἐτείχισαν το λεγθὲν κτίσμα χρόνον δ' ἀναπλεύσαντες εἰς τὸν Σαίτικόν νομόν, κατανομαρχήσαντες Ἰνάρου, πόλιν ἔκτισαν Ναυκρατίην ὃ πολλὸν τῆς Σχεδίας ὑπερῆεν.

What is meant by the allusion to Kyaxarès, or to Inarus, in this passage, I do not understand. We know nothing of any relations either between Kyaxarès and Psammetichus, or between Kyaxarès

and the Milesians: moreover, if by κατὰ Κυαξάρη be meant *in the time of Kyaxarès*, as the translators render it, we have in immediate succession ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου—κατὰ Κυαξάρη, with the same meaning, which is (to say the least of it) a very awkward sentence. The words οὗτος δὲ τῶν Μήδων look not unlike a comment added by some early reader of Strabo, who could not understand why Kyaxarès should be here mentioned, and who noted his difficulty in words which have subsequently found their way into the text. Then again *Inarus* belongs to the period between the

of Egyptian origin in which these foreigners were permitted to take up their abode—not a Greek colony, as Strabo would have us believe. The language of Herodotus seems rather to imply that it was king Amasis (between whom and the death of Psammetichus there intervened nearly half a century) who first allowed Greeks to settle at Naukratis. Yet on comparing what the historian tells us respecting the courtesan Rhodôpis and the brother of Sapphô the poetess, it is evident that there must have been both Greek trade and Greek establishments in that town long before Amasis came to the throne. We may consider then, that both the eastern and western mouths of the Nile became open to the Greeks in the days of Psammetichus: the former as leading to the head-quarters of the mercenary Greek troops in Egyptian pay—the latter for purposes of trade.

While this event afforded to the Greeks a valuable enlargement both of their traffic and of their field of observation, it seems to have occasioned an internal revolution

Discontents
and mutiny
of the
Egyptian
military
order.

in Egypt. The Nome of Bubastis, in which the new military settlement of foreigners was planted, is numbered among those occupied by the Egyptian military caste.¹ Whether their lands were in part taken away from them we do not know; but the mere introduction of such

foreigners must have appeared an abomination, to the strong conservative feeling of ancient Egypt. And Psammetichus treated the native soldiers in a manner which showed of how much less account Egyptian soldiers had become, since the "brazen helmets" had got footing in the

Persian and Peloponnesian wars; at least we know no other person of that name than the chief of the Egyptian revolt against Persia (Thucyd. i. 114), who is spoken of as a "Libyan, the son of Psammetichus." The mention of Kyaxarès therefore here appears unmeaning, while that of Inarus is an anachronism: possibly the story that the Milesians founded Naukratis "after having worsted Inarus in a sea-fight," may have grown out of the etymology of the name Naukratis, in the mind of one who

found Inarus the son of Psammetichus mentioned two centuries afterwards, and identified the two Psammetichuses with each other.

The statement of Strabo has been copied by Steph. Byz. v. Ναυκρατία. Eusebius also announces (Chron. i. p. 168) the Milesians as the founders of Naukratis, but puts the event at 753 B.C., during what he calls the Milesian thalassokraty: see Mr. Fynes Clinton ad ann. 752 B.C. in the Fasti Hellenici.

¹ Herodot. ii. 166.

land. It had hitherto been the practice to distribute such portions of the military, as were on actual service, in three different posts: at Daphnê near Pelusium, on the north-eastern frontier—at Marea on the north-western frontier, near the spot where Alexandria was afterwards built—and at Elephantinê, on the southern or Ethiopian boundary. Psammetichus, having no longer occasion for their services on the eastern frontier, since the formation of the mercenary camp, accumulated them in greater number and detained them for an unusual time at the two other stations, especially at Elephantinê. Here, as Herodotus tells us, they remained for three years unrelieved. Diodorus adds that Psammetichus assigned to those native troops who fought conjointly with the mercenaries, the least honourable post in the line. Discontent at length impelled them to emigrate in a body of 240,000 men into Ethiopia, leaving their wives and children behind in Egypt. No instances on the part of the Psammetichus could induce them to return. This memorable incident,¹ which is said to have given rise to a settlement in the southernmost regions of Ethiopia, called by the Greeks the Automoli (though the emigrant soldiers still call themselves by their old Egyptian name), attests the effect produced by the introduction of the foreign mercenaries in lowering the position of the native military. The number of the emigrants however is a point noway to be relied upon. We shall presently see that there were enough of them left behind to renew effectively the struggle for their lost dignity.

It was probably with his Ionian and Karian troops that Psammetichus carried on those warlike operations in Syria which filled so large a proportion of his long and prosperous reign of fifty-four years.² He besieged the city of Azôtus in Syria for twenty-nine years, until he took it—the longest blockade which Herodotus had ever heard of. Moreover he was in that country when the destroying Scythian Nomads (who had defeated the Median king Kyaxarês and possessed themselves of Upper Asia) advanced to invade Egypt; a project which Psammetichus, by large presents, induced them to abandon.³

There were, however, yet more powerful enemies,

¹ Herodot. ii. 30; Diodor. i. 67.

νέστατος τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων (Herodot. ii. 161).

² Ἀπρίλης—ὡς μετὰ Ψαμμήτιχον τὸν ἐκείνου προπᾶτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαίμο-

³ Herodot. i. 105; ii. 157.

against whom he and his son Nekôs (who succeeded him seemingly about 604 B. C.¹) had to contend in Syria and the lands adjoining. It is just at this period, during the reigns of Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar (B. C. 625-561) that the Chaldæans or Assyrians of Babylon appear at the maximum of their power and aggressive disposition; while the Assyrians of Ninus or Nineveh lose their substantive position through the taking of that town by Kyaxarês (about B. C. 600)—the greatest height which the Median power ever reached. Between the Egyptian Nekôs and

¹ The chronology of the Egyptian kings from Psammetichus to Amasis

is given in some points differently by Herodotus and by Manetho:—

According to Herodotus,

Psammetichus reigned 54 years.

Nekôs . . . " 16 "

Psammis . . . " 6 "

Apriês . . . " 25 "

Amasis . . . " 44 "

According to Manetho ap. African.

Psammetichus reigned 54 years.

Nechao II. . . " 6 "

Psammathis . . . " 6 "

Uaphris . . . " 19 "

Amosis . . . " 41 "

Diodorus gives 22 years for Apriês and 55 years for Amasis (i. 68).

Now the end of the reign of Amasis stands fixed for 526 B.C., and therefore the beginning of his reign (according to both Herodotus and Manetho) to 570 B.C. or 569 B.C. According to the chronology of the Old Testament, the battles of Megiddo and Carchemisch, fought by Nekôs, fall about 609-605 B.C., and this coincides with the reign of Nekôs as dated by Herodotus, but not as dated by Manetho. On the other hand, it appears from the evidence of certain Egyptian inscriptions recently discovered, that the real interval from the beginning of Nechao to the end of Uaphris is only forty years, and not forty-seven years, as the dates of Herodotus would make it (Boeckh, *Manetho und die Hundsstern-Periode*, p. 341-348), which would place the accession of Nekôs in 610 or 609 B.C. Boeckh discusses at some length this discrepancy of

dates, and inclines to the supposition that Nekôs reigned nine or ten years jointly with his father, and that Herodotus has counted these nine or ten years twice, once in the reign of Psammetichus, once in that of Nekôs. Certainly Psammetichus can hardly have been very young when his reign began, and if he reigned fifty-four years, he must have reached an extreme old age, and may have been prominently aided by his son. Adopting the suppositions therefore that the last ten years of the reign of Psammetichus may be reckoned both for him and for Nekôs—that for Nekôs separately only six years are to be reckoned—and that the number of years from the beginning of Nekôs's separate reign to the end of Uaphris is forty—Boeckh places the beginning of Psammetichus in 654 B.C., and not in 670 B.C., as the data of Herodotus would make it (*ib.* p. 342-350).

Mr. Clinton, *Fast. Hellen. B.C.* 616, follows Herodotus.

his grandson Apriês (Pharaoh Necho and Pharaoh Hophra of the Old Testament) on the one side, and the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar on the other, Judæa and Phenicia form the intermediate subject of quarrel. The political independence of the Phenician towns is extinguished never again to be recovered. At the commencement of his reign, it appears, Nekôs was chiefly anxious to extend the Egyptian commerce, for which purpose he undertook two measures, both of astonishing boldness for that age—a canal between the lower part of the eastern or Pelusiæc Nile and the inmost corner of the Red Sea—and the circumnavigation of Africa; his great object being to procure a water-communication between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. He began the canal (much about the same time as Nebuchadnezzar executed his canal from Babylon to Terêdon) with such reckless determination, that 120,000 Egyptians are said to have perished in the work. But either from such disastrous proof of the difficulty, or (as Herodotus represents) from the terrors of a menacing prophecy which reached him, he was compelled to desist. Next he accomplished the circumnavigation of Africa, already above alluded to; but in this way too he found it impracticable to procure any available communication such as he wished.¹ It is plain that in both these enterprises he was acting under Phenician and Greek instigation; and we may remark that the point of the Nile, from whence the canal took its departure, was close upon the mercenary camps or Stratopeda. Being unable to connect the two seas together, he built and equipped an armed naval force both upon the one and the other, and entered upon aggressive enterprises, naval as well as military. His army, on marching into Syria, was met at Megiddo (Herodotus says Magdolum) by Josiah king of Judah, who was himself slain and so completely worsted, that Jerusalem fell into the power of the conqueror, and became tributary to Egypt. It deserves to be noted that Nekôs sent the raiment which he had worn on the day of this victory as an offering to the holy temple of Apollo at Branchidæ near Milêtus²—

¹ Herodot. ii. 158. Respecting the canal of Nekôs, see the explanation of Mr. Kenrick on this chapter of Herodotus. From Bastis to Suez the length would be

about ninety miles.

² Herodot. ii. 159. Diodorus makes no mention of Nekôs.

The account of Herodotus coincides in the main with the history

the first recorded instance of a donation from an Egyptian king to a Grecian temple, and a proof that Hellenic affinities were beginning to take effect upon him. Probably we may conclude that a large proportion of his troops were Milesians.

But the victorious career of Nekôs was completely checked by the defeat which he experienced at Carchemisch (or Circesium) on the Euphrates, from Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, who not only drove him out of Judæa and Syria but also took Jerusalem, and carried away the king and the principal Jews into captivity.¹ Nebuchadnezzar farther attacked the Phenician cities, and the siege of Tyre alone cost him severe toil for thirteen years. After this long and gallant resistance, the Tyrians were forced to submit, and underwent the same fate as the Jews. Their princes and chiefs were dragged captive into the Babylonian territory, and the Phenician cities became numbered among the tributaries of Nebuchadnezzar. So they seem to have remained, until the overthrow of Babylon by Cyrus: for we find among those extracts (unhappily very brief) which Josephus has preserved out of the Tyrian annals, that during this interval there were disputes and irregularities in the government of Tyre²—judges being for a time sub-

of the Old Testament about Pharaoh Necho and Josiah. The great city of Syria which he calls Κάρδοις seems to be Jerusalem, though Wesseling (ad Herodot. iii. 5) and other able critics dispute the identity. See Volney, *Recherches sur l'Hist. Anc.* vol. i. ch. 13. p. 239: "Les Arabes ont conservé l'habitude d'appeler Jérusalem la Sainte par excellence, *el Qods*. Sans doute les Chaldéens et les Syriens lui donnèrent le même nom, qui dans leur dialecte est *Qadouta*, dont Hérodote rend bien l'orthographe quand il écrit Κάρδοις."

¹ Jeremiah, xlvi. 2; 2nd book of Kings, xxiii. and xxiv.; Josephus, *Ant. J.* x. 5, 1; x. 6. 1.

About Nebuchadnezzar, see the Fragment of Berosus ap. Joseph.

cont. Apion. i. 19, 20, and *Antiqu. J.* x. 11, 1, and Beros. Fragment. ed. Richter, p. 65—67.

² Menander ap. Joseph. *Antiq. J.* ix. 14, 2. 'Επὶ Εὐωβάλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπολιόρχησε Ναβουχοδονόσορος τῇ Τύρῳ ἐπ' ἑτὴ δεκάτρια. That this siege of thirteen years ended in the storming, capitulation, or submission (we know not which, and Volney goes beyond the evidence when he says, "Les Tyriens furent emportés d'assaut par le roi de Babylone," *Recherches sur l'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. ii. ch. 14. p. 250) of Tyre to the Chaldæan king, is quite certain from the mention which afterwards follows of the Tyrian princes being detained captive in Babylonia. Hengstenberg (*De Rebus Tyrionum*, p. 34—77) heaps up a

stituted in the place of kings; while Merbal and Hirom, two princes of the regal Tyrian line, detained captive in Babylonia, were successively sent down on the special petition of the Tyrians, and reigned at Tyre; the former four years, the latter twenty years, until the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. The Egyptian king Apriês, indeed, son of Psammis and grandson of Nekôs, attacked Sidon and Tyre both by land and sea, but seemingly without any result.¹ To the Persian empire, as soon as Cyrus had conquered Babylon, they cheerfully and spontaneously submitted,² whereby the restoration of the captive Tyrians to their home was probably conceded to them, like that of the captive Jews.

Nekôs in Egypt was succeeded by his son Psammis, and he again, after a reign of six years, by his son Apriês; of whose power and prosperity Herodotus speaks in very high general terms, though the few particulars which he recounts are of a contrary tenor. It was not till after a reign of twenty-five years that Apriês undertook that expedition against the Greek colonies in Libya—Kyrênê and Barka—which proved his ruin. The native Libyan tribes near those cities having sent to surrender themselves to him and entreat his aid against the Greek settlers, Apriês despatched to them a large force composed of native Egyptians; who (as has been before mentioned) were stationed on the north-western frontier of Egypt, and were therefore most available for the march against Kyrênê.

Psammis,
son of
Nekôs-
Apriês.

mass of arguments, most of them very inconclusive, to prove this point, about which the passage cited by Josephus from Menander leaves no doubt. What is *not* true, is, that Tyre was destroyed and laid desolate by Nebuchadnezzar: still less can it be believed that that king conquered Egypt and Libya, as Megasthenes, and even Berosus so far as Egypt is concerned, would have us believe—the argument of Larcher ad Herodot. ii. 168 is anything but satisfactory. The defeat of the Egyptian king at Carchemisch, and the stripping him of his foreign pos-

sessions in Judæa and Syria, have been exaggerated into a conquest of Egypt itself.

¹ Herodot. ii. 161. He simply mentions what I have stated in the text; while Diodorus tells us (i. 68) that the Egyptian king took Sidon by assault, terrified the other Phœnician towns into submission, and defeated the Phœnicians and Cyprians in a great naval battle, acquiring a vast spoil.

What authority Diodorus here followed, I do not know; but the measured statement of Herodotus is far the most worthy of credit.

² Herodot. iii. 19.

The Kyrenean citizens advanced to oppose them, and a battle ensued in which the Egyptians were completely routed with severe loss. It is affirmed that they were thrown into disorder from want of practical knowledge of Grecian warfare¹—a remarkable proof of the entire isolation of the Grecian mercenaries (who had now been long in the service of Psammetichus and his successors) from the native Egyptians.

This disastrous reverse provoked a mutiny in Egypt against Apriês, the soldiers contending that he had despatched them on the enterprise with a deliberate view to their destruction, in order to assure his rule over the remaining Egyptians. The malcontents found so much sympathy among the general population, that Amasis, a Saitic Egyptian of low birth but of considerable intelligence, whom Apriês had sent to conciliate them, was either persuaded or constrained to become their leader, and prepared to march immediately against the king at Saïs. Unbounded and reverential submission to the royal authority was a habit so deeply rooted in the Egyptian mind, that Apriês could not believe the resistance to be serious. He sent an officer of consideration named Patarbêmis to bring Amasis before him. When Patarbêmis returned, bringing back from the rebel nothing better than a contemptuous refusal to appear except at the head of an army, the exasperated king ordered his nose and ears to be cut off. This act of atrocity caused such indignation among the Egyptians round him, that most of them deserted and joined the revolt, who thus became irresistibly formidable in point of numbers. There yet remained to Apriês the foreign mercenaries—thirty thousand Ionians and Karians—whom he summoned from their Stratopeda on the Pelusiac Nile to

his residence at Saïs. This force, the creation of his ancestor Psammetichus and the main reliance of his family, still inspired him with such unabated confidence, that he marched to attack the far superior numbers under Amasis at Memphitis. Though his troops behaved with bravery, the disparity of numbers, combined with the excited feeling of the insurgents, overpowered him: he was defeated and carried prisoner to Saïs, where at first Amasis not only spared his life, but treated him with generosity.² Such

Amasis—
dethrones
Apriês by
means of
the native
soldiers.

¹ Herodot. ii. 161; iv. 159. ² Herodot. ii. 162-169; Diodor. i. 68.

however was the antipathy of the Egyptians, that they forced Amasis to surrender his prisoner into their hands, and immediately strangled him.

It is not difficult to trace in these proceedings the outbreak of a long-suppressed hatred on the part of the Egyptian soldier-caste towards the dynasty of Psammetichus, to whom they owed their comparative degradation, and by whom that stream of Hellenism had been let in upon Egypt which doubtless was not witnessed without great repugnance. It might seem also that this dynasty had too little of pure Egyptianism in them to find favour with the priests. At least Herodotus does not mention any religious edifices erected either by Nekôs or Psammis or Apriês, though he describes much of such outlay on the part of Psammetichus—who built magnificent Propylæa to the temple of Hephæstos at Memphis¹ and a splendid new chamber or stable for the sacred bull Apis—and more still on the part of Amasis.

Nevertheless Amasis, though he had acquired the crown by this explosion of native antipathy, found the foreign adjuncts so eminently advantageous, that he not only countenanced, but multiplied them. Egypt enjoyed under him a degree of power and consideration such as it neither before possessed, nor afterwards retained—for his long reign of forty-four years (570-526 B.C.) closed just six months before the Persian conquest of the country. As he was eminently phil-Hellenic, the Greek merchants at Naukratis—the permanent settlers as well as the occasional visitors—obtained from him valuable enlargement of their privileges. Besides granting permission to various Grecian towns to erect religious establishments for such of their citizens as visited the place, he also sanctioned the constitution of a formal and organised emporium or factory, invested with commercial privileges, and armed with authority exercised by presiding officers regularly chosen. This factory was connected with, and probably grew out of, a large religious edifice and precinct, built at the joint cost of nine Grecian cities: four of them Ionic,—Chios, Teôs, Phôkæa, and Klazomenæ; four Doric,—Rhodes, Knidus, Halikarnassus, and Phasêlis; and one Æolic,—Mitylênê. By these nine

He encourages Grecian commerce.

Important factory and religious establishment for the Greeks at Naukratis.

¹ Herodot. ii. 153.

cities the joint temple and factory was kept up and its presiding magistrates chosen. But its destination, for the convenience of Grecian commerce generally, seems revealed by the imposing title of *The Hellênion*. Samos, Milêtus, and Ægina had each founded a separate temple at Naukratis for the worship of such of their citizens as went there; probably connected (as the Hellênion was) with protection and facilities for commercial purposes. While these three powerful cities had thus constituted each a factory for itself, as guarantee to the merchandise, and as responsible for the conduct of its own citizens separately—the corporation of the Hellênion served both as protection and control to all other Greek merchants. And such was the usefulness, the celebrity, and probably the pecuniary profit, of the corporation, that other Grecian cities set up claims to a share in it, falsely pretending to have contributed to the original foundation.¹

Naukratis was for a long time the privileged port for Grecian commerce with Egypt. No Greek merchant was permitted to deliver goods in any other part, or to enter any other of the mouths of the Nile except the Kanôpic. If forced into any of them by stress of weather, he was compelled to make oath that his arrival was a matter of necessity, and to convey his goods round by sea into the Kanôpic branch to Naukratis. If the weather still forbade such a proceeding, the merchandise was put into barges and conveyed round to Naukratis by the internal canals of the Delta. Such a monopoly, which made Naukratis in Egypt something like Canton in China or Nangasaki in Japan, no longer subsisted in the time of Herodotus.² But the factory of the Hellênion was in full operation and

¹ Herodot. ii. 178. The few words of the historian about these Greek establishments at Naukratis are highly valuable, and we can only wish that he had told us more: he speaks of them in the present tense, from personal knowledge—τὸ μὲν νῦν μέγιστον αὐτέων τέμενος καὶ ὀνόμαστότατον ἔὸν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλεούμενον δὲ Ἑλλήνιον, αἷδε πόλις εἰσὶν αἱ παρέχουσαι—Τουτέων μὲν ἔστι τοῦτο το τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὐταὶ

αἱ πόλις εἰσὶν αἱ παρέχουσαι. "Ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλις μεταποιεῦνται, οὐδὲν σφι μετέων μεταποιεῦνται.

We are here let into a vein of commercial jealousy between the Greek cities about which we should have been glad to be farther informed.

² Herodot. ii. 179. Ἦν δὲ το παλαιὸν μόνῃ ἡ Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον, καὶ ἄλλα οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου . . . Ὅπως δὲ Ναύκρατις ἔτετιμήθη.

dignity, and very probably he himself, as a native of one of the contributing cities, Halikarnassus, may have profited by its advantages. At what precise time Naukratis first became licensed for Grecian trade, we cannot directly make out. But there seems reason to believe that it was the port to which the Greek merchants first went, so soon as the general liberty of trading with the country was conceded to them: and this would put the date of such grant at least as far back as the foundation of Kyrênê and the voyage of the fortunate Kôlæus, who was on his way with a cargo to Egypt when the storms overtook him—about 630 B.C., during the reign of Psammetichus. And in the time of the poetess Sapphō and her brother Charaxus, it seems evident that Greeks had been some time established at Naukratis.¹ But Amasis, though his predecessors had permitted such establishment, may doubtless be regarded as having given organisation to the factories, and as having

¹ The beautiful Thracian courtesan, Rhodôpis, was purchased by a Samian merchant named Xanthês, and conveyed to Naukratis, in order that he might make money by her (κατ' ἐργασίην). The speculation proved a successful one, for Charaxus, brother of Sappho, going to Naukratis with a cargo of wine, became so captivated with Rhodôpis, that he purchased her for a very large sum of money, and gave her her freedom. She then carried on her profession at Naukratis on her own account, and realised a handsome fortune, the tithe of which she employed in a votive offering at Delphi. She acquired so much renown, that the Egyptian Greeks ascribed to her the building of one of the pyramids,—a supposition on the absurdity of which Herodotus makes proper comments, but which proves the great celebrity of the name of Rhodôpis (Herodot. ii. 134). Athenæus calls her Dôrichê, and distinguishes her from Rhodôpis (xiii. p. 596, compare Suidas, v. Ῥωδωπίς ἀνά-

θημα). When Charaxus returned to Mitylênê, his sister Sappho composed a song, in which she greatly derided him for this proceeding—a song which doubtless Herodotus knew, and which gives to the whole anecdote a complete authenticity.

Now we can hardly put the age of Sappho lower than 600-580 B.C. (see Mr. Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* ad ann. 595 B.C., and Ulrici, *Geschichte der Griech. Lyrik*, ch. xxiii. p. 360): Alkæus, too, her contemporary, had himself visited Egypt (Alcæi *Fragm.* 103, ed. Bergk; Strabo, i. p. 63). The Greek settlement at Naukratis therefore must be decidedly older than Amasis, who began to reign in 570 B.C., and the residence of Rhodôpis in that town must have begun earlier than Amasis, though Herodotus calls her κατ' Ἀμυσίην ἀρχαῖουσα (ii. 134). We cannot construe the language of Herodotus strictly, when he says that it was Amasis who *permitted* the residence of Greeks at Naukratis (ii. 178).

placed the Greeks on a more comfortable footing of security than they had ever enjoyed before.

This Egyptian king manifested several other evidences of his phil-Hellenic disposition by donations to Delphi and other Grecian temples. He even married a Grecian wife from the city of Kyrênê.¹ Prosperity of Egypt under Amasis. Moreover he was in intimate alliance and relations of hospitality both with Polykratês despot of Samos and with Crœsus king of Lydia.² He conquered the island of Cyprus, and rendered it tributary to the Egyptian throne. His fleet and army were maintained in good condition, and the foreign mercenaries, the great strength of the dynasty whom he had supplanted, were not only preserved, but even removed from their camp near Pelusium to the chief town Memphis, where they served as the special guards of Amasis.³ Egypt enjoyed under him a degree of power abroad and prosperity at home (the river having been abundant in its overflowing), which was the more tenaciously remembered on account of the period of disaster and subjugation immediately following his death. And his contributions, in architecture and sculpture, to the temples of Saïs⁴ and Memphis were on a scale of vastness surpassing every-thing before known in Lower Egypt.

¹ Herodot. ii. 181.

² Herodot. i. 77; iii. 39.

³ Herodot. ii. 182, 154. κατοίχουσιν

ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἐαυτοῦ ποιούμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων.

⁴ Herodot. ii. 175-177.

CHAPTER XXI.

DECLINE OF THE PHENICIANS.—GROWTH OF
CARTHAGE.

THE preceding sketch of that important system of foreign nations—Phenicians, Assyrians, and Egyptians—who occupied the south-eastern portion of the (οἰκουμένη) inhabited world of an early Greek, brings them down nearly to the time at which they were all absorbed into the mighty Persian empire. In tracing the series of events which intervened between 700 B.C. and 530 B.C., we observe a material increase of power both in the Chaldæans and Egyptians, and an immense extension of Grecian maritime activity and commerce—but we at the same time notice the decline of Tyre and Sidon, both in power and traffic. The arms of Nebuchadnezzar reduced the Phenician cities to the same state of dependence as that which the Ionian cities underwent half a century later from Cræsus and Cyrus; while the ships of Milêtus, Phôkæa and Samos gradually spread over all those waters of the Levant which had once been exclusively Phenician. In the year 704 B.C., the Samians did not yet possess a single trireme:¹ down to the year 630 B.C., not a single Greek vessel had yet visited Libya. But when we reach 550 B.C., we find the Ionic ships predominant in the Ægean, and those of Corinth and Korkyra in force to the west of Peloponnesus—we see the flourishing cities of Kyrênê and Barka already rooted in Libya, and the port of Naukratis a busy emporium of Grecian commerce with Egypt. The trade by land—which is all that Egypt had enjoyed prior to Psammetichus, and which was exclusively conducted by Phenicians—is exchanged for a trade by sea, of which the Phenicians have only a share, and seemingly a smaller share than the Greeks. Moreover the conquest by Amasis of the island of Cyprus, half-filled with Phenician settlements and

Between
700-530 B.C.
Decline of
the Phenicians—
growth of
Grecian
marine and
commerce.

¹ Thucyd. i. 13.

once the tributary dependency of Tyre—affords an additional mark of the comparative decline of that great city. In her commerce with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf she still remained without a competitor, the schemes of the Egyptian king Nekôs having proved abortive. Even in the time of Herodotus, the spices and frankincense of Arabia were still brought and distributed only by the Phenician merchant.¹ But on the whole, both political and industrial development of Tyre are now cramped by impediments, and kept down by rivals, not before in operation; so that the part which she will be found to play in the Mediterranean, throughout the whole course of this history, is one subordinate and of reduced importance.

The course of Grecian history is not directly affected by these countries. Yet their effect upon the Greek mind was very considerable, and the opening of the Nile by Psammetichus constitutes an epoch in Hellenic thought. It supplied to their observation a large and diversified field of present reality, while it was at the same time one great source of those mysticising tendencies which corrupted so many of their speculative minds. But to Phenicia and Assyria, the Greeks owe two acquisitions well-deserving special mention—the alphabet, and the first standard and scale of weight as well as coined money. Of neither of these acquisitions can we trace the precise date. That the Greek alphabet is derived from the Phenician, the analogy of the two proves beyond dispute, though we know not how or where the inestimable present was handed over, of which no traces are to be found in the Homeric poems.² The Latin

¹ Herodot. iii. 107.

² The various statements or conjectures to be found in Greek authors (all comparatively recent) respecting the origin of the Greek alphabet, are collected by Franz, *Epigraphicæ Græca*, s. iii. pp. 12-20: "Omnino Græci alphabeti ut certa primordia sunt in origine Pheniciâ, ita certus terminus in litteraturâ Ionicâ seu Simonideâ. Quæ inter utrumque a veteribus ponuntur, incerta omnia et fabulosa .

. . . Non commoramur in iis quæ de litterarum origine et propagatione ex fabulosâ Pelasgorum historiâ (cf. Knight, p. 119-123; Raoul Rochette, p. 67-87) neque in iis quæ de Cadmo narrantur, quem unquam fuisse hodie jam nemo crediderit . . . Alphabeti Phœnicii omnes 22 litteras cum antiquis Græcis congruere, hodie nemo est qui ignoret." (p. 14, 15.) Franz gives valuable information respecting the changes gradually intro-

alphabet, which is nearly identical with the most ancient Doric variety of the Greek, was derived from the same source—also the Etruscan alphabet, though (if O. Müller is correct in his conjecture) only at second-hand through the intervention of the Greek.¹ If we cannot make out at what time the Phenicians made this valuable communication to the Greeks, much less can we determine when or how they acquired it themselves—whether it be of Semitic invention, or derived from improvement upon the phonetic hieroglyphics of the Egyptians.²

Besides the letters of the Alphabet, the scale of weight and that of coined money passed from Phenicia and Assyria into Greece. It has been shown by Boeckh in his 'Metrologic' that the Æginæan scale³—with its divisions, talent, mna, and obolus—is identical with the Babylonian and Phenician; and that the word *Mna*, which forms the central point of the scale, is of Chaldæan origin. On this I have already touched in a former chapter, while relating the history of Pheidôn of Argos, by whom what is called the Æginæan scale was first promulgated.

In tracing therefore the effect upon the Greek mind, of early intercourse with the various Asiatic nations, we find that as the Greeks made up their musical scale (so important an element of their early mental culture) in part by borrowing from Lydians and Phrygians—so also their monetary and

The gnomon—and the division of the day.

duced into the Greek alphabet, and the erroneous statements of the Grammatici as to what letters were original, and what were subsequently added.

Kruse also in his 'Hellas' (vol. i. p. 13, and in the first Beylage, annexed to that volume) presents an instructive comparison of the Greek, Latin, and Phenician alphabets.

The Greek authors, as might be expected, were generally much more fond of referring the origin of letters to native heroes or gods, such as Palamêdês, Promêtheus, Musæus, Orpheus, Linus, &c., than to the Phenicians. The oldest known statement (that of Stêsi-

chorus, Schol. ap. Bekker. Anecd. ii. p. 736) ascribes them to Palamêdês.

Both Franz and Kruse contend strenuously for the existence and habit of writing among the Greeks in times long anterior to Homer; in which I dissent from them.

¹ See O. Müller, *Die Etrusker* (iv. 6), where there is much instruction on the Tuscan alphabet.

² This question is raised and discussed by Justus Olshausen, *Ueber den Ursprung des Alphabetes* (p. 1-10), in the *Kieler Philologische Studien*, 1841.

³ See Boeckh, *Metrologic*, ch. iv. vi.; also the preceding volume of this History.

statistical system, their alphabetical writing, and their duodecimal division of the day measured by the gnomon and the shadow, were all derived from Assyrians and Phenicians. The early industry and commerce of these countries were thus in many ways available to Grecian advance, and would probably have become more so if the great and rapid rise of the more barbarous Persians had not reduced them all to servitude. The Phenicians, though unkind rivals, were at the same time examples and stimulants to Greek maritime aspiration; and the Phenician worship of that goddess whom the Greeks knew under the name of Aphroditê, became communicated to the latter in Cyprus, in Kythêra, in Sicily—perhaps also in Corinth.

The sixth century B. C., though a period of decline for Tyre and Sidon, was a period of growth for Carthage. their African colony Carthage, which appears during this century in considerable traffic with the Tyrrhenian towns on the southern coast of Italy, and as thrusting out the Phôkæan settlers from Alalia in Corsica. The wars of the Carthaginians with the Grecian colonies in Sicily, so far as they are known to us, commence shortly after 500 B. C., and continue at intervals, with fluctuating success, for two centuries and a half.

The foundation of Carthage by the Tyrians is placed at different dates, the lowest of which however is 819 B.C.: *Æra of Carthage.* other authorities place it in 878 B.C., and we have no means of deciding between them. I have already remarked that it is by no means the oldest of the Tyrian colonies. But though Utica and Gadês were more ancient than Carthage,¹ the latter so greatly outstripped

¹ Utica is said to have been founded 287 years earlier than Carthage; the Author, who states this, professing to draw his information from Phenician histories (Aristot. *Mirab. Auscult.* c. 134). Velleius Paterculus states Gadês to be older than Utica, and places the foundation of Carthage B.C. 819 (i. 2, 6). He seems to follow in the main the same authority as the composer of the Aristotelic compilation above-cited. Other statements place the foundation of Carthage in 878

B.C. (Heeren. *Ideen über den Verkehr*, &c., part ii, b. i. p. 29). Apian states the date of the foundation as fifty years before the Trojan war (*De Reb. Punic.* c. 1); Philistus as twenty-one years before the same event (*Philist. Fragm.* 50, ed. Göller); Timæus, as thirty-eight years earlier than the first Olympiad (*Timæi Fragm.* 21, ed. Didot); Justin, seventy-two years earlier than the foundation of Rome (xviii. 6).

The citation which Josephus

them in wealth and power, as to acquire a sort of federal pre-eminence over all the Phenician colonies on the coast of Africa. In those later times when the dominion of the Carthaginians had reached its maximum, it comprised the towns of Utica, Hippo, Adrumêtum, and Leptis,—all original Phenician foundations, and enjoying probably even as dependents of Carthage, a certain qualified autonomy—besides a great number of smaller towns planted by themselves, and inhabited by a mixed population called Liby-Phenicians. Three hundred such towns—a dependent territory covering half the space between the Lesser and the Greater Syrtis, and in many parts remarkably fertile—a city said to contain 700,000 inhabitants, active, wealthy, and seemingly homogeneous—and foreign dependencies in Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic isles, and Spain,—all this aggregate of power, under one political management, was sufficient to render the contest of Carthage even with Rome for some time doubtful.

But by what steps the Carthaginians raised themselves to such a pitch of greatness we have no information. We are even left to guess how much of it had already been acquired in the sixth century B.C. As in the case of so many other cities, we have a foundation legend decorating the moment of birth, and then nothing farther. The Tyrian princess Dido or Elisa, daughter of Belus, sister of Pygmalion king of Tyre, and wife of the wealthy Sichæus priest of Hêraklês in that city—is said to have been left a widow in consequence of the murder of Sichæus by Pygmalion, who seized the treasures belonging to his victim. But Dido found means to disappoint him of his booty, possessed herself of the gold which had tempted Pygmalion, and secretly emigrated, carrying with her the sacred insignia of Hêraklês. A considerable body of Tyrians followed her. She settled at Carthage on a small hilly peninsula joined by a narrow tongue of land to the continent, purchasing from the natives as much land as could be surrounded by an ox's hide, which she caused

gives from Menander's work, extracted from Tyrian ἀντιγνησι, placed the foundation of Carthage 143 years after the building of the temple of Jerusalem (Joseph. cont.

Apion. i. c. 17, 18). Apion said that Carthage was founded in the first year of Olympiad 7 (B.C. 745) (Joseph. c. Apion. ii. 2).

to be cut into the thinnest strip, and thus made it sufficient for the site of her first citadel, Byrsa, which afterwards grew up into the great city of Carthage. As soon as her new settlement had acquired footing, she was solicited in marriage by several princes of the native tribes, especially by the Gætulian Jarbas, who threatened war if he were refused. Thus pressed by the clamours of her own people, who desired to come into alliance with the natives, yet irrevocably determined to maintain exclusive fidelity to her first husband, she escaped the conflict by putting an end to her life. She pretended to acquiesce in the proposition of a second marriage, requiring only delay sufficient to offer an expiatory sacrifice to the manes of Sichæus. A vast funeral pile was erected, and many victims slain upon it, in the midst of which Dido pierced her own bosom with a sword and perished in the flames. Such is the legend to which Virgil has given a new colour by interweaving the adventures of Æneas, and thus connecting the foundation legends of Carthage and Rome, careless of his deviation from the received mythical chronology. Dido was worshipped as a goddess at Carthage until the destruction of the city:¹ and it has been imagined with some probability that she is identical with Astartê, the divine patroness under whose auspices the colony was originally established, as Gadês and Tarsus were founded under those of Hêraklês—the tale of the funeral pile and self-burning appearing in the religious ceremonies of other Cilician and Syrian towns.² Phenician religion and worship was diffused along with the Phenician colonies throughout the larger portion of the Mediterranean.

The Phôkæans of Ionia, who amidst their adventurous voyages westward established the colony of Massalia (as early as 600 B. C.), were only enabled to accomplish this by a naval victory over the Carthaginians—the earliest

¹ "Quamdiu Carthago invicta fuit, pro Deâ culta est." (Justin. xviii. 6; Virgil, *Æneid*, i. 340–370.) We trace this legend about Dido up to Timæus (Timæi Frag. 23, ed. Didot): Philistus seems to have followed a different story—he said that Carthage had been founded by Azor and Karchêdôn (Philist. Fr. 50). Appian notices both stories

(De Reb. Pun. 1): that of Dido was current both among the Romans and Carthaginians: of Zôrus (or Ezôrus) and Karchêdôn, the second is evidently of Greek coinage, the first seems genuine Phenician: see Josephus cont. Apion i. c. 18–21.

² See Movers, *Die Phönizier*, pp. 609–616.

example of Greek and Carthaginian collision which has been preserved to us. The Carthaginians were jealous of commercial rivalry, and their traffic with the Tuscans and Latins in Italy, as well as their lucrative mine-working in Spain, dates from a period when Greek commerce in those regions was hardly known. In Greek authors the denomination Phenicians is often used to designate the Carthaginians as well as the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon, so that we cannot always distinguish which of the two is meant. But it is remarkable that the distant establishment of Gadês, and the numerous settlements planted for commercial purposes along the western coast of Africa and without the Strait of Gibraltar, are expressly ascribed to the Tyrians.¹ Many of the other Phenician establishments on the southern coast of Spain seem to have owed their origin to Carthage rather than to Tyre. But the relations between the two, so far as we know them, were constantly amicable, and Carthage even at the period of her highest glory sent Theôri with a tribute of religious recognition to the Tyrian Hêraklês: the visit of these envoys coincided with the siege of the town by Alexander the Great. On that critical occasion, the wives and children of the Tyrians were sent to find shelter at Carthage. Two centuries before, when the Persian empire was in its age of growth and expansion, the Tyrians had refused to aid Kambysês with their fleet in its plans for conquering Carthage, and thus probably preserved their colony from subjugation.²

First
known col-
lision of
Greeks and
Carthagi-
nians—
Massalia.

Amicable
relations
between
Tyre and
Carthage.

¹ Strabo, xvii. p. 826.

² Herodot. iii. 19.

CHAPTER XXII.

WESTERN COLONIES OF GREECE—IN EPIRUS, ITALY, SICILY, AND GAUL.

THE stream of Grecian colonisation to the westward, as far as we can be said to know it authentically, with names and dates, begins from the 11th Olympiad. But it

is reasonable to believe that there were other attempts earlier than this, though we must content ourselves with recognising them as generally probable. There were doubtless detached bands of volunteer emigrants or marauders

who, fixing themselves in some situation favourable to commerce or piracy, either became mingled with the native tribes, or grew up by successive reinforcements into an acknowledged town. Not being able to boast of any filiation from the Prytaneium of a known Grecian city, these adventurers were often disposed to fasten upon the inexhaustible legend of the Trojan war, and ascribe their origin to one of the victorious heroes in the host of Agamemnon, alike distinguished for their valour and for their ubiquitous dispersion after the siege. Of such alleged settlements by fugitive Grecian or Trojan heroes, there were a great number, on various points throughout the shores of the Mediterranean; and the same honourable origin was claimed even by many non-Hellenic towns.

In the eighth century B.C., when this westerly stream of Grecian colonisation begins to assume an authentic shape (735 B.C.), the population of Sicily (as far as our scanty information permits us to determine it) consisted of

two races completely distinct from each other—Sikels and Sikans—besides the Elymi (a mixed race apparently distinct from both, occupying Eryx and Egesta near the westernmost corner of the island) and the Phenician colonies and coast establishments formed for purposes of trade. According to the belief both of Thucydides and Philistus, these Sikans, though they gave themselves out

as indigenous, were yet of Iberian origin¹ and immigrants of earlier date than the Sikels—by whom they had been invaded and restricted to the smaller western half of the island. The Sikels were said to have crossed over originally from the south-western corner of the Calabrian peninsula, where a portion of the nation still dwelt in the time of Thucydides. The territory known to Greek writers of the fifth century B.C. by the names of *Ænotria* on the coast of the Mediterranean, and *Italia* on *Ænotria*—that of the Gulfs of Tarentum and Squillace, *Italia*.—included all that lies south of a line drawn across the breadth of the country, from the Gulf of Poseidônia (Pæstum) and the river Silarus on the Mediterranean Sea, to the north-west corner of the Gulf of Tarentum. It was bounded northwards by the Iapygians and Messapians, who occupied the Salentine peninsula and the country immediately adjoining to Tarentum, and by the Peuketians on the Ionic Gulf. According to the logographers Pherekydês and Hellanikus,² *Ænotrus* and *Peuketius* were sons of *Lykaôn*, grandsons of *Pelagus*, and emigrants in very early times from *Arcadia* to this territory. An important statement in *Stephanus Byzantinus*³ acquaints us that the serf-population, whom the great Hellenic cities in this portion of Italy employed in the cultivation of their lands, were called *Pelasgi*, seemingly even in the his- *Pelasgi in* torical times. It is upon this name probably *Italy*. that the mythical genealogy of *Pherekydês* is constructed. This *Ænotrian* or *Pelagian* race were the population whom the Greek colonists found there on their arrival. They were known apparently under other names, such as the Sikels (mentioned even in the *Odyssey*, though their exact locality in that poem cannot be ascertained), the *Italians* or *Italia*, properly so called—the *Morgêtes*—and the *Chaones*—all of them names of tribes either cognate or subdivisional.⁴ The

¹ Thucyd. vi. 2; Philistus, *Fragm.* 3, ed. Göller, ap. Diodor. v. 6. Timæus adopted the opposite opinion (Diodor. l. c.), also Ephorus, if we may judge by an indistinct passage of Strabo. (vi. p. 270). Dionysius of Halikarnassus follows Thucydides (A. R. i. 22).

The opinion of Philistus is of much value on this point, since he

was, or might have been, personally cognizant of Iberian mercenaries in the service of the elder Dionysius.

² Pherekyd. *Fragm.* 85, ed. Didot; Hellanik. *Fr.* 53, ed. Didot; Dionys. Halik. A. R. i. 11, 13, 22; Skymnus Chius, v. 362; Pausan. viii. 3, 5.

³ Stephan. Byz. v. *Xīta*.

⁴ Aristot. *Polit.* vii. 9, 3. *Ἰταλῶν*

Chaones or Chaonians are also found not only in Italy, but in Epirus, as one of the most considerable of the Epirotic tribes; while Pandosia, the ancient residence of the Æno-trian kings in the southern corner of Italy,¹ was also the name of a township or locality in Epirus, with a neighbouring river Acheron in both. From hence, and from some other similarities of name, it has been imagined that Epirots, Æno-trians, Sikels, &c. were all names of cognate people, and all entitled to be comprehended under the generic appellation of Pelasgi. That they belonged to the same ethnical kindred, there seems fair reason to presume; and also that in point of language, manners, and character, they were not very widely separated from the ruder branches of the Hellenic race.

It would appear too (as far as any judgement can be formed on a point essentially obscure) that the Æno-trians were ethnically akin to the primitive population of Rome and Latium on one side,² as they were to the Epirots on the other; and that tribes of this race, comprising Sikels, and Itali properly so called, as sections, had at one time occupied most of the territory from the left bank of the river Tiber southward between the Apennines and the Mediterranean.

ὅς τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἰαπωνίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον Χῶνες (or Χάονες) τὴν καλουμένην Σίρην ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Χῶνες Οὐωτοροὶ τὸ γένος.

Antiochus Fr. 3, 4, 6, 7, ed. Didot; Strabo. vi. p. 254; Hesych. v. Χῶνην; Dionys. Hal. A. R. i. 12.

¹ Livy, viii. 24.

² For the early habitation of Sikels or Siculi in Latium and Campania, see Dionys. Hal. A. R. i. 1—21: it is curious that Siculi and Sicani, whether the same or different, the primitive ante-Hellenic population of Sicily, are also numbered as the ante-Roman population of Rome: see Virgil, Æneid, viii. 328, and Servius ad Æneid. xi. 317.

The alleged ancient emigration of Evander from Arcadia to Latium forms a parallel to the emi-

gration of Æno-trus from Arcadia to Southern Italy as recounted by Pherekydēs: it seems to have been mentioned even as early as in one of the Hesiodic poems (Servius ad Virg. Æn. viii. 138): compare Steph. Byz. v. Παλλάντιον. The earliest Latin authors appear all to have recognised Evander and his Arcadian emigrants: see Dionys. Hal. i. 31, 32. ii. 9, with his references to Fabius Pictor and Ælius Tubero, i. 79, 80; also Cato ap. Solinum, c. 2. If the old reading Ἀρχάδων, in Thucyd. vi. 2 (which Bekker has now altered into Σικελῶν), be retained, Thucydides would also stand as witness for a migration from Arcadia into Italy. A third emigration of Pelasgi, from Peloponnesus to the river Sarnus in Southern Italy (near Pompeii),

Both Herodotus, and his junior contemporary the Syracusan Antiochus, extend Ænotria as far northward as the river Silarus,¹ and Sophoklēs includes the whole coast of the Mediterranean, from the Strait of Messina to the Gulf of Genoa, under the three successive names of Ænotria, the Tyrrhenian Gulf, and Liguria.² Before or during the fifth century B.C., however, a different population, called Opicians, Oscans, or Ausonians, had descended from their original seats on or north of the Apennines,³ and had conquered the territory between Latium and the Silarus, expelling or subjugating the Ænotrian inhabitants, and planting outlying settlements even down to the Strait of

was mentioned by Conon (ap. Servium ad. Virg. *Æn.* vii. 730).

¹ Herodotus (i. 24—167) includes Elea (or Velia) in Ænotria—and Tarentum in Italia; while Antiochus considers Tarentum as in Iapygia, and the southern boundary of the Tarentine territory as the northern boundary of Italia: Dionysius of Halikarnassus (A. R. ii. 1) seems to copy from Antiochus when he extends the Ænotrians along the whole south-western corner of Italy, within the line drawn from Tarentum to Poseidonia or Paestum. Hence the appellation Οἰωτριῶτες νῆστοι to the two islands opposite Elea (Strabo, vi. p. 253). Skymnus Chius (v. 247) recognises the same boundaries.

Twelve Ænotrian cities are cited by name (in Stephanus Byzantinus) from the Εἰρώπη of Hekateus (Fragm. 30—39, ed. Didot): Skylax in his Periplus does not name Ænotrians; he enumerates Campanians, Samnites, and Lucanians (cap. 9-13). The intimate connexion between Milētus and Sybaris would enable Hekateus to inform himself about the interior Ænotrian country.

Ænotria and Italia together (as conceived by Antiochus and Herodotus) comprised what was known a century afterwards as Lucania

and Bruttium: see Mannert, *Geographie der Griech. und Römer*, part ix. b. 9. ch. i. p. 86. Livy, speaking with reference to 317 B.C., when the Lucanian nation as well as the Bruttians were in full vigour, describes only the sea-coast of the lower sea as Grecian—"cum omni ora Græcorum inferimaræ a Thuriis Neapolim et Cumas" (ix. 19). Verrius Flaccus considered the Sikkels as *Græci* (Festus, v. Major Græcia, with Müller's note).

² Sophoklēs, Triptolem. Fr. 527. ed. Dindorf. He places the lake Avernus, which was close to the Campanian Cumæ, in Tyrrhenia: see *Lexicon Sophocleum*, ad calc. ed. Brunck, v. Ἀοργος. Euripidēs (Medea, 1310—1326) seems to extend Tyrrhenia to the Strait of Messina.

³ Aristot. Polit. vii. 9, 3. ὅχουν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν Ὀπικοί, καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι τὴν ἐπικλήσιν Αὔσονες. Festus: "*Ausoniā* appellavit Auson, Ulysses et Calypsus filius, eam primam partem Italiæ in quā sunt urbes Beneventum et Cales: deinde paulatim tota quoque Italia quæ Apennino finitur, dicta est Ausonia," &c. The original Ausonia would thus coincide nearly with the territory called Samnium, after the Sabine emigrants had conquered it: see Livy, viii. 16; Strabo, v. p.

Messina and the Liparæan isles. Hence the more precise Thucydidês designates the Campanian territory, in which Cumæ stood, as the country of the Opici; a denomination which Aristotle extends to the river Tiber, so as to comprehend within it Rome and Latium.¹ Not merely Campania, but in earlier times even Latium, originally occupied by a Sikel or Ænotrian population, appears to have been partially overrun and subdued by fiercer tribes from the Apennines, and had thus received a certain intermixture of Oscan race. But in the regions south of Latium, these Oscan conquests were still more overwhelming; and to this cause (in the belief of inquiring Greeks of the fifth century B.C.)² were owing the first migrations of the Ænotrian race out of Southern Italy, which wrested the larger portion of Sicily from the pre-existing Sikanians.

This imperfect account, representing the ideas of

250; Virg. *Æn.* vii. 727, with Servius. Skymnus Chius (v. 227) has copied from the same source as Festus. For the extension of Ausonians along various parts of the more southern coast of Italy, even to Rhegium as well as to the Liparæan isles, see Diodor. v. 7, 8; Cato, *Orig.* Fr. lib. iii. ap. Probum ad Virg. *Bucol.* v. 2. The Pythian priestess, in directing the Chalkidic emigrants to Rhegium, says to them—'Ενθα πόλιν οἴκεις, διδοῖ δέ σοι Αὔσονα χώραν (Diodor. *Fragm.* xiii. p. 11, ap. Scriptt. Vatic. ed. Maii). Temesa is Ausonian in Strabo, vi. p. 255.

¹ Thucyd. vi. 3; Aristot. ap. Dionys. Hal. A. R. i. 72. Ἀχαιῶν τινὰς τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίης ἀναχομιζομένων—ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῆς Ὀπικῆς, ὅς καλεῖται Λάτιον.

Even in the time of Cato the elder, the Greeks comprehended the Romans under the general, designation of Opici (Cato ap. Plin. H. N. xxii. 1: see Antiochus ap. Strab. v. p. 242).

² Thucyd. vi. 2. Σικελοὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἰταλίας φερόγοντες Ὀπικὸς διέβησαν

ἐς Σικελίαν (see a Fragment of the geographer Menippus of Pergamus, in Hudson's *Geogr. Minor.* i. p. 76). Antiochus stated that the Sikels were driven out of Italy into Sicily by the Opicians and Ænotrians; but the Sikels themselves, according to him, were also Ænotrians (Dionys. H. i. 12-22). It is remarkable that Antiochus (who wrote at a time when the name of Rome had not begun to exercise that fascination over men's minds which the Roman power afterwards occasioned), in setting forth the mythical antiquity of the Sikels and Ænotrians, represents the eponymous Sikelus as an exile from Rome, who came into the south of Italy to the king Morgês, successor of Italus—'Επεὶ δὲ Ἰταλὸς κατεγίγρα, Μόργης ἐβασιλευσεν. Ἐπὶ τοῦτου δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀφ' Ἰκετο ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγάς, Σικελὸς ὄνομα αὐτῷ (Antiochus ap. Dionys. H. i. 73: compare c. 12).

Philistus considered Sikelus to be a son of Italus: both he and Hellanikus believed in early migrations from Italy into Sicily, but described the emigrants differently (Philistus, *Fragm.* 2, ed. Didot).

Greeks of the fifth century B.C. as to the early population of Southern Italy, is borne out by the fullest comparison which can be made between the Greek, Latin, and Oscan language—the first two certainly, and the third probably, sisters of the same Indo-European family of languages. While the analogy, structural and radical, between Greek and Latin, establishes completely such community of family—and while comparative philology proves that on many points the Latin departs less from the supposed common type and mother-language than the Greek—there exists also in the former a non-Grecian element, and non-Grecian classes of words, which appear to imply a confluence of two or more different people with distinct tongues. The same non-Grecian element, thus traceable in the Latin, seems to present itself still more largely developed in the scanty remains of the Oscan.¹

Analogy of
languages
—Greek,
Latin, and
Oscan.

¹ See the learned observations upon the early languages of Italy and Sicily, which Müller has prefixed to his work on the Etruscans (Einleitung, i. 12). I transcribe the following summary of his views respecting the early Italian dialects and races:—"The notions which we thus obtain respecting the early languages of Italy are as follows: the *Sikel*, a sister language nearly allied to the Greek or Pelasgic; the *Latin*, compounded from the *Sikel* and from the rougher dialect of the men called *Aborigines*; the *Oscan*, akin to the Latin in both its two elements; the language spoken by the Sabine emigrants in their various conquered territories, *Oscan*; the *Sabine proper*, a distinct and peculiar language, yet nearly connected with the non-Grecian element in Latin and Oscan, as well as with the language of the oldest Ausonians and Aborigines."

[N.B. This last statement respecting the original Sabine language, is very imperfectly made out: it seems equally probable that the Sabellians may have differed from the Oscans no more than the

Dorians from the Ionians: see Niebuhr, Röm. Gesch. tom. i. p. 69.]

"Such a comparison of languages presents to us a certain view, which I shall here briefly unfold, of the earliest history of the Italian races. At a period anterior to all records, a single people, akin to the Greeks, dwelling extended from the south of Tuscany down to the Straits of Messina, occupies in the upper part of its territory only the valley of the Tiber—lower down, occupies the mountainous districts also, and in the south, stretches across from sea to sea—called *Sikels*, *Enotrians*, or *Peucetians*. Other mountain tribes, powerful though not widely extended, live in the northern Abruzzo and its neighbourhood: in the east the *Sabines*, southward from them the cognate *Marsi*, more to the west the *Aborigines*, and among them probably the old *Ausonians* or *Oscans*. About 1000 years prior to the Christian era, there arises among these tribes (from whom almost all the popular migrations in ancient Italy have

Moreover the Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily caught several peculiar words from their association with the Sikels, which words approach in most cases very nearly to the Latin—so that a resemblance thus appears between the language of Latium on the one side, and that of Ænотrians and Sikels (in Southern Italy and Sicily) on the other, prior to the establishments of the Greeks. These are the two extremities of the Sikel population; between them appear in the intermediate country the Oscan or Ausonian tribes and language; and these latter seem to have been in a great measure conquerors and intruders from the central mountains. Such analogies of language countenance the supposition of Thucydides and Antiochus, that these Sikels had once been spread over a still larger portion of Southern Italy, and had migrated from thence into Sicily in consequence of Oscan invasions. The element of affinity existing between Latins, Ænотrians and Sikels—to a certain degree also between all of them together and the Greeks, but not extending to the Opicians or Oscans, or to the Iapygians—may be called Pelasgic for want of a better name. But by whatever name it be called, the recognition of its existence connects and explains many isolated circumstances in the early history of Rome as well as in that of the Italian and Sicilian Greeks.

The earliest Grecian colony in Italy or Sicily, of which we know the precise date, is placed about 735 B.C., eighteen years subsequent to the Varonian æra of Rome; so that the causes, tending to subject and hellenise the Sikel population in the southern region, begin their operation nearly at the same time as those which tended gradually to exalt and aggrandise the modified variety of it which

proceeded) a movement whereby the Aborigines more northward, the Sikels more southward, are precipitated upon the Sikels of the plains beneath. Many thousands of the great Sikel nation withdraw to their brethren the Ænотrians, and by degrees still farther across the Strait to the Island of Sicily. Others of them remain stationary in their residences, and form, in conjunction with the Aborigines, the Latin nation—in conjunction

with the Ausonians, the Oscan nation; the latter extends itself over what was afterwards called Samnium and Campania. Still the population and power of these mountain tribes, especially that of the Sabines, goes on perpetually on the increase: as they pressed onward towards the Tiber, at the period when Rome was only a single town, so they also advanced southwards, and conquered first, the mountainous Opica; next,

existed in Latium. At that time, according to the information given to Thucydidês, the Sikels had been established for three centuries in Sicily. Hellanikus and Philistus—who both recognised a similar migration into that island out of Italy, though they give different names both to the emigrants and to those who expelled them—assign to the migration a date three generations before the Trojan war.¹ Earlier than 735 B.C., however, though we do not know the precise æra of its commencement, there existed one solitary Grecian establishment in the Tyrrhenian Sea—the Campanian Cumæ near Cape Misenum; which the more common opinion of chronologists supposed to have been founded in 1050 B.C., and which has even been carried back by some authors to 1139 B.C.² Without reposing any faith in this early chronology, we may at least feel certain that it is the most ancient Grecian establishment in any part of Italy, and that a considerable time elapsed before any other Greek colonists were bold enough to cut themselves off from the Hellenic world by occupying seats on the other side of the Strait of Messina,³ with all the hazards of Tyrrhenian piracy as well as of Scylla and Charybdis. The Campanian Cumæ (known almost entirely by this its Latin designation) received its name and a portion of its inhabitants from the Æolic Kymê in Asia Minor. A joint band of settlers, partly from this latter town, partly from Chalkis in Eubœa—the former under the Kymæan Hippoklês, the latter under the Chalkidian Megasthenês—having combined to form the new town, it was settled by agreement that Kymê should bestow the name, and that

Cumæ in
Campania—
earlier—
date un-
known.

some centuries later, the Opician plain, Campania; lastly, the ancient country of the Enotrians, afterwards denominated Lucania.”

Compare Niebuhr, *Römisch. Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 80, 2nd edit., and the first chapter of Mr. Donaldson's *Varronianus*.

¹ Thucyd. vi. 2; Philistus, *Frag.* 2, ed. Didot.

² Strabo, v. p. 243; *Velleius Patercul.* i. 5; Eusebius, p. 121. M. Raoul Rochette, assuming a different computation of the date of the Trojan war, pushes the date

of Cumæ still farther back to 1139 B. C. (*Histoire des Colonies Grecques*, book iv. c. 12. p. 100).

The mythes of Cumæ extended to a period preceding the Chalkidic settlement. See the stories of Aristæus and Dædalus ap. Sallust. *Fragment*. Incert. p. 204, ed. Delphin.; and Servius ad Virgil. *Æneid.* vi. 17. The fabulous Thespiadæ, or primitive Greek settlers in Sardinia, were supposed in early ages to have left that island and retired to Cumæ (Diodor. v. 15).

³ Ephorus, *Frag.* 52, ed. Didot.

Chalkis should enjoy the title and honours of the mother-city.¹

Cumæ, situated on the neck of the peninsula, which terminates in Cape Misenum, occupied a lofty and rocky hill overhanging the sea,² and difficult of access on the land side. The unexampled fertility of the Phlegræan plains in the immediate vicinity of the city, the copious supply of fish in the Lucrine lake,³ and the goldmines in the neighbouring island of Pithekusæ—both subsisted and enriched the colonists. Being joined by fresh settlers from Chalkis, from Eretria, and even from Samos, they became numerous enough to form distinct towns at Dikæarchia and Neapolis, thus spreading over a large portion of the Bay of Naples. In the hollow rock under the very walls of the town was situated the cavern of the prophetic Sibyl—a parallel and reproduction of the Gergithian Sibyl near Kymê in Æolis. In the immediate neighbourhood, too, stood the wild woods and dark lake of Avernus, consecrated to the subterranean gods and offering an establishment of priests, with ceremonies evoking the dead for purposes of prophecy or for solving doubts and mysteries. It was here that Grecian imagination localised the Cimmerians and the fable of Odysseus; and the Cumæans derived gains from the numerous visitors to this holy spot,⁴ perhaps hardly less than those of the inhabitants of Krissa from the vicinity of Delphi. Of the relations of these Cumæans with the Hellenic world generally, we unfortunately know nothing. But they seem to have been in intimate connexion with Rome during the time of the Kings, and especially during that of the last king Tarquin;⁵ forming the intermediate link between the Greek and Latin world, whereby the feelings of the Teukrians and Ger-

¹ Strabo, v. p. 243; Velleius Paterculus, i. 5.

² See the site of Cumæ as described by Agathias (on occasion of the siege of the place by Narses, in 552 A. D.), *Histor.* i. 8-10; also by Strabo, v. p. 244.

³ Diodor. iv. 21. v. 71; Polyb. iii. 91; Pliny, II. N. iii. 5; Livy, viii. 22. "In Baiano sinu Campaniæ contra Puteolanam civitatem lacus sunt duo, Avernus et Lucri-

nus: qui olim propter piscium copiam vectigalia magna præstabant." (Servius ad Virg. *Georgic.* ii. 161).

⁴ Strabo, v. p. 243. Καὶ εἰσεπλεόν γε οἱ προθυσόμενοι καὶ ἱλασόμενοι τοῖς καταχθονίοις δαίμονας, ὄντων τῶν ὑψηγομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα ἱερέων, ἡργολαβηκότων τὸν τόπον.

⁵ Dionys. H. iv. 61, 62; vi. 21. Livy, ii. 34.

githians near the Æolic Kymê, and the legendary stories of Trojan as well as Grecian heroes—Æneas and Odysseus—passed into the antiquarian imagination of Rome and Latium.¹ The writers of the Augustan age knew Cumæ only in its decline, and wondered at the vast extent of its ancient walls, yet remaining in their time. But during the two centuries prior to 500 B.C., these walls enclosed a full and thriving population, in the plenitude of prosperity,—with a surrounding territory extensive as well as fertile,² resorted to by purchasers of corn from Rome in years of scarcity, and unassailed as yet by formidable neighbours—and with a coast and harbours well-suited to maritime commerce. At that period the town of Capua (if indeed it existed at all) was of very inferior importance. The chief part of the rich plain around it was included in the possessions of Cumæ:³ not unworthy probably, in the sixth century B.C., to be numbered with Sybaris and Krotôn.

Prosperity
of Cumæ
between
700-500 B.C.

The decline of Cumæ begins in the first half of the fifth century B.C. (500—450 B.C.), first from the growth of hostile powers in the interior—the Tuscans and Samnites—next from violent intestine dissensions and a destructive despotism. The town was assailed by a formidable host of invaders from the interior, Tuscans reinforced by Umbrian and Daunian allies; which Dionysius refers to the 64th Olympiad (524—520 B.C.), though upon what chronological authority we do not know, and though this same time is marked by Eusebius as the date of the foundation of Dikæarchia from Cumæ. The invaders, in spite of great disparity of number, were bravely

Decline of
Cumæ from
500 B.C.

¹ See, respecting the transmission of ideas and fables from the Æolic Kymê to Cumæ in Campania, the first volume of this History, chap. xv.

The father of Hesiod was a native of the Æolic Kymê: we find in the Hesiodic Theogony (*ad fin.*) mention of Latinus as the son of Odysseus and Circê: Servius cites the same from the Ἀσπιδοποιεῖς of Hesiod (Servius ad Virg. Æn. xii. 162; compare Cato, Fragment. p. 33, ed. Lion). The great family of the Mamiliî at Tusculum also

derived their origin from Odysseus and Circê (Livy, i. 49).

The tomb of Elpênôr, the lost companion of Odysseus, was shown at Circeii in the days of Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. v. 8, 3) and Skyllax (c. 10).

Hesiod notices the promontory of Pelôrus, the Strait of Messina, and the islet of Ortygia at Syracuse (Diodor. iv. 85; Strabo, i. p. 23).

² Livy, ii. 9.

³ Niebuhr, Römisch. Geschichte. vol. i. p. 76. 2nd edit.

repelled by the Cumæans, chiefly through the heroic example of the citizen then first known and distinguished—Aristodêmus Malakus. The government of the city was oligarchical, and the oligarchy from that day became jealous of Aristodêmus; who, on his part, acquired extraordinary popularity and influence among the people. Twenty years afterwards, the Latin city of Aricia, an ancient ally of Cumæ, being attacked by a Tuscan host, entreated succour from the Cumæans. The oligarchy of the latter thought this a good opportunity to rid themselves of Aristodêmus, whom they despatched by sea to Aricia, with rotten vessels and an insufficient body of troops. But their stratagem failed and proved their ruin; for the skill and intrepidity of Aristodêmus sufficed for the rescue of Aricia. He brought back his troops victorious and devoted to himself personally. He then, partly by force, partly by stratagem, subverted the oligarchy, put to death the principal rulers, and constituted himself despot. By a jealous energy, by disarming the people, and by a body of mercenaries, he maintained himself in this authority for twenty years, running his career of lust and iniquity until old age. At length a conspiracy of the oppressed population proved successful against him; he was slain with all his family, and many of his chief partisans, and the former government was restored.¹

Invasion of
Cumæ by
Tuscans
and
Samnites
from the
interior.

The despotism of Aristodêmus falls during the exile of the expelled Tarquin² (to whom he gave shelter) from Rome, and during the government of Gêlon at Syracuse. Such a calamitous period of dissension and misrule was one of the great causes of the decline of Cumæ. Nearly at the same time, the Tuscan power, both by land and sea, appears at its maximum; while the Tuscan establishment at Capua also begins, if we adopt the æra of the town as given by Cato.³ There was thus created at the expense of Cumæ a powerful city, which was still farther aggrandised afterwards when conquered and occupied by the Samnites; whose invading tribes, under their own name

¹ The history of Aristodêmus (viii. 3-10).

Malakus is given at some length by Dionysius of Halikarnassus

² Livy, ii. 21.

³ Velleius Patercul. i. 5.

or that of Lucanians, extended themselves during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. even to the shores of the Gulf of Tarentum.¹ Cumæ was also exposed to formidable dangers from the sea-side: a fleet either of Tuscans alone, or of Tuscans and Carthaginians united, assailed it in 474 B.C., when it was only rescued by the active interposition of Hiero despot of Syracuse; by whose naval force the invaders were repelled with slaughter.² These incidents go partly to indicate, partly to explain, the decline of the most ancient Hellenic settlement in Italy—a decline from which it never recovered.

After briefly sketching the history of Cumæ, we pass naturally to that series of powerful colonies which were established in Sicily and Italy beginning with 735 B.C.—enterprises in which Chalkis, Corinth, Megara, Sparta, the Achæans in Peloponnesus and the Lokrians out of Peloponnesus, were all concerned. Chalkis, the metropolis of Cumæ, became also the metropolis of Naxos, the most ancient Grecian colony in Sicily, on the eastern coast of the island, between the Strait of Messina and Mount Ætna.

The great number of Grecian settlements, from different colonising towns, which appear to have taken effect within a few years upon the eastern coast of Italy and Sicily—from the Iapygian Cape to Cape Pachynus—leads us to suppose that the extraordinary capacities of the country for receiving new settlers had become known only suddenly. The colonies follow so close upon each other, that the example of the first cannot have been the single determining motive to those which followed. I shall have occasion to point out, even a century later (on the occasion of the settlement of Kyrênê), the narrow range of Grecian navigation; so that the previous supposed ignorance would not be at all incredible, were it not for the fact of the pre-existing colony of Cumæ. According to the practice universal with Grecian ships—which rarely permitted themselves to lose sight of the coast except in cases of absolute necessity—every man, who navigated from Greece to Italy or Sicily, first coasted along the shores of

Rapid multiplication of Grecian colonies in Sicily and Italy, beginning with 735 B.C.

¹ Compare Strabo, v. p. 250; vi. p. 264. "Cumanos Osca mutavit i. 71. vicinia," says Velleius, l. c. ² Diodor. xi. 51; Pindar. Pyth.

Akarnania and Epirus until he reached the latitude of Korkyra; he then struck across first to that island, next to the Iapygian promontory, from whence he proceeded along the eastern coast of Italy (the Gulfs of Tarentum and Squillace) to the southern promontory of Calabria and the Sicilian Strait; he would then sail, still coastwise, either to Syracuse or to Cumæ, according to his destination. So different are nautical habits now, that this fact requires special notice. We must recollect moreover, that in 735 B.C., there were yet no Grecian settlements either in Epirus or in Korkyra: outside of the Gulf of Corinth, the world was non-Hellenic, with the single exception of the remote Cumæ. A little before the last-mentioned period, Theoklès

Foundation
of Naxos
in Sicily by
Theoklès.

(an Athenian or a Chalkidian—probably the latter), being cast by storms on the coast of Sicily, became acquainted with the tempting character of the soil, as well as with the dispersed

and half-organised condition of the petty Sikel communities who occupied it.¹ The oligarchy of Chalkis, acting upon the information which he brought back, sent out under his guidance settlers,² Chalkidian and Naxian, who founded the Sicilian Naxos. Theoklès and his companions on landing first occupied the eminence of Taurus, immediately overhanging the sea (whereon was established four centuries afterwards the town of Tauromenium, after Naxos had been destroyed by the Syracusan despot Dionysius); for they had to make good their position against the Sikels, who were in occupation of the neighbourhood, and whom it was requisite either to dispossess, or to subjugate.

Spot where
the Greeks
first landed
in Sicily—
memorable
afterwards.

After they had acquired secure possession of the territory, the site of the city was transferred to a convenient spot adjoining; but the hill first occupied remained ever memorable, both to

Greeks and to Sikels. On it was erected the altar of Apollo Archêgetês, the divine patron who (through his oracle at Delphi) had sanctioned and determined Hellenic colonisation in the island. The altar remained per-

¹ Thucyd. vi. 3; Strabo, vi. p. 267.

v. Χαλκίς.

² The admixture of Naxian colonists may be admitted, as well upon the presumption arising from the name, as from the statement of Hellanikus, ap. Stephan. Byz.

Ephorus put together into one the Chalkidian and the Megarian migrations, which Thucydidês represents as distinct (Ephorus ap. Strabo. vi. p. 267).

manently as a sanctuary, common to all the Sicilian Greeks, where the Theôrs or sacred envoys from their various cities, when they visited the Olympic and other festivals of Greece, were always in the habit of offering sacrifice immediately before their departure. To the indigenous Sikels who maintained their autonomy, on the other hand, the hill was an object of lasting but odious recollection, as the spot in which Grecian conquest and intrusion had first begun; so that at the distance of three centuries and a half from the event, we find them still animated by this sentiment in obstructing the foundation of Tauromenium.¹

At the time when Theoklês landed, the Sikels were in possession of the larger half of the island, lying chiefly to the east of the Heræan mountains²—a continuous ridge stretching from north-west to south-east, distinct from that chain of detached mountains, much higher, called the Nebrodes, which run nearly parallel with the northern shore. West of the Heræan hills were situated the Sikans; and west of these latter, Eryx and Egesta, the possessions of the Elymi: along the western portion of the northern coast, also, were placed Motyê, Soloeis, and Panormus (now Palermo), the Phenician or Carthaginian seaports. The formation (or at least the extension) of these three last-mentioned ports, however, was a consequence of the multiplied Grecian colonies; for the Phenicians down to this time had not founded any territorial or permanent establishments, but had contented themselves with occupying in a temporary way various capes or circumjacent islets, for the purpose of trade with the interior. The arrival of formidable Greek settlers, maritime like themselves, induced them to abandon these outlying factories, and to concentrate their strength in the three considerable towns above-named, all near to that corner of the island which approached most closely to Carthage. The east side of Sicily, and most part of the south, were left open to the Greeks, with no other opposition than that of the indigenous Sikels and Sikans, who were gradually expelled from all contact with the sea-shore,

Ante-Hellenic distribution of Sicily.

¹ Thucyd. vi. 3; Diodor. xiv. 50-53.

² Mannert places the boundary of Sikels and Sikans at these mountains: Otto Siefert (*Akragas und sein Gebiet*, Hamburg, 1846,

p. 53) places it at the Gemelli Colles, rather more to the westward—thus contracting the domain of the Sikans: compare Diodor. iv. 82-83.

except on part of the north side of the island—and who were indeed so unpractised at sea as well as destitute of shipping, that in the tale of their old migration out of Italy into Sicily, the Sikels were affirmed to have crossed the narrow strait upon rafts at a moment of favourable wind.¹

In the very next year² to the foundation of Naxos, B.C. 734. Corinth began her part in the colonisation of the island. A body of settlers, under the Ækist Archias, landed in the islet Ortygia, farther southward on the eastern coast, expelled the Sikel occupants, and laid the first stone of the mighty Syracuse. Ortygia, two English miles in circumference, was separated from the main island only by a narrow channel, which was bridged over when the city was occupied and enlarged by Gelôn in the 72nd Olympiad, if not earlier. It formed only a small part, though the most secure and best-fortified part, of the vast space which the city afterwards occupied. But it sufficed alone for the inhabitants during a considerable time, and the present city in its modern decline has again reverted to the same modest limits. Moreover Ortygia offered another advantage of not less value. It lay across the entrance of a spacious harbour, approached by a narrow mouth, and its fountain of Arethusa was memorable in antiquity both for abundance and goodness of water. We should have been glad to learn something respecting the numbers, character, position, nativity, &c. of these primitive emigrants, the founders of a city afterwards comprising a vast walled circuit, which Strabo reckons at 150 stadia, but which the modern observations of Colonel Leake announce as fourteen English miles,³ or about 122 stadia. We are told only that many of them came from the Corinthian village of Tenea, and that one of them sold to a comrade on the voyage his lot of land in prospective, for the price of a honey-cake. The little which we hear about the determining motives⁴ of the colony refers to the personal character of the ækist. Archias son of Euagêtus, one of the governing gens of the Bacchiadæ at Corinth, in

¹ Thucyd. vi. 2.

² Mr. Fynes Clinton discusses the era of Syracuse, *Fasti Hellenici*, ad B.C. 734. and the same work vol. ii. Appendix xi. p. 264.

³ See Colonel Leake, notes on the Topography of Syracuse, p. 41.

⁴ *Athenæ*. iv. 167; Strabo, ix. p. 380.

the violent prosecution of unbridled lust, had caused, though unintentionally, the death of a free youth named Aktæon; whose father Melissus, after having vainly endeavoured to procure redress, slew himself at the Isthmian games, invoking the vengeance of Poseidon against the aggressor.¹ Such were the destructive effects of this paternal curse, that Archias was compelled to expatriate. The Bacchiadæ placed him at the head of the emigrants to Ortygia, in 734 B.C.: at that time, probably, this was a sentence of banishment to which no man of commanding station would submit except under the pressure of necessity.

There yet remained room for new settlements between Naxos and Syracuse; and Theoklês, the œkist of Naxos, found himself in a situation to occupy part of this space only five years after the foundation of Syracuse: perhaps he may have been joined by fresh settlers. He attacked and expelled the Sikels² from the fertile spot called Leontini, seemingly about half-way down on the eastern coast between Mount Ætna and Syracuse: and also from Katana, immediately adjoining to Mount Ætna, which still retains both its name and its importance. Two new Chalkidic colonies were thus founded—Theoklês himself becoming œkist of Leontini, and Euarchus, chosen by the Katanæan settlers themselves, of Katana.

The city of Megara was not behind Corinth and Chalkis in furnishing emigrants to Sicily. Lamis the Megarian, having now arrived with a body of colonists, took possession first of a new spot called Trotilus, but afterwards joined the recent Chalkidian settlement at Leontini. The two bodies of settlers, however, not living in harmony, Lamis, with his companions, was soon expelled: he then occupied Thapsus,³ at a little distance to the northward of Ortygia or Syracuse, and shortly afterwards died. His followers made an alliance with Hyblôn, king of a neighbouring tribe of Sikels, who invited them to settle in his territory. They accepted the proposition, relinquished Thapsus, and founded, in conjunction with

¹ Diodor. Frag. Lit. viii. p. 24; Plutarch. Narrat. Amator. p. 772; Ptolemy. Geog. v. 2, 12.

² Polyænus (v. 5, 1) describes the stratagem of Theoklês on this oc-

casion.

³ Polyænus details a treacherous stratagem whereby this expulsion is said to have been accomplished (v. 5, 2).

Hyblôn, the city called the Hyblæan Megara, between Leontini and Syracuse. This incident is the more worthy of notice, because it is one of the instances which we find of a Grecian colony beginning by amicable fusion with the pre-existing residents: Thucydidês seems to conceive the prince Hyblôn as betraying his people against their wishes to the Greeks.¹

It was thus that, during the space of five years, several distinct bodies of Greek emigrants had rapidly succeeded each other in Sicily. For the next forty years, we do not hear of any fresh arrivals, which is the more easy to understand as there were during that interval several considerable foundations on the coast of Italy, which probably took off the disposable Greek settlers. At length, forty-five years

after the foundation of Syracuse, a fresh body of Gela. settlers arrived; partly from Rhodes under Antiphêmus, partly from Krête under Entimus. They founded the city of Gela on the south-western front of the island, between Cape Pachynus and Lilybæum (B.C. 690)—still on the territory of the Sikels, though extending ultimately to a portion of that of the Sikans.² The name of the city was given from that of the neighbouring river Gela.

One other fresh migration from Greece to Sicily remains to be mentioned, though we cannot assign the exact date of it. The town of Zanklê (now Messina), afterwards on the strait between Italy and Sicily, was at first occupied by certain privateers or pirates (Messina). from Cumæ—the situation being eminently convenient for their operations. But the success of the other Chalkidic settlements imparted to this nest of pirates a more enlarged and honourable character. A body of new settlers joined them from Chalkis and other towns of Eubœa, the land was regularly divided, and two joint œkists were provided to qualify the town as a member of the Hellenic communion—Periêrês from Chalkis, and Kratæmenês from Cumæ. The name Zanklê had been given by the primitive Sikel occupants of the place, meaning in their language *a sickle*; but it was afterwards changed to Messênê by Anaxilas despot of Rhegium, who, when he conquered the

¹ Thucyd. vi. 3. Ἕβλωνος τοῦ βασιλέως προσδόντος τὴν χωρὰν καὶ κατήγγελλεν αὐτοῦ.

² Thucyd. vi. 4; Diodor. Excerpt. Vatican. ed. Maii, Fragm. xiii. p. 13; Pausanias, viii. 46, 2.

town, introduced new inhabitants in a manner hereafter to be noticed.¹

Besides these emigrations direct from Greece, the Hellenic colonies in Sicily became themselves the founders of sub-colonies. Thus the Syracusans, seventy years after their own settlement (B.C. 664), founded Akraë—Kasmenæ, twenty years afterwards (B.C. 644), and Kamarina forty-five years after Kasmenæ (B.C. 599): Daskôn and Menekôlus were the œkists of the latter, which became in process of time an independent and considerable town, while Akraë and Kasmenæ seem to have remained subject to Syracuse. Kamarina was on the southwestern side of the island, forming the boundary of the Syracusan territory towards Gela. Kallipolis was established from Naxos, and Eubœa (a town so called) from Leontini.²

Hitherto the Greeks had colonised altogether on the territory of the Sikels. But the three towns which remain to be mentioned were all founded in that of the Sikans³—Agrigentum or Akragas—Selinûs—and Himera. The two former were both on the south-western coast—Agrigentum bordering upon Gela on the one side and upon Selinûs on the other. Himera was situated on the westerly portion of the northern coast—the single Hellenic establishment, in the time of Thucydidês, which that long line of coast presented. The inhabitants of the Hyblæan Megara were founders of Selinûs, about 630 B.C., a century after their own establishment. The œkist Pamillus, according to the usual Hellenic practice, was invited from their metropolis Megara in Greece Proper, but we are not told how many fresh settlers came with him: the language of Thucydidês leads us to suppose that the new town was peopled chiefly from the Hyblæan Megarians themselves. The town of Akragas or Agrigentum, called after the neighbouring river of the former name, was founded from Gela in B.C. 582. Its œkists were Aristonous and Pystilus, and it received the statutes and

¹ Thucyd. vi. 4.

² Strabo, vi. p. 272.

³ Stephanus Byz. Σικανίαι, ἡ περὶ γῆρος Ἀκραγαντινῶν. Herodot. vii. 170; Diodor. iv. 78.

Vessa, the most considerable

among the Sikanian townships or villages, with its prince Teutus, is said to have been conquered by Phalaris despot of Agrigentum, through a mixture of craft and force (Polyæn. v. 1, 4).

religious characteristics of Gela. Himera, on the other hand, was founded from Zanklê, under three œkists, Eukleidês, Simus, and Sakôn. The chief part of its inhabitants were of Chalkidic race, and its legal and religious characteristics were Chalkidic. But a portion of the settlers were Syracusan exiles, called Mylêtidæ, who had been expelled from home by a sedition, so that the Himeræan dialect was a mixture of Doric and Chalkidic. Himera was situated not far from the towns of the Elymi—Eryx and Egesta.

Such were the chief establishments founded by the Greeks in Sicily during the two centuries after their first settlement in 735 B. C. The few particulars just stated respecting them are worthy of all confidence—for they come to us from Thucydidês—but they are unfortunately too few to afford the least satisfaction to our curiosity. It cannot be doubted that these first two centuries were periods of steady increase and prosperity among the Sicilian Greeks, undisturbed by those distractions and calamities which supervened afterwards, and which led indeed to the extraordinary aggrandisement of some of their communities, but also to the ruin of several others. Moreover it seems that the Carthaginians in Sicily gave them no trouble until the time of Gelôn. Their position will indeed seem singularly advantageous, if we consider the extraordinary fertility of the soil in this fine island, especially near the sea—its capacity for corn, wine and oil, the species of cultivation to which the Greek husbandman had been accustomed under less favourable circumstances—its abundant fisheries on the coast, so important in Grecian diet, and continuing undiminished even at the present day—together with sheep, cattle, hides, wool, and timber from the native population in the interior. These natives seem to have been of rude pastoral habits, dispersed either among petty hill-villages, or in caverns hewn out of the rock, like the primitive inhabitants of the Balearic islands and Sardinia; so that Sicily, like New Zealand in our century, was now for the first time approached by organised industry and tillage.¹ Their progress, though very great, during this

¹ Of these Sikel or Sikan caverns many traces yet remain: see Otto Siefert, *Akragas und sein Gebiet*, pp. 39, 45, 49, 55, and the work of

Captain W. H. Smyth—*Sicily and its Islands*, London, 1824, p. 190.

"These cryptæ (observes the latter) appear to have been the earliest

most prosperous interval (between the foundation of Naxos in 735 B. C. to the reign of Gelôn at Syracuse in 485 B. C.), is not to be compared to that of the English colonies in America; but it was nevertheless very great, and appears greater from being concentrated as it was in and around a few cities. Individual spreading and separation of residence were rare, nor did they consist either with the security or the social feelings of a Grecian colonist. The city to which he belonged was the central point of his existence, where the produce which he raised was brought home to be stored or sold, and where alone his active life, political, domestic, religious, recreative, &c., was carried on. There were dispersed throughout the territory of the city small fortified places and garrisons,¹ serving as temporary protection to the cultivators in case of sudden inroad; but there was no permanent residence for the free citizen except the town itself. This was, perhaps, even more the case in a colonial settlement, where everything began and spread from one central point, than in Attica, where the separate villages had once nourished a population politically independent. It was in the town, therefore, that the aggregate increase of the colony palpably concentrated itself—property as well as population—private comfort and luxury not less than public force and grandeur. Such growth and improvement was of course sustained by the cultivation of the territory, but

effort of a primitive and pastoral people towards a town, and are generally without regularity as to shape and magnitude: in after-ages they perhaps served as a retreat in time of danger, and as a place of security, in case of extraordinary alarm, for women, children, and valuables. In this light, I was particularly struck with the resemblance these rude habitations bore to the caves I had seen in Owhyhee, for similar uses. The Troglodyte villages of Northern Africa, of which I saw several, are also precisely the same.

"The rock caves of Sicily are remarkable. The southern walls of Agrigentum are formed of a

continued line of rocks which supported the town. In the inside of this natural wall are excavated the tombs of (probably) the principal citizens. The very interesting ruins of little Akraë, high up in the Heræan range, nestle under a cliff in which numbers of tombs are excavated. The Necropolis of Syracuse, between Achradina and the Great Harbour, is composed of similar rock excavations: and there are subterraneous galleries or catacombs also high up in Epipolæ."

About the early cave-residences in Sardinia and the Balearic islands consult Diodor. v. 15-17.

¹ Thucyd. vi. 45. τὰ περιπόλια τὰ ἐν τῇ χωρᾷ (of Syracuse).

the evidences of it were most manifest in the town. The large population which we shall have occasion to notice as belonging to Agrigentum, Sybaris, and other cities, will illustrate this position.

There is another point of some importance to mention in regard to the Sicilian and Italian cities. The population of the town itself may have been principally, though not wholly, Greek; but the population of the territory belonging to the town, or of the dependent villages which covered it, must have been in a great measure Sikel or Sikan. The proof of this is found in a circumstance common to all the Sicilian and Italian Greeks—the peculiarity of their weights, measures, monetary system, and language. The pound and ounce are divisions and denominations belonging altogether to Italy and Sicily, and unknown originally to the Greeks, whose scale consisted of the obolus, the drachma, the mina, and the talent. Among the Greeks, too, the

metal first and most commonly employed for money was silver, while in Italy and Sicily copper was the primitive metal made use of. Now among all the Italian and Sicilian Greeks a scale of weight and money arose quite different from that of the Greeks at home, formed by a combination and adjustment of the one of these systems to the other. It is in many points complex and difficult to understand, but in the final result the native system seems to be predominant, and the Grecian system subordinate.¹

¹ Respecting the statical and monetary system, prevalent among the Italian and Sicilian Greeks, see Aristot. Fragment. *περί Πολιτικῶν*, ed. Neumann, p. 102; Pollux, iv. 174, ix. 80-87; and above all, Boeckh, *Metrologie*, ch. xviii. p. 292, and the abstract and review of that work in the *Classical Museum*, No. 1; also O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, vol. i. p. 309.

The Sicilian Greeks reckoned by talents, each consisting of 120 litræ or libræ: the Æginaean obolus was the equivalent of the litra, having been the value in silver of a pound

weight of copper, at the time when the valuation was taken.

The common denominations of money and weight (with the exception of the talent, the meaning of which was altered while the word was retained) seem to have been all borrowed by the Italian and Sicilian Greeks from the Sikel or Italic scale, not from the Grecian—*νοῦμος*, *λίτρα*, *δεκάλιτρον*, *πεντηχοντάλιτρον*, *πεντὸνχιον*, *ἑξᾶς*, *τετραῖς*, *τριαῖς*, *ἡμνινα*, *ἡμιλίτριον* (see Fragments of Epicharmus and Sophron, ap. Ahrens de *Dialecto Doricâ*, Appendix, pp. 435, 471, 472, and *Athenæ*. xi. p. 479).

Such a consequence as this could not have ensued, if the Greek settlers in Italy and Sicily had kept themselves apart as communities, and had merely carried on commerce and barter with communities of Sikels. It implies a fusion of the two races in the same community, though doubtless in the relation of superior and subject, and not in that of equals. The Greeks on arriving in the island expelled the natives from the town, perhaps also from the lands immediately round the town. But when they gradually extended their territory, this was probably accomplished, not by the expulsion, but by the subjugation, of those Sikel tribes, whose villages, much subdivided and each individually petty, their aggressions successively touched.

At the time when Theoklês landed on the hill near Naxos, and Archias in the islet of Ortygia, and when each of them expelled the Sikels from that particular spot, there were Sikel villages or little communities spread through all the neighbouring country. By the gradual encroachments of the colony, some of these might be dispossessed and driven out of the plains near the coast into the more mountainous regions of the interior. But many of them doubtless found it convenient to submit, to surrender a portion of their lands, and to hold the rest as subordinate villagers of an Hellenic city community.¹ We find even at the time of the Athenian invasion (414 B.C.) villages existing in distinct identity as Sikels, yet subject and tributary to Syracuse.

Moreover the influence which the Greeks exercised, though in the first instance essentially compulsory, became also in part self-operating—the ascendancy of a higher over a lower civilization. It was the working of concentrated townsmen, safe among one another by their walls and by mutual confidence, and surrounded by more or less of ornament, public as well as private—upon dispersed, unprotected, artless villagers, who could not be insensible to the charm of that superior intellect, imagination, and organisation, which wrought so powerfully upon the whole contemporaneous world. To understand the action of these superior immigrants upon the native but inferior Sikels, during those three earliest centuries (730-430 B.C.) which followed the arrival

Sikels and
Sikans gradually
hellenised.

¹ Thucyd. vi. 88.

of Archias and Theoklês, we have only to study the continuance of the same action during the three succeeding centuries which preceded the age of Cicero. At the period when Athens undertook the siege of Syracuse (B.C. 415), the interior of the island was occupied by Sikel and Sikan communities, autonomous and retaining their native customs and language.¹ But in the time of Verres and Cicero (three centuries and a half afterwards) the interior of the island as well as the maritime regions had become hellenised: the towns in the interior were then hardly less Greek than those on the coast. Cicero contrasts favourably the character of the Sicilians with that of the Greeks generally (*i. e.* the Greeks out of Sicily), but he nowhere distinguishes Greeks in Sicily from native Sikels;² nor Enna and Centuripi from Katana and Agrigentum. The little Sikel villages became gradually semi-hellenised and merged into subjects of a Grecian town: during the first three centuries, this change took place in the regions of the coast—during the following three centuries, in the regions of the interior; and probably with greater rapidity and effect in the earlier period, not only because the action of the Grecian communities was then closer, more concentrated, and more compulsory, but because also the obstinate tribes could then retire into the interior.

The Greeks in Sicily are thus not to be considered as purely Greeks, but as modified by a mixture of Sikel and Sikan language, customs, and character. Each town included in its non-privileged population a number of semi-hellenised Sikels (or Sikans, as the case might be), who though in a state of dependence, contributed to mix the

Difference
between
the Greeks
in Sicily
and those
in Greece
Proper.

¹ Thucyd. vi. 62-87; vii. 13.

² Cicero in Verrem, Act. ii. lib. iv. c. 26-51; Diodor. v. 6.

Contrast the manner in which Cicero speaks of Agrigium, Centuripi and Enna, with the description of these places as inhabited by autonomous Sikels. B.C. 396, in the wars of the elder Dionysius (Diodor. xiv. 55, 58, 78). Both Sikans and Sikels were at that time completely distinguished from the Greeks, in the centre of the island.

O. Müller states that "Syracuse

seventy years after its foundation colonised Akraë, also Enna, situated in the centre of the island" (Hist. of Dorians, i. 6, 7). Enna is mentioned by Stephanus Byz. as a Syracusan foundation, but without notice of the date of its foundation, which must have been much later than Müller here affirms. Serra di Falco (Antichità di Sicilia, Introd. t. i. p. 9) gives Enna as having been founded later than Akraë, but earlier than Kasmenæ; for which date I find no authority.

breed and influence the entire mass. We have no reason to suppose that the Sikel or Enotrian language ever became written, like Latin, Oscan, or Umbrian.¹ The inscriptions of Segesta and Halesus are all in Doric Greek, which supplanted the native tongue for public purposes as a separate language, but not without becoming itself modified in the confluence. In following the ever-renewed succession of violent political changes, the inferior capacity of regulated and pacific popular government, and the more unrestrained voluptuous licence—which the Sicilian and Italian Greeks² exhibit as compared with Athens and the cities of Greece Proper—we must call to mind that we are not dealing with pure Hellenism; and that the native element, though not unfavourable to activity or increase of wealth, prevented the Grecian colonists from partaking fully in that improved organisation which we so distinctly trace in Athens from Solon downwards. How much the taste, habits, ideas, religion, and local mythes, of the native Sikels passed into the minds of the Sikeliots or Sicilian Greeks, is shown by the character of their literature and poetry. Sicily was the native country of that rustic mirth and village buffoonery which gave birth to the primitive comedy—politicised and altered at Athens so as to suit men of the market-place, the ekklesia, and the dikastery—blending, in the comedies of the Syracusan Epicharmus, copious details about the indulgences of the table (for which the ancient Sicilians were renowned) with Pythagorean philosophy and moral maxims—but given with all the naked simplicity of common life, in a sort of rhythmical prose without even the restraint of a fixed metre, by the Syracusan Sophrôn in his lost Mimes, and afterwards polished as well as idealised in the Bucolic poetry of Theokritus.³ That which is commonly

Talaria (see Steph. Byz. *ad voc.*) is also mentioned as another Syracusan city, of which we do not know either the date or the particulars of foundation.

¹ Ahrens, *De Dialecto Doricâ*, sect. i. p. 3.

² Plato, *Epistol.* vii. p. 326; Plautus, *Rudens*, Act. i. Sc. i. 56; Act. ii. Sc. vi. 58.

³ Timokreon, *Fragment.* 5 ap. Ahrens, *De Dialecto Doricâ*, p.

478—Σικελὸς κομῶδες ἀνὴρ. Ποτὶ τὰν ματέρ' ἔφα.

Bernhardy, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Griech. Litteratur*, vol. ii. ch. 120. sect. 2-5; Grysar, *De Doriensium Comœdia*. Cologne. 1828, ch. i. pp. 41, 55, 57, 210; Boeckh, *De Græcæ Tragœd. Princip.* p. 52; Aristot. *ap. Athenæ.* xi. 505. The *χότταβος* seems to have been a native Sikel fashion, bor-

termed the Doric comedy was, in great part at least, the Sikel comedy taken up by Dorian composers—the Doric race and dialect being decidedly predominant in Sicily. The manners thus dramatised belonged to that coarser vein of humour which the Doric Greeks of the town had in common with the semi-hellenised Sikels of the circumjacent villages. Moreover it seems probable that this rustic population enabled the despots of the Greco-Sicilian towns to form easily and cheaply those bodies of mercenary troops, by whom their power was sustained,¹ and whose presence rendered the continuance of popular government, even supposing it begun, all but impossible.

It was the destiny of most of the Grecian colonial establishments to perish by the growth and aggression of those inland powers upon whose coast they were planted; powers which gradually acquired, from the vicinity of the Greeks, a military and political organisation, and a power of concentrated action, such as they had not originally possessed. But in Sicily the Sikels were not numerous enough even to maintain permanently their own nationality, and were ultimately penetrated on all sides by Hellenic ascendancy and manners. We shall nevertheless come to one remarkable attempt, made by a native Sikel prince in the 82nd Olympiad (455 B.C.)—the enterprising Duketius—to group many Sikel petty villages into one considerable town, and thus to raise his countrymen into the Grecian stage of polity and organisation. Had there been any Sikel prince endowed with these superior ideas

Native population in Sicily not numerous enough to become formidable to the Greek settlers.

Sikel prince Duketius.

rowed by the Greeks (Athenæus, xv. pp. 666—668).

The Sicilian βουκολισμός was a fashion among the Sicilian herdsmen earlier than Epicharmus, who noticed the alleged inventor of it, Diomus, the βούκολος Σιτυλώτης (Athenæ. xiv. p. 619). The rustic manners and speech represented in the Sicilian comedy are contrasted with the town manners and speech of the Attic comedy, by Plautus, Persæ, Act. iii. Sc. i. v. 31:—

“Librorum eccillum habeo plenum soracum.

Dabuntur dotis tibi inde sexcenti logi,

Atque Attici omnes, nullum Siculum acceperis.”

Compare the beginning of the prologue to the Menachmi of Plautus.

The comic μῦθος began at Syracuse with Epicharmus and Phormis (Aristot. Poet. v. 5).

¹ Zenobius, Proverb. v. 84—Σικελὸς στρατιώτης

at the time when the Greeks first settled in Sicily, the subsequent history of the island would probably have been very different. But Duketius had derived his projects from the spectacle of the Grecian towns around him, and these latter had acquired much too great power to permit him to succeed. The description of his abortive attempt, however, which we find in Diodorus,¹ meagre as it is, forms an interesting point in the history of the island.

Grecian colonisation in Italy began nearly at the same time as in Sicily, and was marked by the same general circumstances. Placing ourselves at Rhegium (now Reggio) on the Sicilian strait, we trace Greek cities gradually planted on various points of the coast as far as Cumæ on the sea and Tarentum (Taranto) on the other. Between the two seas runs the lofty chain of the Apennines, calcareous in the upper part of its course, throughout Middle Italy—granitic and schistose in the lower part, where it traverses the territories now called the Hither and the Farther Calabria. The plains and valleys on each side of the Calabrian Apennines exhibit a luxuriance of vegetation extolled by all observers, and surpassing even that of Sicily;² and great as the productive powers of this territory are now, there is full reason for believing that they must have been far greater in ancient times. For it has been visited by repeated earthquakes, each of which has left calamitous marks of devastation. Those of 1638 and 1783 (especially the latter, whose destructive effects were on a terrific

¹ Diodor. xi. 90, 91; xii. 9.

² See Dolomieu, *Dissertation on the Earthquakes of Calabria Ultra* in 1783, in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. v. p. 280.

"It is impossible (he observes) to form an adequate idea of the fertility of Calabria Ultra, particularly of that part called the Plain (south-west of the Apennines below the Gulf of St. Eufemia). The fields, productive of olive-trees of larger growth than any seen elsewhere, are yet productive of grain. Vines load with their branches the trees on which they grow, yet les-

sen not their crops. All things grow there, and nature seems to anticipate the wishes of the husbandman. There is never a sufficiency of hands to gather the whole of the olives, which finally fall and rot at the bottom of the trees that bore them, in the months of February and March. Crowds of foreigners, principally Sicilians, come there to help to gather them, and share the produce with the grower. Oil is their chief article of exportation: in every quarter their wines are good and precious." Compare pp. 278—282.

scale both as to life and property¹) are of a date sufficiently recent to admit of recording and measuring the damage done by each; and that damage, in many parts of the southwestern coast, was great and irreparable. Animated as the epithets are, therefore, with which the modern traveller paints the present fertility of Calabria, we are warranted in enlarging their meaning when we conceive the country as it stood between 720-320 B.C., the period of Grecian occupation and independence; while the unhealthy air which now desolates the plains generally, seems then to have been felt only to a limited extent, and over particular localities. The founders of Tarentum, Sybaris, Krotôn, Lokri, and Rhegium planted themselves in situations of unexampled promise to the industrious cultivator, which the previous inhabitants had turned to little account; though since the subjugation of the Grecian cities, these once rich possessions have sunk into poverty and depopulation, especially the last three centuries, from insalubrity, indolence, bad administration, and fear of the Barbary corsairs.

The Ænotrians, Sikels, or Italians, who were in possession of these territories in 720 B.C., seem to have been rude petty communities—procuring for themselves safety by residence on lofty eminences—more pastoral than agricultural, and some of them consuming the produce of their fields in common mess, on a principle analogous to the *syssitia* of Sparta or Krête. King Italus was said to have introduced this peculiarity² among the southernmost portion of the Ænotrian population, and at the same time to have bestowed upon them the name of Italians, though they were also known by the name of Sikels. Throughout the centre of Calabria between sea and sea, the high chain of the Apennines afforded protection to a certain extent both to their independence and to their pastoral habits. But these heights are made to be enjoyed in conjunction with the plains beneath, so as to alternate winter and summer pasture for the cattle. It is in this manner that the richness of the country is rendered available, since a large

¹ Mr. Keppel Craven observes (Tour through the Southern Provinces of Naples, ch. xiii. p. 254), "The earthquake of 1783 may be said to have altered the face of

the whole of Calabria Ultra, and extended its ravages as far northward as Cosenza."

² Aristot. Polit. vii. 9, 3.

portion of the mountain range is buried in snow during the winter months. Such remarkable diversity of soil and climate rendered Calabria a land of promise for Grecian settlement. The plains and lower eminences were as productive in corn, wine, oil, and flax, as the mountains in summer-pasture and timber—and abundance of rain falls upon the higher ground, which requires only industry and care to be made to impart the maximum of fertility to the lower. Moreover a long line of sea-coast (though not well furnished with harbours) and an abundant supply of fish, came in aid of the advantages of the soil. While the poorer freemen of the Grecian cities were enabled to obtain small lots of fertile land in the neighbourhood, to be cultivated by their own hands, and to provide for the most part their own food and clothing—the richer proprietors made profitable use of the more distant portions of the territory by means of their cattle, sheep, and slaves.

Of the Grecian towns on this favoured coast, the earliest as well as the most prosperous were, Sybaris and Krotôn: both in the Gulf of Tarentum—both of Achæan origin—and conterminous with each other in respect of territory. Krotôn was placed not far to the west of the south-eastern extremity of the Gulf, called in ancient times the Lakinian cape, and ennobled by the temple of the Lakinian Hêrê, which became alike venerated and adorned by the Greek resident as well as by the passing navigator. One solitary column of the temple, the humble remnant of its past magnificence, yet marks the extremity of this once-celebrated promontory. Sybaris seems to have been planted in the year 720 B.C., Krotôn in 710 B.C.: Iselikeus was œgist of the former,¹ Myskellus of the latter. This large Achæan emigration seems to have been connected with the previous expulsion of the Achæan population

¹ Strabo, vi. p. 263. Kramer in his new edition of Strabo follows Koray in suspecting the correctness of the name Ἰσελικεύς, which certainly departs from the usual analogy of Grecian names. Assuming it to be incorrect, however, there are no means of rectifying it: Kramer prints—Ὀϊκιστὴς ᾧ ἐὶ πότῃς ὁ Ἰσ . . . Ἐλικεύς: thus making

Ἐλικεύς the ethnicon of the Achæan town Helikê.

There were also legends which connected the foundation of Krotôn with Hêraklêus, who was affirmed to have been hospitably sheltered by the eponymous hero Krotôn. Hêraklêus was οἰκιστὴς at Krotôn: see Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 1-60; Jamblichus, *Vit. Pythagor.* c. 8. p. 30, c. 9. p. 37, ed. Küster.

from the more southerly region of Peloponnesus by the Dorians, though in what precise manner we are not enabled to see. The Achæan towns in Peloponnesus appear in later times too inconsiderable to furnish emigrants, but probably in the eighth century B.C. their population may have been larger. The town of Sybaris was planted between two rivers, the Sybaris and the Krathis¹ (the name of the latter borrowed from a river of Achaia); the town of Krotôn about twenty-five miles distant, on the river Æsarus. The primitive settlers of Sybaris consisted in part of Trœzenians, who were however subsequently expelled by the more numerous Achæans—a deed of violence which was construed by the religious sentiment of Antiochus and some other Grecian historians, as having drawn down upon them the anger of the gods in the ultimate destruction of the city by the Krotoniates.²

The fatal contest between these two cities, which ended in the ruin of Sybaris, took place in 510 B.C., after the latter had subsisted in growing prosperity for 210 years. And the astonishing prosperity to which both of them attained is a sufficient proof that during most of this period they had remained in peace at least, if not in alliance and common Achæan brotherhood. Unfortunately, the general fact of their great size, wealth and power, is all that we are permitted to know. The walls of Sybaris embraced a circuit of fifty stadia, or near six miles, while those of Krotôn were even larger, comprising little less than twelve miles.³ A large walled circuit was advantageous for sheltering the moveable property in the territory around, which was carried in on the arrival of an invading enemy. Both cities possessed an extensive dominion across the Calabrian peninsula from sea to sea. But the territorial range of Sybaris seems to have been greater and her colonies wider and more distant—a fact which may perhaps explain the smaller circuit of the city.

The Sybarites were founders of Laus and Skidrus, on the Mediterranean Sea in the Gulf of Policastro, and even of the more distant Poseidonia—now known by its Latin name of Pæstum, as well as by the temples which still remain to decorate its deserted site. They possessed twenty-five dependent

¹ Herodot. i. 145.

² Aristot. Polit. v. 2, 10.

³ Strabo, vi. p. 262; Livy, xxiv. 3.

towns, and ruled over four distinct native tribes or nations. What these nations were we are not told,¹ but they were probably different sections of the *Ænotrian* name. The *Krotoniates* also reached across to the Mediterranean Sea, and founded (upon the gulf now called *St. Euphemia*) the town of *Terina*, and seemingly also that of *Lametini*.² The inhabitants of the *Epizephyrian Lokri*, which was situated in a more southern part of *Calabria Ultra* near the modern town of *Gerace*, extended themselves in like manner across the peninsula. They founded upon the Mediterranean coast the towns of *Hippônium*, *Medma*, and *Mataurum*,³ as well as *Melæ* and *Itoneia*, in localities not now exactly ascertained.

Myskellus of *Rhypes* in *Achaia*, the founder of *Krotôn* under the express indication of the Delphian oracle, is said to have thought the site of *Sybaris* B.C. 710. preferable, and to have solicited permission from the oracle to plant his colony there, but he was admonished to obey strictly the directions first given.⁴ It is farther affirmed that the foundation of *Krotôn* was aided by *Archias*, then passing along the coast with his settlers for *Syracuse*, who is also brought into conjunction in a similar manner with the foundation of *Lokri*: but neither of these statements appears chronologically admissible.

The Italian *Lokri* (called *Epizephyrian*, from the neighbourhood of *Cape Zephyrium*) was founded in the year 653 B.C. by settlers from the *Lokrians* Epizephyrian Lokri. — either the *Ozolian Lokrians* in the *Krissean Gulf*, or

¹ Strabo, vi. p. 263; v. p. 251; Skymn. Chi. v. 244; Herodot. vi. 21.

² Stephan. Byz. v. Τέρινα—Δρυμνίτις; Skymn. Chi. 305.

³ Thucyd. v. 5; Strabo, vi. p. 256; Skymn. Chi. 307. Steph. Byz. calls *Mataurum* πόλις Σιταλίας.

⁴ Herodot. viii. 47. Κροτωνῆται, γένος αἰὲν Ἀχαιοί: the date of the foundation is given by *Dionysius of Halikarnassus* (A. R. ii. 59).

The oracular commands delivered to *Myskellus* are found at length in the *Fragments of Diodorus*, published by *Mali* (*Scriptt. Vet. Fragm.* x. p. 8): compare

Zenob. Proverb. Centur. iii. 42.

Though *Myskellus* is thus given as the *ækist* of *Krotôn*, yet we find a *Krotoniatic* coin with the inscription Ἡρακλῆς Οὐκίστας (*Eckhel, Doctrin. Numm. Vet.* vol. i. p. 172): the worship of *Hēraklēs* at *Krotôn* under this title is analogous to that of Ἀπολλῶν Οὐκίστας καὶ Δωμπτίτης at *Ægina* (*Pythænētus* ap. *Schell. Pindar. Nem.* v. 81). There were various legends respecting *Hēraklēs*, the *Eponymus Krotôn*, and *Lakinius. Herakleidēs Ponticus*, *Fragm.* 30, ed. *Köller*; *Diodor.* iv. 24; *Ovid, Metamorph.* xv. 1—53.

those of Opus on the Eubœan Strait. This point was disputed even in antiquity, and perhaps both the one and the other may have contributed: Euanthus was the *œkist* of the place.¹ The first years of the Epizephyrian Lokri are said to have been years of sedition and discord. And the vile character which we hear ascribed to the primitive colonists, as well as their perfidious dealing with the natives, are the more to be noted, as the Lokrians, of the times both of Aristotle and of Polybius, fully believed these statements in regard to their own ancestors.

The original emigrants to Lokri were, according to Aristotle, a body of runaway slaves, men-stealers, and adulterers, whose only legitimate connexion with an honourable Hellenic root arose from a certain number of well-born Lokrian women who accompanied them. These women belonged to those select families called the Hundred Houses, who constituted what may be called the nobility of the Lokrians in Greece Proper, and their descendants continued to enjoy a certain rank and pre-eminence in the colony, even in the time of Polybius. The emigration is said to have been occasioned by disorderly intercourse between these noble Lokrian women and their slaves—perhaps by intermarriage with persons of inferior station where there had existed no recognised *connubium*;² a fact referred, by the informants of Aristotle, to the long duration of the first Messenian war—the Lokrian warriors having for the most part continued in the Messenian territory as auxiliaries of the Spartans during the twenty years of that war,³ permitting themselves only rare and short visits to their homes. This is a story resembling that which we shall find in explanation of the colony of Tarentum. It comes to us too imperfectly to admit of criticism or verification; but the unamiable char-

¹ Strabo, vi. p. 259. Euantheia, Hyantheia, or Eantheia, was one of the towns of the Ozolian Lokrians on the north side of the Krissean Gulf, from which perhaps the emigrants may have departed, carrying with them the name and patronage of its eponymous *œkist* (Plutarch, *Quæst. Græc.* c. 15; Skylax, p. 14).

² Polyb. xii. 5, 8, 9; Dionys. *Perieget.* v. 365.

³ This fact may connect the foundation of the colony of Lokri with Sparta; but the statement of Pausanias (iii. 3, 1), that the Spartans in the reign of king Polydorus founded both Lokri and Kroton, seems to belong to a different historical conception.

acter of the first emigrants is a statement deserving credit, and very unlikely to have been invented. Their first proceedings on settling in Italy display a perfidy in accordance with the character ascribed to them. They found the territory in this southern portion of the Calabrian peninsula possessed by native Sikels, who, alarmed at their force and afraid to try the hazard of resistance, agreed to admit them to a participation and joint residence. The covenant was concluded and sworn to by both parties in the following terms:—"There shall be friendship between us, and we will enjoy the land in common, so long as we stand upon this earth and have heads upon our shoulders." At the time when the oath was taken, the Lokrians had put earth into their shoes and concealed heads of garlic upon their shoulders; so that when they had divested themselves of these appendages, the oath was considered as no longer binding. Availing themselves of the first convenient opportunity, they attacked the Sikels by surprise and drove them out of the territory, of which they thus acquired the exclusive possession.¹ Their first establishment was formed upon the headland itself, Cape Zephyrium (now Bruzzano). But after three or four years the site of the town was moved to an eminence in the neighbouring plain, in which the Syracusans are said to have aided them.²

Treachery
towards the
indigenous
Sikels.

In describing the Grecian settlers in Sicily, I have already stated that they are to be considered as Greeks with a considerable infusion of blood, of habits, and of manners, from the native Sikels. The case is the same with the Italiots or Italian Greeks, and in respect to these Epizephyrian Lokrians, especially, we find it expressly noticed by Polybius. Composed as their band was of ignoble and worthless men, not bound together by strong tribe-feelings or traditional customs, they were the more ready to adopt new practices, as well religious as civil,³ from the Sikels.

Mixture of
Sikels in
their terri-
tory Sikel
customs
adopted.

¹ Polyb. xii. 5—12.

² Strabo, vi. p. 259. We find that in the accounts given of the foundation of Korkyra, Kroton, and Lokri, reference is made to the Syracusan settlers, either as contemporary in the way of com-

panionship, or as auxiliaries: perhaps the accounts all come from the Syracusan historian Antiochus, who exaggerated the intervention of his own ancestors.

³ "Nil patrium, nisi nomen, habet Romanus alumnus," observes Pro-

One in particular is noticed by the historian—the religious dignity called the Phialêphorus or Censer-bearer, enjoyed among the native Sikels by a youth of noble birth, who performed the duties belonging to it in their sacrifices; but the Lokrians, while they identified themselves with the religious ceremony and adopted both the name and the dignity, altered the sex and conferred it upon one of those women of noble blood who constituted the ornament of their settlement. Even down to the days of Polybius, some maiden descended from one of these select Hundred Houses still continued to bear the title and to perform the ceremonial duties of Phialêphorus. We learn from these statements how large a portion of Sikels must have become incorporated as dependents in the colony of the Epizephyrian Lokri, and how strongly marked was the intermixture of their habits with those of the Greek settlers; while the tracing back among them of all eminence of descent to a few emigrant women of noble birth, is a peculiarity belonging exclusively to their city.

That a body of colonists, formed of such unpromising materials, should have fallen into much lawlessness and disorder, is noway surprising; but these mischiefs appear to have become so utterly intolerable in the early years of the colony, as to force upon every one the necessity of some remedy. Hence arose a phænomenon new in the march of Grecian society—the first promulgation of written laws. The Epizephyrian Lokrians, having applied to the Delphian oracle for some healing suggestion under their distress, were directed to make laws for themselves;¹ and received the ordinances of a shepherd named Zaleukus, which he professed to have learnt from the goddess Athênê in a dream. His laws are said to have been put in writing and promulgated in 664 B. C., forty years earlier than those of Drako at Athens.

That these first of all Grecian written laws were few and simple, we may be sufficiently assured. The only fact certain respecting them is their extraordinary rigour:² they

pertius (iv. 37) respecting the Romans: repeated with still greater bitterness in the epistle in Sallust from Mithridatês to Arsacês (p. 191, Delph. ed.). The remark is

well-applicable to Lokri.

¹ Aristot. ap. Schol. Pindar. Olymp. x. 17.

² Proverb. Zenob. Centur. iv. 20. Ζαλεῦκος νόμος, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποτόμων.

seem to have enjoined the application of the *lex talionis* as a punishment for personal injuries. In this general character of his laws, Zaleukus was the counterpart of Drako. But so little was certainly known, and so much falsely asserted, respecting him, that Timæus the historian went so far as to call in question his real existence¹—against the authority not only of Ephorus, but also of Aristotle and Theophrastus. The laws must have remained however, for a long time, formally unchanged; for so great was the aversion of the Lokrians, we are told, to any new law, that the man who ventured to propose one appeared in public with a rope round his neck, which was at once tightened if he failed to convince the assembly of the necessity of his proposition.² Of the government of the Epizephyrian Lokri we know only that in later times it included a great council of 1000 members, and a chief executive magistrate called Kosmopolis; it is spoken of also as strictly and carefully administered.

The date of Rhegium (Reggio), separated from the territory of the Epizephyrian Lokri by the river Halex, must have been not only earlier than Lokri, but even earlier than Sybaris—if the statement of Antiochus be correct, that the colonists were joined by those Messenians, who, prior to the first Messenian war, were anxious to make reparation to the Spartans for the outrage offered to the Spartan maidens at the temple of Artemis Limnatis, but were overborne by their country-

¹ Strabo, vi. p. 259; Skymnus Chius, v. 313; Cicero de Legg. ii. 6, and Epist. ad Atticum, vi. 1.

Heyne, Opuscula, vol. ii., Epimetrum ii. p. 60—68; Gölle ad Timæi Fragment. pp. 220—259. Bentley (on the Epistles of Phalaris, ch. xii. p. 274) seems to countenance, without adequate reason, the doubt of Timæus about the existence of Zaleukus. But the statement of Ephorus, that Zaleukus had collected his ordinances from the Kretan, Laconian, and Areiopagitic customs, when contrasted with the simple and far more credible statement above-cited from Aris-

totle, shows how loose were the affirmations respecting the Lokrian lawgiver (ap. Strabo. vi. p. 260). Other statements also concerning him, alluded to by Aristotle (Politie. ii. 9, 3), were distinctly at variance with chronology.

Charondas, the lawgiver of the Chalkidic towns in Italy and Sicily, as far as we can judge amidst much confusion of testimony, seems to belong to an age much later than Zaleukus: I shall speak of him hereafter.

² Dêmôsthen. cont. Timokrat. p. 744; Polyb. xii. 10.

men and forced into exile. A different version however is given by Pausanias of this migration of Messenians to Rhegium, yet still admitting the fact of such migration at the close of the first Messenian war, which would place the foundation of the city earlier than 720 B.C.—Though Rhegium was a Chalkidic colony, yet a portion of its inhabitants seem to have been undoubtedly of Messenian origin, and amongst them Anaxilas, despot of the town between 500-470 B.C., who traced his descent through two centuries to a Messenian emigrant named Alkidamidas.¹ The celebrity and power of Anaxilas, just at the time when the ancient history of the Greek towns was beginning to be set forth in prose and with some degree of system, caused the Messenian element in the population of Rhegium to be noticed prominently. But the town was essentially Chalkidic, connected by colonial sisterhood with the Chalkidic settlements in Sicily—Zanklê, Naxos, Katana, and Leontini. The original emigrants departed from Chalkis, as a tenth of the citizens consecrated by vow to Apollo in consequence of famine; and the directions of the god, as well as the invitation of the Zanklæans, guided their course to Rhegium. The town was flourishing, and acquired a considerable number of dependent villages around,² inhabited doubtless by cultivators of the indigenous population. But it seems to have been often at variance with the conterminous Lokrians, and received one severe defeat, in conjunction with the Tarentines, which will be hereafter recounted.

Between Lokri and the Lakinian cape were situated the Achæan colony of Kaulônia, and Skyllêtium: the latter seemingly included in the domain of Krotôn, though pretending to have been originally founded by Menestheus, the leader of the Athenians at the siege of Troy: Petilia, also, a hill-fortress north-west of the Lakinian cape, as well as Makalla, both comprised in the territory of Krotôn, were affirmed to have been founded by Philoktêtês. Along all this coast of the Gulf of Tarentum, there were various establishments ascribed to the heroes of the Trojan war³—Epeius,

¹ Strabo, vi. p. 257; Pausan. iv. 23, 2.

² Strabo, vi. p. 258. ἱσχυοῦσι δὲ

μάλιστα ἢ τῶν Ἑργιῶν πόλεις, καὶ περιουσίως ἔσχε συχῆσαι. &c.

³ Strabo, vi. p. 263; Aristot.

Philoktêtês, Nestor—or to their returning troops. Of these establishments, probably the occupants had been small, miscellaneous, unacknowledged bands of Grecian adventurers,¹ who assumed to themselves the most honourable origin which they could imagine, and who became afterwards absorbed into the larger colonial establishments which followed; the latter adopting and taking upon themselves the heroic worship of Philoktêtês or other warriors from Troy, which the prior emigrants had begun.

During the flourishing times of Sybaris and Kroton, it seems that these two great cities divided the whole length of the coast of the Tarentine Gulf, from the spot now called Rocca Imperiale down to the south of the Lakinian cape. Between the point where the dominion of Sybaris terminated on the Tarentine side, and Tarentum itself, there were two considerable Grecian settlements—Siris, afterwards called Herakleia and Metapontium. The fertility and attraction of the territory of Siris, with its two rivers, Akiris and

Siris or
Herakleia.

Siris, were well-known even to the poet Archilochus² (660 B. C.), but we do not know the date at which it passed from the indigenous Chônians or Chaonians into the hands of Greek settlers. A citizen of Siris is mentioned among the suitors for the daughter of the Sikyonian Kleisthenês (580-560 B. C.). We are told that some Kolophonian fugitives, emigrating to escape the dominion of the Lydian kings, attacked and possessed themselves of the spot, giving to it the name Polieion. The Chônians of Siris ascribed to themselves a Trojan origin, exhibiting a wooden image of the Ilian Athênê, which they affirmed to have been brought away by their fugitive ancestors after the capture of Troy. When the town was stormed by the Ionians, many of the inhabitants clung to this relic for protection, but were dragged away and slain by the victors,³ whose sacrilege was supposed to have been the cause that their settlement was not durable. At the time

Mirab. Anac. c. 166; Athenæ. xii. c. 56. It is to these reputed Rhodian companions of Télépolemus at Troy, that the allusion in reference to the Italian occupants of Sybaris, xiv. p. 70.

See Muller, *Geographie*, 1828, x. b. 9, ch. 11. p. 234.

² Archiloch. Fragm. 17, ed. Schneidewin.

³ Herodot. vi. 127; Strabo, vi. p. 262. The name Polieion seems to be read Πλαῖον in Aristot. *Mirab. Anacult.* 166.

Niebuhr assigns this Kolophonian settlement of Siris to the reign of

of the invasion of Greece by Xerxês, the fertile territory of Siritis was considered as still open to be colonised; for the Athenians, when their affairs appeared desperate, had this scheme of emigration in reserve as a possible resource;¹ and there were inspired declarations from some of the contemporary prophets which encouraged them to undertake it. At length, after the town of Thurii had been founded by Athens, in the vicinity of the dismantled Sybaris, the Thurians tried to possess themselves of the Siritid territory, but were opposed by the Tarentines.² According to the compromise concluded between them, Tarentum was recognised as the metropolis of the colony, but joint possession was allowed both to Tarentines and Thurians. The former transferred the site of the city, under the new name Herakleia, to a spot three miles from the sea, leaving Siris as the place of maritime access to it.³

About twenty-five miles eastward of Siris on the coast of the Tarentine Gulf was situated Metapontium, a Greek town which was affirmed by some to draw its origin from the Pylian companions of Nestor—by others, from the Phokian warriors of Epeius, on their return from Troy. The proofs of the former were exhibited in the worship of the Neleid heroes,—the proofs of the latter in the preservation of the reputed identical tools with which Epeius had constructed the Trojan horse.⁴ Metapontium was planted on the territory of the Chônians or Enotrians, but the first colony is said to have been destroyed by an attack of the Samnites,⁵ at what period we

Gygês in Lydia; for which I know no other evidence except the statement that Gygês took τῶν Κολοφώνων τὸ ἄστυ (Herodot. i. 14); but this is no proof that the inhabitants then emigrated; for Kolophon was a very flourishing and prosperous city afterwards.

Justin (xx. 2) gives a case of sacrilegious massacre committed near the statue of Athênê at Siris, which appears to be totally different from the tale respecting the Kolophonians.

¹ Herodot. viii. 62.

² Strabo, vi. p. 264.

³ Strabo, l. c.

⁴ Strabo, l. c.; Justin, xx. 2; Velleius Paterc. i. 1; Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. c. 108. This story respecting the presence and implements of Epeius may have arisen through the Phocian settlers from Krissa.

⁵ The words of Strabo—ἡφανίσθη δ' ὑπὸ Σαυνιτῶν (vi. p. 264) can hardly be connected with the immediately following narrative which he gives out of Antiochus, respecting the revival of the place by new Achaean settlers, invited by the Achæans of Sybaris. For the latter place was reduced to impotence in 510 B.C.: invitations by the Achæans of Sybaris must

do not know. It had been founded by some Achæan settlers—under the direction of the ækist Daulius, despot of the Phokian Krissa, and invited by the inhabitants of Sybaris—who feared that the place might be appropriated by the neighbouring Tarentines, colonists from Sparta and hereditary enemies in Peloponnesus of the Achæan race. Before the new settlers arrived, however, the place seems to have been already appropriated by the Tarentines; for the Achæan Leukippus only obtained their permission to land by a fraudulent promise, and after all had to sustain a forcible struggle both with them and with the neighbouring Crotians, which was compromised by a division of territory. The fertility of the Metapontine territory was hardly less celebrated than that of the Siritid.¹

Farther eastward of Metapontium, again at the distance of about twenty-five miles, was situated the great city of Taras or Tarentum, a colony from Sparta founded after the first Messenian war, seemingly about 707 B. C. The ækist Phalanthus, said to have been a Herakleid, was placed at the head of a body of Spartan emigrants—consisting principally of some citizens called Epeunaktæ and of the youth called Partheniæ, who had been disgraced by their countrymen on account of their origin and were on the point of breaking out into rebellion. It was out of the Messenian war that this emigration is stated to have arisen, in a manner analogous to that which has been stated respecting the Epizephyrian Lokrians. The Lacedæmonians, before entering Messenia to carry on the war, had made a vow not to return until they should have completed the conquest; a vow in which it appears that some of them declined to take part, standing altogether aloof from the expedition. When

Tarentum
—circum-
stances
of its
foundation.

therefore be anterior to that date. If Daulius despot of Krissa is to be admitted as the ækist of Metapontium, the plantation of it must be placed early in the first half of the sixth century B.C.; but there is great difficulty in admitting the extension of Samnite conquests to the Gulf of Tarentum at so early a period as this. I therefore construe the words of Antiochus as referring to the original settlement

of Metapontium by the Greeks, not to the revival of the town after its destruction by the Samnites.

¹ Strabo, *l. c.*; Stephanus Byz. (v. *Μεταπόντιος*) identifies Metapontium and Siris in a perplexing manner.

Livy (xxv. 15) recognises Metapontium as Achæan: compare Heyne, *Opuscula*, vol. ii., *Prolus.* xii p. 207.

the absent soldiers returned after many years of absence consumed in the war, they found a numerous progeny which had been born to their wives and daughters during the interval, from intercourse with those (Epeunaktæ) who had staid at home. The Epeunaktæ were punished by being degraded to the rank and servitude of Helots; the

The Par-
theniæ—
Phalanthus
the œkist.

children thus born, called Partheniæ,¹ were also cut off from all the rights of citizenship, and held in dishonour. But the parties punished were numerous enough to make themselves formidable, and a conspiracy was planned among them intended to break out at the great religious festival of the Hyakinthia, in the temple of the Amyklæan Apollo. Phalanthus was the secret chief of the conspirators, who agreed to commence their attack upon the authorities at the moment when he should put on his helmet. The leader, however, never intending that the scheme should be executed, betrayed it beforehand, stipulating for the safety of all those implicated in it. At the commencement of the festival, when the multitude were already assembled, a herald was directed to proclaim aloud that Phalanthus would not on that day put on his helmet—a proclamation which at once revealed to the conspirators that they were betrayed. Some of them sought safety in flight, others assumed the posture of suppliants; but they were merely detained in confinement, with assurance of safety, while Phalanthus was sent to the Delphian oracle to ask advice respecting emigration. He is said to have inquired whether he might be permitted to appropriate the fertile plain of Sikyon, but the Pythian priestess emphatically dissuaded him, and enjoined him to conduct his emigrants to Satyrium and Tarentum, where he would be “a mischief to the Iapygians.” Phalanthus obeyed, and conducted the detected conspirators as emigrants to the Tarentine Gulf,² which he reached

¹ Partheniæ, *i. e.* children of virgins: the description given by Varro of the Illyrian *virgines* illustrates this phrase:—“Quas *virgines* ibi appellant, nonnunquam annorum xx, quibus mos eorum non denegavit, ante nuptias ut succumberent quibus vellent, et incommitatis ut vagari liceret, et *liberos habere.*” (Varro, De Re

Rusticâ, ii. 10, 9.)

² For this story respecting the foundation of Tarentum, see Strabo, vi. p. 278—280 (who gives the versions both of Antiochus and Ephorus); Justin, iii. 4; Diodorus, xv. 66; Excerpta Vatican. lib. vii.—x., ed. Maii, Fr. 12; Servius ad Virgil. Æneid. iii. 551.

There are several points of dif-

a few years after the foundation of Sybaris and Krotôn by the Achæans. According to Ephorus, he found these prior emigrants at war with the natives, aided them in the contest, and received in return their aid to accomplish his own settlement. But this can hardly have consisted with the narrative of Antiochus, who represented the Achæans of Sybaris as retaining even in their colonies the hatred against the Dorian name which they had contracted in Peloponnesus.¹ Antiochus stated that Phalanthus and his colonists were received in a friendly manner by the indigenous inhabitants and allowed to establish their new town in tranquillity.

If such was really the fact, it proves that the native inhabitants of the soil must have been of purely inland habits, making no use of the sea either for commerce or for fishery, otherwise they would hardly have relinquished such a site as that of Tarentum—which, while favourable and productive even in regard to the adjoining land, was with respect to sea-advantages without a parallel in Grecian Italy.² It was the only spot in the Gulf which possessed a perfectly safe and convenient harbour. A spacious inlet of the sea is there formed, sheltered by an isthmus and an outlying peninsula so as to leave only a narrow entrance. This inlet, still known as the Mare Piccolo, though its shores and the adjoining tongue of land appear to have undergone much change, affords at the present day a constant, inexhaustible, and varied supply of fish, especially of shell-fish; which furnish both nourishment and employment to a large proportion among the inhabitants of the contracted modern Taranto, just as they once served the same purpose to the numerous, lively, and jovial population of the mighty Tarentum. The concentrated population of fishermen

Situation
and terri-
tory of
Tarentum.

ference between Antiochus, Ephorus and Servius; the story given in the text follows the former.

The statement of Hesychius (v. Πάρθενεια) seems on the whole somewhat more intelligible than that given by Strabo—Οἱ κατὰ τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν πόλεμον σὺν τοῖς γενόμενοι ἐκ τῶν Θερραπείων καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἄλλων πόλεων λήθηα γενόμενοι παῖδες. Justin translates Partheniæ, *Spuri*.

The local eponymous heroes Taras and Satyrus (from Satyrium) were celebrated and worshipped among the Tarentines. See Cicero, Verr. iv. 60, 13; Servius ad Virg. Georg. ii. 197; Zumpt. ap. Orelli, Onomasticon Tullian. ii. p. 570.

¹ Compare Strabo, vi. p. 264 and p. 280.

² Strabo, vi. p. 278; Polyb. x. 1.

formed a predominant element in the character of the Tarentine democracy.¹ Tarentum was just on the borders of the country originally known as Italy, within which Herodotus includes it, while Antiochus considers it in Iapygia, and regards Metapontium as the last Greek town in Italy.

Its immediate neighbours were the Iapygians, who,

¹ Juvenal, Sat. vi. 297. "Atque coronatum et petulans madidum-que Tarentum:" compare Plato, Legg. i. p. 637; and Horat. Satir. ii. 4, 34. Aristot. Polit. iv. 4, 1. οἱ ἁλιεῖς ἐν Τάραντι καὶ Βυζαντίῳ. "Tarentina ostrea," Varro Fragm. p. 301, ed. Bipont.

To illustrate this remark of Aristotle on the fishermen of Tarentum as the predominant class in the democracy, I transcribe a passage from Mr. Keppel Craven's Tour in the Southern Provinces of Naples, ch. x. p. 182:—"Swinburne gives a list of ninety-three different sorts of shell-fish which are found in the Gulf of Taranto; but more especially in the Mare Piccolo. Among these, in ancient times, the murex and purpura ranked foremost in value; in our degenerate days the muscle and oyster seem to have usurped a pre-eminence as acknowledged but less dignified; but there are numerous other tribes held in proportionate estimation for their exquisite flavour, and as greedily sought for during their respective seasons. The appetite for shellfish of all sorts, which seems peculiar to the natives of these regions, is such as to appear exaggerated to a foreigner, accustomed to consider only a few of them as eatable. This taste exists at Taranto, if possible, in a stronger degree than in any other part of the kingdom, and accounts for the comparatively large revenue which government draws from this particular branch

of commerce. The Mare Piccolo is divided into several portions, which are let to different societies, who thereby become the only privileged fishermen; the lower classes are almost all employed by these corporations, as every revolving season of the year affords occupation for them, so that nature herself seems to have afforded the exclusive trade most suited to the inhabitants of Taranto. Both seas abound with varieties of testacea, but the inner gulf (the Mare Piccolo) is esteemed most favourable to their growth and flavour; the sandy bed is literally blackened by the muscles that cover it; the boats that glide over its surface are laden with them; they emboss the rocks that border the strand, and appear equally abundant on the shore, piled up in heaps." Mr. Craven goes on to illustrate still farther the wonderful abundance of this fishery; but that which has been already transcribed, while it illustrates the above-noticed remark of Aristotle, will at the same time help to explain the prosperity and physical abundance of the ancient Tarentum.

For an elaborate account of the state of cultivation, especially of the olive, near the degenerate modern Taranto, see the Travels of M. de Salis Marschliis in the Kingdom of Naples (translated by Aufrere, London, 1793), sect. 5. pp. 82—107, 163—173.

under various subdivisions of name and dialect, seem to have occupied the greater part of south-eastern Italy, including the peninsula denominated after ^{Iapygians.} them (yet sometimes also called the Salentine), between the Adriatic and the Tarentine Gulf,—and who are even stated at one time to have occupied some territory on the south-east of that Gulf, near the site of Krotôn. The Iapygian name appears to have comprehended Messapians, Salentines, and Kalabrians; according to some even Peuketians and Daunians, as far along the Adriatic as Mount Garganus or Drion; Skylax notices in his time (about 360 B.C.) five different tongues in the country which he calls Iapygia.¹ The Messapians and Salentines are spoken of as immigrants from Krête, akin to the Minoïan or primitive Kretans; and we find a national genealogy which recognises Iapyx son of Dædalus, an immigrant from Sicily. But the story told to Herodotus was, that the Kretan soldiers who had accompanied Minos in his expedition to recover Dædalus from Kamikus in Sicily, were on their return home cast away on the shores of Iapygia, and became the founders of Hyria and other Messapian towns in the interior of the country.² Brundisium also, or Brentesion as the Greeks called it,³ inconsiderable in the days of Herodotus, but famous in the Roman times afterwards as the most frequented sea-port for voyaging to Epirus, was a Messapian town. The native language spoken by the Iapygian Messapians was a variety of the Oscan: the Latin ^{Messa-}pians. poet Ennius, a native of Rudia in the Iapygian peninsula, spoke Greek, Latin, and Oscan, and even deduced his pedigree from the ancient national prince or hero Messapus.⁴

¹ Skylax does not mention at all the name of Italy; he gives to the whole coast, from Rhegium to Poseidonia on the Mediterranean, and from the same point to the limit between Thurii and Herakleia on the Gulf of Tarentum, the name of Lucania (c. 12, 13). From this point he extends Iapygia to the Mount Drion or Garganus, so that he includes not only Metapontium, but also Herakleia in Iapygia.

Antiochus draws the line between Italy and Iapygia at the extremity

of the Metapontine territory; comprehending Metapontium in Italy, and Tarentum in Iapygia (Antiochus. Frag. 6, ed. Didot; ap. Strabo. vi. p. 254).

Herodotus however speaks not only of Metapontium, but also of Tarentum, as being in Italy (i. 24; iii. 156; iv. 15).

² Herodot. vii. 179; Pliny. H. N. iii. 56; Athenæ. xii. c. 52; Servius ad Virgil. *Æneid.* viii. 9.

³ Herodot. iv. 29.

⁴ Servius ad Virgil. *Æneid.* vii.

We are told that during the lifetime of Phalanthus, the Tarentine settlers gained victories over the Messapians and Peuketians, which they commemorated afterwards by votive offerings at Delphi—and that they even made acquisitions at the expense of the inhabitants of Brundisium¹—a statement difficult to believe, if we look to the distance of the latter place, and to the circumstance that Herodotus even in his time names it only as a harbour. Phalanthus too, driven into exile, is said to have found a hospitable reception at Brundisium and to have died there. Of the history of Tarentum, however, during the first 230 years of its existence, we possess no details. We have reason to believe that it partook in the general prosperity of the Italian Greeks during those two centuries, though remaining inferior both to Sybaris and to Krotôn. About the year 510 B.C., these two latter republics went to war, and Sybaris was nearly destroyed; while in the subsequent half-century the Krotoniates suffered the terrible defeat of Sagra from the Lokrians, and the Tarentines experienced an equally ruinous defeat from the Iapygian Messapians. From these reverses, however, the Tarentines appear to have recovered more completely than the Krotoniates; for the former stand first among the Italiots or Italian Greeks, from the year 400 B.C. down to the supremacy of the Romans, and made better head against the growth of the Lucanians and Bruttians of the interior.

Such were the chief cities of the Italian Greeks from Tarentum on the upper sea to Poseidonia on the lower; and if we take them during the period preceding the ruin of Sybaris (in 510 B.C.), they will appear to have enjoyed a degree of prosperity even surpassing that of the Sicilian Greeks. The dominion of Sybaris, Krotôn, and Lokri extended across the peninsula from sea to sea. The mountainous regions of the interior of Calabria were held in amicable connexion with the cities and cultivators in the plain and valley near the sea—to the reciprocal advantage of both. The petty native tribes of Ænotrians, Sikels, or Italians properly so-called, were partially hellenised, and brought into the condition of village cultivators and shepherds dependent upon Sybaris and its fellow-cities;

691. Polybius distinguishes Iapygians from Messapians (ii. 24).

¹ Pausanias, x. 10, 3; x. 13, 5; Strabo, vi. p. 282; Justin, iii. 4.

a portion of them dwelling in the town, probably, as domestic slaves of the rich men, but most of them remaining in the country region as serfs, *Penestæ*, or *coloni*, intermingled with Greek settlers, and paying over parts of their produce to Greek proprietors.

But this dependence, though accomplished in the first instance by force, was yet not upheld exclusively by force. It was to a great degree the result of an organised march of life, and of more productive cultivation brought within their reach—of new wants, both created and supplied—of temples, festivals, ships, walls, chariots, &c., which imposed upon the imagination of the rude landmen and shepherds. Against mere force the natives could have found shelter in the unconquerable forests and ravines of the Calabrian Apennines, and in that vast mountain region of the *Sila*, lying immediately behind the plains of *Sybaris*, where even the French army with its excellent organisation in 1807 found so much difficulty in reaching the bandit villagers.¹ It was not by arms alone, but by arms and arts combined—a mingled influence, such as enabled imperial Rome to subdue the fierceness of the rude Germans and Britons—that the *Sybarites* and *Krotoniates* acquired and maintained their ascendancy over the natives of the interior. The shepherd of the banks of the river *Sybaris* or *Krathis* not only found a new exchangeable value for his cattle and other produce, becoming familiar with better diet and clothing and improved cultivation of the olive and the vine—but he was also enabled to display his prowess, if strong and brave, in the public games at the festival of the *Lakinian Hêrê*, or even at the Olympic games in *Peloponnesus*.² It is thus that we have to explain the extensive dominion, the great population, and the wealth and luxury of the *Sybarites* and *Krotoniates*—a population of which the incidental reports as given in figures are not trustworthy, but which we may well believe to have been very numerous. The

Ascend-
ency
over the
Enotrian
population.

¹ See a description of the French military operations in these almost inaccessible regions, contained in a valuable publication by a French general officer, on service in that country for three years, '*Calabria during military residence of three years*,' London, 1832, Letter xx p. 201.

The whole picture of Calabria contained in this volume is both interesting and instructive: military operations had never before been carried on, probably, in the mountains of the *Sila*.

² See Theokritus, *Idyll*. iv 6-35,

native Ænотrians, while unable to combine in resisting Greek force, were at the same time less widely distinguished from the Greeks in race and language, than the Oscans of Middle Italy, and therefore more accessible to Greek pacific influences; while the Oscan race seem to have been both fiercer in repelling the assaults of the Greeks, and more intractable as to their seductions. The Iapygians were not modified by the neighbourhood of Tarentum in the same degree as the tribes adjoining to Sybaris and Krotôn by their contact with those cities. The dialect of Tarentum,¹ as well as of Herakleia, though a marked Doric, admitted many local peculiarities; and the farces of the Tarentine poet Rhinthon, like the Syracusan Sophron, seem to have blended the Hellenic with the Italic in language as well as in character.

About the year 560 B. C., the time of the accession of Peisistratus at Athens, the close of what may properly be called the first period of Grecian history, Sybaris and Krotôn were at the maximum of their power, which each

Krotôn and
Sybaris—at
their maxi-
mum from
560-510 B.C.

maintained for half a century afterwards, until the fatal dissension between them. We are told that the Sybarites in that final contest marched against Krotôn with an army of 300,000 men.

Fabulous as this number doubtless is, we cannot doubt that for an irruption of this kind into an adjoining territory, their large body of semi-hellenised native subjects might be mustered in prodigious force. The few statements which have reached us respecting them, touch, unfortunately, upon little more than their luxury, fantastic self-indulgence, and extravagant indolence, for which qualities they have become proverbial in modern times as well as in ancient. Anecdotes illustrating these qualities were current, and served more than one purpose in antiquity. The philosopher recounted them in order to discredit and denounce the character which they exemplified: while among gay companies, "Sybaritic tales," or tales respecting sayings and doings of ancient Sybarites,

which illustrates the point here stated.

¹ Suidas, v. 'Πύθων; Stephan. Byz. v. Τάρτα; compare Bernhardt, Grundriss der Römischen Literatur Abschnitt ii. pt. 2. p. 185, 186, about the analogy of these ἐλύατες

of Rhinthon with the native Italic Mimes.

The dialect of the other cities of Italic Greece is very little known: the ancient Inscription of Betulia is Doric: see Ahrens, De Dialecto Doricâ, sect. 49. p. 418.

formed a separate and special class of excellent stories to be told simply for amusement¹—with which view witty romancers multiplied them indefinitely. It is probable that the Pythagorean philosophers (who belonged originally to Krotôn, but maintained themselves permanently as a philosophical sect in Italy and Sicily, with a strong tinge of ostentatious ascetism and mysticism), in their exhortations to temperance and in their denunciations of luxurious habits, might select by preference examples from Sybaris, the ancient enemy of the Krotoniates, to point their moral; and that the exaggerated reputation of the city thus first became the subject of common talk throughout the Grecian world. For little could be actually known of Sybaris in detail, since its humiliation dates from the first commencement of Grecian contemporaneous history. Hekataeus of Milêtus may perhaps have visited it in its full splendour, but even Herodotus knew it only by past report; and the principal anecdotes respecting it are cited from authors considerably later than him, who follow the tone of thought so common in antiquity, in ascribing the ruin of the Sybarites to their overweening corruption and luxury.²

¹ Aristoph. Vesp. 1260. Αἰσωπικὸν γελοῖον, ἢ Συβαριτικὸν. What is meant by Συβαριτικὸν γελοῖον is badly explained by the Scholiast, but is perfectly well illustrated by Aristophanês himself in subsequent verses of the same play (1427-1436), where Philokleon tells two good stories respecting "a Sybaritan man," and a "woman in Sybaris:" Ἀλλὰ Συβαριτὴς ἐξέπεσεν ἐξ ἄρματος, &c.—ἐν Συβάρεϊ γυνὴ ποτὶ Κατέαζ' ἐχρυσήν &c.

These Συβάρια ἐπιβήματα are as old as Epicharmus, whose mind was much imbued with the Pythagorean philosophy. See Etymolog. Magn. Συβαριζέειν. Ælian amused himself also with the ἱστορίαι Συβαριτικαί (V. H. xiv. 20): compare Hesychius, Συβαριτικοὶ λόγοι, and Suidas, Συβαριτικαί.

² Thus Herodotus (vi. 127) informs us that at the time when

Kleisthenês of Sikyôn invited from all Greece suitors of proper dignity for the hand of his daughter, Smindyridês of Sybaris came among the number, "the most delicate and luxurious man ever known" (ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ χλιδὴς εἰς ἀνδρὸς ἀφίκετο—Herodot. vi. 127), and Sybaris was at that time (B.C. 580-560) in its greatest prosperity. In Chamaeleon, Timæus, and other writers subsequent to Aristotle, greater details were given. Smindyridês was said to have taken with him to the marriage 100 domestic servants, fishermen, bird-catchers, and cooks (Athenæ. vi. 271; xii. 541). The details of Sybaritic luxury, given in Athenæus, are chiefly borrowed from writers of this post-Aristotelian age—Herakleidês of Pontus, Phylarchus, Klearchus, Timæus (Athenæ. vii. 519-522). The best-authenticated of all the

Making allowance, however, for exaggeration on all these accounts, there can be no reason to doubt that Sybaris, in 560 B. C., was one of the most wealthy, populous, and powerful cities of the Hellenic name; and that it also presented both comfortable abundance among the mass of the citizens, arising from the easy attainment of fresh lots of fertile land, and excessive indulgences among the rich—to a degree forming marked contrast with Hellas Proper, of which Herodotus characterised Poverty as the foster-sister.¹ The extraordinary productiveness of the neighbouring territory—alleged by Varro, in his time, when the culture must have been much worse than it had been under the old Sybaris, to yield an ordinary crop of a hundred-fold,² and extolled by modern

examples of Sybaritic wealth is the splendid figured garment, fifteen cubits in length, which Alkimenês the Sybarite dedicated as a votive offering in the temple of the Lakinian Hêrê. Dionysius of Syracuse plundered that temple, got possession of the garment, and is said to have sold it to the Carthaginians for the price of 120 talents: Polemon the Periegetes seems to have seen it at Carthage (Aristot. *Mirab. Ausc.* 96; *Athenæ.* xii. 541). Whether the price be correctly stated, we are not in a situation to determine.

¹ Herodot. vii. 102. τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενίη μὲν αἰσι κατὰ σύντροφός ἐστι.

² Varro, *De Re Rusticâ*, i. 44. "In Sybaritano dicunt etiam cum centesimo redire solitum." The land of the Italic Greeks stands first for wheaten bread and beef; that of Syracuse for pork and cheese (Hermippus ap. *Athenæ.* i. p. 27): about the excellent wheat of Italy, compare Sophoklês, *Triptolem.* Frag. 529, ed. Dindorf.

Theophrastus dwells upon the excellence of the land near Mylæ, in the territory of the Sicilian Messênê, which produced (according to him) thirty-fold (*Hist. Plant.*

ix. 2, 8. p. 259, ed. Schneid.). This affords some measure of comparison both for the real excellence of the ancient Sybaritan territory, and for the estimation in which it was held: its estimated produce being more than three times that of Mylæ.

See in Mr. Keppel Craven's *Tour in the Southern Provinces of Naples* (chapters xi. xii. pp. 212-218), the description of the rich and productive plain of the Krathis (in the midst of which stood the ancient Sybaris), extending about sixteen miles from Cassano to Corigliano, and about twelve miles from the former town to the sea. Compare also the picture of the same country in the work by a French officer referred to in a previous note, 'Calabria during a military residence of three years,' London, 1832, Letter xxii. p. 219—226.

Hekateus (c. 39, ed. Klausen) calls Cosa—Κόσσα, πόλις Οἰνωτρῶν ἐν μεσσηνίᾳ. Cosa is considered to be identical, seemingly on good grounds, with the modern Cassano (Cæsar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 22): assuming this to be correct, there must have been an Enotrian dependent

travellers even in its present yet more neglected culture—has been already touched upon. The river Krathis—still the most considerable river of that region—at a time when there was an industrious population to keep its water-course in order, would enable the extensive fields of Sybaris to supply abundant nourishment for a population larger perhaps than any other Grecian city could parallel. But though nature was thus bountiful, industry, good management, and well-ordered government were required to turn her bounty to account: where these are wanting, later experience of the same territory shows that, its inexhaustible capacities may exist in vain. That luxury which Grecian moralists denounced in the leading Sybarites between 560 and 510 B. C., was the result of acquisitions vigorously and industriously pushed, and kept together by an orderly central force, during a century and a half that the colony had existed. Though the Trœzenian settlers who formed a portion of the original emigrants had been expelled when the Achæans became more numerous, yet we are told that, on the whole, Sybaris was liberal in the reception of new immigrants to the citizenship¹ and that this was one of the causes of its remarkable advance. Of these additional comers we may presume that many went to form its colonies on the Mediterranean Sea, and some to settle both among its four dependent inland nations and its twenty-five subject towns. Five thousand horsemen, we are told, clothed in showy attire, formed the processional march in certain Sybaritic festivals—a number which is best appreciated by comparison with the fact, that the knights or horsemen of Athens in her best days did not exceed 1200. The Sybaritic horses if we are to believe a story purporting to come from Aristotle, were taught to move to the sound of the flute; and the garments of these wealthy citizens were composed of the finest wool from Milêtus in Ionia²—the Tarentine wool not having then acquired the distinguished renown which it possessed five centuries afterwards towards the close of the Roman republic. Next to the great abundance of home produce—corn, wine, oil, flax, cattle, fish, timber, &c.—the fact next in importance, which we hear respecting Sybaris is, the great traffic carried on with Milêtus: these

town within eight miles of the ancient city of Sybaris.

¹ Diodor. xii. 9.

² Athenæus, xii. p. 519.

two cities were more intimately and affectionately connected together than any two Hellenic cities within the knowledge of Herodotus.¹ The tie between Tarentum and Knidus was also of a very intimate character,² so that the great intercourse, personal as well as commercial, between the Asiatic and the Italic Greeks, appears as a marked fact in the history of the sixth century before the Christian æra.

In this respect, as well as in several others, the Hellenic world wears a very different aspect in 560 B. C. from that which it assumed a century afterwards, and in which it is best known to modern readers. At the former period

Grecian
world
about
560 B.C.
Ionic and
Italic
Greeks are
then the
most prominent
among
Greeks.

the Ionic and Italic Greeks are the great ornaments of the Hellenic name, carrying on a more lucrative trade with each other than either of them maintained with Greece Proper; which both of them recognised as their mother country, though without admitting anything in the nature of established headship. The military power of Sparta is indeed at this time great and preponderant in Peloponnesus, but she has no navy, and she is only just essaying her strength, not without reluctance, in ultramarine interference. After the lapse of a century, these circumstances change materially. The independence of the Asiatic Greeks is destroyed, and the power of the Italic Greeks is greatly broken; while Sparta and Athens not only become the prominent and leading Hellenic states, but constitute themselves centres of action for the lesser cities to a degree previously unknown.

It was during the height of their prosperity, seemingly, in the sixth century B.C., that the Italic Greeks either acquired for, or bestowed upon, their territory the appellation of Magna Græcia, which at that time it well deserved; for not only were Sybaris and Krotôn then the greatest Grecian cities situated near together, but the whole peninsula of Calabria may be considered as attached to the Grecian cities on the coast. The native Ænotrians and Sikels occupying the interior had become hellenised, or semi-hellenised with a mixture of Greeks among them—

¹ Herodot. vi. 21. Respecting the great abundance of ship-timber in the territory of the Italiots (Italic Greeks), see Thucyd. vi. 90; vii. 25.

The pitch from the pine forests in the Sila was also abundant and celebrated (Strabo, vi. p. 261).

² Herodot. iii. 138.

common subjects of these great cities. The whole extent of the Calabrian peninsula, within an imaginary straight line carried from Sybaris to Poseidonia, might then be fairly considered as Hellenic territory. Sybaris maintained much traffic with the Tuscan towns in the Mediterranean; so that the communication between Greece and Rome, across the Calabrian isthmus,¹ may perhaps have been easier during the time of the Roman kings (whose expulsion was nearly contemporaneous with the ruin of Sybaris) than it became afterwards during the first two centuries of the Roman republic. But all these relations underwent a complete change after the breaking up of the power of Sybaris in 510 B.C., and the gradual march of the Oscan population from Middle Italy towards the south. Cumæ was overwhelmed by the Samnites, Poseidonia by the Lucanians; who became possessed not only of these maritime cities, but also of the whole inland territory (now called the Basilicata, with part of the Hither Calabria) across from Poseidonia to the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Tarentum: while the Brutians—a mixture of outlying Lucanians with the Greco-Enotrian population once subject to Sybaris, speaking both Greek and Oscan²—became masters of the inland mountains in the Farther Calabria from Consentia nearly to the Sicilian strait. It was thus that the ruin of Sybaris, combined with the spread of the Lucanians and Brutians, deprived the Italic Greeks of that inland territory which they had enjoyed in the sixth century B.C., and restricted them to the neighbourhood of the coast. To understand the extraordinary power and prosperity of Sybaris and Krotôn, in the sixth century B.C., when the whole of this inland territory was subject to them and before the rise of the Lucanians and Brutians, and when the name Magna Græcia was first given—it is necessary to glance by contrast at these latter periods; more especially since the same name still continued to be applied by the Romans to Italic Greece after the contraction of territory had rendered it less appropriate.

Of Krotôn at this early period of its power and prosperity we know even less than of Sybaris. It stood distinguished both for the number of its citizens who received prizes at the Olympic games, and for the excellence

¹ Athenæus, xii. p. 519.

² Festus, v. *bilingues Brutates*.

of its surgeons or physicians. And what may seem more surprising, if we consider the extreme present insalubrity of the site upon which it stood, it was in ancient times proverbially healthy,¹ which was not so much the case with the more fertile Sybaris. Respecting all these cities of Krotonia-tes—their salubrity, strength, success in the Olympic games, &c. Italic Greeks, the same remark is applicable as was before made in reference to the Sicilian Greeks—that the intermixture of the native population sensibly affected both their character and habits. We have no information respecting their government during this early period of prosperity, except that we find mention at Krotôn (as at the Epizephyrian Lokri) of a senate of 1000 members, yet not excluding occasionally the ecclesia or general assembly.² Probably the steady increase of their dominion in the interior, and the facility of providing maintenance for new population, tended much to make their political systems, whatever they may have been, work in a satisfactory manner. The attempt of Pythagoras and his followers to constitute themselves a ruling faction as well as a philosophical sect, will be recounted in a subsequent chapter. The proceedings connected with that attempt will show that there was considerable analogy and sympathy between the various cities of Italian Greece, so as to render them liable to be acted on by the same causes. But though the festivals of the Lakinian Hêrê, administered by the Krotoniates, formed from early times a common point of religious assemblage to all³—yet the attempts to institute periodical meetings of deputies, for the express purpose of maintaining political harmony, did not begin until after the destruction of Sybaris, nor were they ever more than partially successful.

One other city, the most distant colony founded by Greeks in the western regions, yet remains to be mentioned; and we can do no more than mention it, since we have no facts to make up its history. Massalia, the modern Mar-seilles, was founded by the Ionic Phokæans in the 45th Olympiad, about 597 B.C.,⁴ at the time when Sybaris and Krotôn were near the maximum of their

¹ Strabo, vi. p. 262.

² Jamblichus, Vit. Pythagor. c. 9. p. 33; c. 35. p. 210.

³ Athenæus, xii. 541.

⁴ This date depends upon Timæus (as quoted by Skyrmus Chius, 210) and Solinûs; there seems no reason for distrusting it, though Thucy-

power—when the peninsula of Calabria was all Hellenic, and when Cumæ also had not yet been visited by those calamities which brought about its decline. So much Hellenism in the south of Italy doubtless facilitated the western progress of the adventurous Phokæan mariner. It would appear that Massalia was founded by amicable fusion of Phokæan colonists with the indigenous Gauls, if we may judge by the romantic legend of the Protiadæ, a Massaliotic family or gens existing in the time of Aristotle. Euxenus, a Phokæan merchant, had contracted friendly relations with Nanus, a native chief in the south of Gaul, and was invited to the festival in which the latter was about to celebrate the marriage of his daughter Petta. According to the custom of the country, the maiden was to choose for herself a husband among the guests by presenting him with a cup: through accident, or by preference, Petta presented it to Euxenus, and became his wife. Prôtis of Massalia, the offspring of this marriage, was the primitive ancestor and eponym of the Protiadæ. According to another story respecting the origin of the same gens, Prôtis was himself the Phokæan leader who married Gyptis, daughter of Nannus king of the Segobrigian Gauls.¹

Of the history of Massalia we know little, nor does it appear to have been connected with the general movement of the Grecian world. We learn generally that the Massaliots administered their affairs with discretion as well as with unanimity, and exhibited in their private habits an exemplary modesty—that although preserving alliance with the people of the interior, they were scrupulously vigilant in guarding their city against surprise, permitting no armed strangers to enter—that they introduced the culture of vines and olives, and gradually extended the Greek alphabet, language, and civilization among the neighbouring Gauls—that they not only possessed and fortified many positions along the coast of the Gulf of

didês (i. 13) and Isokratês (Archidamus, p. 316) seem to conceive Massalia as founded by the Phokæans about 60 years later, when Ionia was conquered by Harpagus (see Bruckner, *Historia Reip. Massiliensium*, sect. 2. p. 9, and Raoul Rochette, *Histoire des Colonies Grecques*, vol. iii. pp. 405–413,

who however puts the arrival of the Phokæans, in these regions and at Tartessus, much too early.

¹ Aristotle, *Μεταγλωττωγολογισμῶν*, ap. Athenæum. xiii. p. 576; Justin, xliii. 3. Plutarch (Solon, c. 2) seems to follow the same story as Justin.

Lyons, but also founded five colonies along the eastern coast of Spain—that their government was oligarchical, consisting of a perpetual senate of 600 persons, yet admitting occasionally new members from without, and a small council of fifteen members—that the Delphinian Apollo and the Ephesian Artemis were their chief deities, planted as guardians of their outlying posts, and transmitted to their colonies.¹ Although it is common to represent a deliberate march and steady supremacy of the governing few, with contented obedience on the part of the many, as the characteristic of Dorian states, and mutability not less than disturbance as the prevalent tendency in Ionian—yet there is no Grecian community to whom the former attributes are more pointedly ascribed than the Ionic Massalia. The commerce of the Massaliots appears to have been extensive, and their armed maritime force sufficiently powerful to defend it against the aggressions of Carthage—their principal enemy in the western Mediterranean.

¹ Strabo, iv. p. 179—182; Justin, xliii. 4—5; Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 26. It rather appears from Aristotle (*Polit.* v. 5, 2; vi. 4—5) that the senate was originally a body completely close, which gave rise to discontent on the part of wealthy men not included in it: a mitiga-

tion took place by admitting into it, occasionally, men selected from the latter.

Some authors seem to have accused the Massaliots of luxurious and effeminate habits (see *Athenæus*, xii. p. 523).

CHAPTER XXIII.

GRECIAN COLONIES IN AND NEAR EPIRUS.

ON the eastern side of the Ionian Sea were situated the Grecian colonies of Korkyra, Leukas, Anaktorium, Ambrakia, Apollonia, and Epidamnus.

Among these, by far the most distinguished, for situation, for wealth, and for power, was Korkyra—now known as Corfu, the same name belonging, as in antiquity, both to the town and the island, which is Korkyra. separated from the coast of Epirus by a strait varying from two to seven miles in breadth. Korkyra was founded by the Corinthians, at the same time (we are told) as Syracuse. Chersikratês, a Bacchiad, is said to have accompanied Archias on his voyage from Corinth to Syracuse, and to have been left with a company of emigrants on the island of Korkyra, where he founded a settlement.¹ What inhabitants he found there, or how they were dealt with we cannot clearly make out. The island was generally conceived in antiquity as the residence of the Homeric Phæakians, and it is to this fact that Thucydidês ascribes in part the eminence of the Korkyræan marine.² According to another story, some Eretrians from Eubœa had settled there, and were compelled to retire. A third statement represents the Liburnians³ as the prior inhabitants—and this perhaps is the most probable, since the Liburnians were an enterprising, maritime, piratical race, who long continued to occupy the more northerly islands in the Adriatic along the Illyrian and Dalmatian coast. That maritime activity, and number of ships both warlike and commercial, which we find at an early date among the Korkyræans, and in which they stand distinguished from the Italian and Sicilian Greeks, may be plausibly attributed to their partial fusion with pre-existing Liburnians; for

¹ Strabo, vi. p. 269: compare Timeus, Fragm. 49, ed. Gôller; Fr. 5, ed. Didot.

² Thucyd. i. 25.

³ Strabo, l. c.; Plutarch, Quest. Græc. c. 11: a different fable in Canon. Narrat. 3, ap. Photium Cod. 86.

the ante-Hellenic natives of Magna Græcia and Sicily (as has been already noticed) were as unpractised at sea as the Liburnians were expert.

At the time when the Corinthians were about to colonize Sicily, it was natural that they should also wish to plant a settlement at Korkyra, which was a post of great importance for facilitating the voyage from Peloponnesus to Italy, and was farther convenient for traffic with Epirus, at that period altogether non-Hellenic. Their choice of a site was fully justified by the prosperity and power of the colony, which, however, though sometimes in combination with the mother-city, was more frequently alienated from her and hostile, and continued so throughout most part of the three centuries from 700-400 B.C.¹ Perhaps also Molykreia and Chalkis,² on the south-western coast of Ætolia, not far from the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf, may have been founded by Corinth at a date hardly less early than Korkyra.

It was at Corinth that the earliest improvements in Greek ship-building, and the first construction of the trireme or war-ship with a triple bank of oars, was introduced. It was probably from Corinth that this improvement passed to Korkyra, as it did to Samos. In early times, the Korkyræan navy was in a condition to cope with the Corinthian; and the most ancient naval battle known to Thucydides³ was one between these two states, in 664 B.C. As far as we can make out, it appears that Korkyra maintained her independence not only during the government of the Bacchiads at Corinth, but also throughout the long reign of the despot Kypselus, and a part of the reign of his son Periander. But towards the close of this latter reign, we find Korkyra subject to Corinth. The barbarous treatment inflicted by Periander, in revenge for the death of his son, upon 300 Korkyræan youths, has already been recounted in a former chapter.⁴ After the death of Periander, the island seems to have regained its independence, but we are left without any particulars respecting it from about 585 B.C. down to the period shortly preceding the

¹ Herodot. iii. 49.

² Thucyd. i. 108; iii. 102.

³ Thucyd. i. 13.

⁴ Herodot. iii. 49—51; see above, chap. ix.

invasion of Greece by Xerxes—nearly a century. At this later epoch the Korkyræans possessed a naval force hardly inferior to any state in Greece. The expulsion of the Kypselids from Corinth, and the re-establishment of the previous oligarchy or something like it, does not seem to have reconciled the Korkyræans to their mother-city. For it was immediately previous to the Peloponnesian war that the Corinthians preferred the bitterest complaints against them,¹ of setting at nought those obligations which a colony was generally understood to be obliged to render. No place of honour was reserved at the public festivals of Korkyra for Corinthian visitors, nor was it the practice to offer to the latter the first taste of the victims sacrificed—observances which were doubtless respectfully fulfilled at Ambrakia and Leukas. Nevertheless the Korkyræans had taken part conjointly with the Corinthians in favour of Syracuse, when that city was in imminent danger of being conquered and enslaved by Hippokratês² despot of Gela (about 492 B.C.)—an incident showing that they were not destitute of generous sympathy with sister states, and leading us to imagine that their alienation from Corinth was as much the fault of the mother-city as their own.

The grounds of the quarrel were, probably, jealousies of trade—especially trade with the Epirotic and Illyrian tribes, wherein both were to a great degree rivals. Safe at home and industrious in the culture of their fertile island, the Korkyræans were able to furnish wine and oil to the Epirots on the main-land, in exchange for the cattle, sheep, hides and wool of the latter—more easily and cheaply than the Corinthian merchant. And for the purposes of this trade, they had possessed themselves of a Peræa or strip of the main-land immediately on the other side of the intervening strait, where they fortified various posts for the protection of their property.³ The Corinthians were personally more popular among the Epirots than the Korkyræans;⁴ but it was not until long after the foundation of Korkyra that they established their first settlement on the main-land—Ambrakia, on the north side of the Ambrakiotic Gulf, near the mouth of the river

Relations
with
Epirus.

Ambrakia
founded by
Corinth.

¹ Thucyd. i. 25—37.

² Her. dot. vii. 135.

³ Thucyd. i. iii. 5. These fortifica-

tions are probably alluded to also i. 45-4. γὰρ ἐς τὸν ἄρ᾽ αὐτῶν χωρὶον.

⁴ Thucyd. i. 47.

Arachthus. It was during the reign of Kypselus, and under the guidance of his son Gorgus, that this settlement was planted, which afterwards became populous and considerable. We know nothing respecting its growth, and we hear only of a despot named Periander as ruling in it, probably related to the despot of the same name at Corinth.¹ Periander of Ambrakia was overthrown by a private conspiracy, provoked by his own brutality and warmly seconded by the citizens, who lived constantly afterwards under a popular government.²

Notwithstanding the long-continued dissensions between Korkyra and Corinth, it appears that four considerable settlements on this same line of coast were formed by the joint enterprise of both—Leukas and Anaktorium, to the south of the mouth of the Ambrakiotic Gulf—and Apollonia and Epidamnus, both in the territory of the Illyrians at some distance to the north of the Akrokeraunian promontory.

In the settlement of the two latter, the Korkyræans seem to have been the principals—in that of the two former, they were only auxiliaries. It probably did not suit their policy to favour the establishment of any new colony on the intermediate coast opposite to their own island, between the

Leukas and Anaktorium. promontory and the gulf above-mentioned. Leukas, Anaktorium, and Ambrakia, are all referred to the agency of Kypselus the Corinthian.

The tranquillity which Aristotle ascribes to his reign may be in part ascribed to the new homes thus provided for poor or discontented Corinthian citizens. Leukas was situated near the modern Santa Maura: the present island was originally a peninsula, and continued to be so until the time of Thucydidês; but in the succeeding half-century, the Leukadians cut through the isthmus, and erected a bridge across the narrow strait connecting them with the main-land. It had been once an Akarnanian settlement, named Epileukadii, the inhabitants of which falling into civil dissension, invited 1000 Corinthian settlers to join them. The new-comers choosing their opportunity for attack, slew or expelled those who had invited them, made themselves masters of the place with its lands, and con-

¹ Strabo, vii. p. 325, x. p. 452; Skymn. Chi. 453: Raoul Rochette, *Hist. des Colon. Grecq.* vol. iii. p. 294.

² Aristot. *Polit.* v. 3, 5; v. 8, 9.

verted it from an Akarnanian village into a Grecian town.¹ Anaktorium was situated a short distance within the mouth of the Ambrakian Gulf—founded, like Leukas, upon Akarnanian soil and with a mixture of Akarnanian inhabitants, by colonists under the auspices of Kypselus or Periander. In both these establishments Korkyraean settlers participated;² in both also, the usual religious feelings connected with Grecian emigration were displayed by the neighbourhood of a venerated temple of Apollo overlooking the sea—Apollo Aktius near Anaktorium, and Apollo Leukatas near Leukas.³

Between these three settlements—Ambrakia, Anaktorium, and Leukas—and the Akarnanian population of the interior, there were standing feelings of hostility; perhaps arising out of the violence which had marked the first foundation of Leukas. The Corinthians, though popular with the Epirots, had been indifferent or unsuccessful in conciliating the Akarnanians. It rather seems indeed that the Akarnanians were averse to the presence or neighbourhood of any powerful sea-port; for in spite of their hatred towards the Ambrakiots, they were more apprehensive

¹ About Leukas, see Strabo, x. p. 452; Skylax, p. 34; Steph. Byz. v. Ἐπὶ Λευκάδιοι.

Strabo seems to ascribe the cutting through of the isthmus to the original colonists. But Thucydides speaks of this isthmus in the plainest manner (iii. 81), and of the Corinthian ships of war as being transported across it. The Dioryktos, or intervening factitious canal, was always shallow, only deep enough for boats, so that ships of war had still to be carried across by hand or machinery (Polyb. v. 5): both Plutarch (*De Serâ Num. Vind.* p. 552) and Pliny treat Leukadia as having again become a peninsula, from the accumulation of sand (*H. N.* iv. 1): compare Livy, xxxiii. 17.

Mannert (*Geograph. der Gr. und Röm.* Part viii. b. 1. p. 72) accepts the statement of Strabo, and thinks

that the Dioryktos had already been dug before the time of Thucydides. But it seems more reasonable to suppose that Strabo was misinformed as to the date, and that the cut took place at some time between the age of Thucydides and that of Skylax.

Boeckh (*ad Corp. Inscriptt. Gr.* t. i. p. 58) and W. C. Müller (*De Corcyraeor. Republicâ*, Götting. 1835, p. 13) agree with Mannert.

² Skymn. Chius, 458; Thucyd. i. 55; Plutarch, Themistoklēs, c. 24.

³ Thucyd. i. 46; Strabo, x. p. 452. Before 220 B.C., the temple of Apollo Aktius, which in the time of Thucydides belonged to Anaktorium, had come to belong to the Akarnanians; it seems also that the town itself had been merged in the Akarnanian league, for Polybius does not mention it separately (Polyb. iv. 63).

of seeing Ambrakia in the hands of the Athenians than in that of its own native citizens.¹

The two colonies north of the Akrokeraunian promontory, and on the coast-land of the Illyrian tribes—Apollonia and Epidamnus—were formed chiefly by the Korkyræans, yet with some aid and a portion of the settlers from Corinth, as well as from other Doric towns. Especially it is to be noticed, that the *œkist* was a Corinthian and a Herakleid, Phalius the son of Eratokleidês—for according to the usual practice of Greece, whenever a city, itself a colony, founded a sub-colony, the *œkist* of the latter was borrowed from the mother-city of the former.² Hence the Corinthians acquired a partial right of control and interference in the affairs of Epidamnus, which we shall find hereafter leading to important practical consequences. Epidamnus (better known under its subsequent name Dyrrhachium) was situated on an isthmus on or near the territory of the Illyrian tribe called Taulantii, and is said to have been settled about 627 B.C. Apollonia, of which the god Apollo himself seems to have been recognised as *œkist*,³ was founded under similar circumstances, during the reign of Periander of Corinth, on a maritime plain both extensive and fertile, near the river Aôus, two days' journey south of Epidamnus.

Both the one and the other of these two cities seem to have flourished, and to have received accession of inhabitants from Triphylia in Peloponnesus, when that country was subdued by the Eleians. Respecting Epidamnus, especially, we are told that it acquired great wealth and population during the century preceding the Peloponnesian war.⁴ A few allusions which we find in Aristotle, too

¹ Thucyd. iii. 94, 95, 115.

² Thucyd. i. 24-26.

³ The rhetor Aristeidês pays a similar compliment to Kyzikus, in his Panegyric Address at that city—the god Apollo had founded it personally and directly himself, not through any human *œkist*, as was the case with other colonies (Aristeidês, *Λόγος περί Κυζίκου*, Or. xvi. p. 414; vol. i. p. 384, Dindorf).

⁴ Thucyd. i. 24. ἐγένετο μεγάλη,

καὶ πολυάνθρωπος; Strabo, vii. p. 316, viii. p. 357; Steph. Byz. v. Ἀπολλωνία; Plutarch, De Serâ Numin. Vind. p. 553; Pausan. v. 22, 2.

Respecting the plain near the site of the ancient Apollonia, Colonel Leake observes: "The cultivation of this noble plain, capable of supplying grain to all Illyria and Epirus, with an abundance of other productions, is confined to a few patches of maize near the vil-

brief to afford much instruction, lead us to suppose that the governments of both began by being close oligarchies under the management of the primitive leaders of the colony—that in Epidamnus, the artisans and tradesmen in the town were considered in the light of slaves belonging to the public—but that in process of time (seemingly somewhat before the Peloponnesian war) intestine dissensions broke up this oligarchy,¹ substituted a periodical senate, with occasional public assemblies, in place of the permanent phylarchs or chiefs of tribes, and thus introduced a form more or less democratical, yet still retaining the original single-headed archon. The Epidamnian government was liberal in the admission of metics or resident aliens—
—a fact which renders it probable that the alleged public slavery of artisans in that town was a status carrying with it none of the hardships of actual slavery. It was through an authorised selling agent, or *Polêtês*, that all traffic between Epidamnus and the neighbouring Illyrians was carried on—individual dealing with them being interdicted.² Apollonia was in one respect pointedly distinguished from Epidamnus, since she excluded metics or resident strangers with a degree of rigour hardly inferior to Sparta. These few facts are all that we are permitted to hear respecting colonies both important in themselves and interesting as they brought the Greeks into connexion with distant people and regions.

The six colonies just named—Korkyra, Ambrakia, Anaktorium, Leukas, Apollonia, and Epidamnus—form an aggregate lying apart from the Hellenic name and connected with each other, though not always maintained in harmony, by analogy of race and position, as well as by their common original from Corinth. That the commerce which the Corinthian merchants carried on with them, and through them

Relations
between
these
colonies.—
Commerce.

Jages" (*Travels in Northern Greece*, vol. i. ch. vii. p. 367). Compare c. ii. p. 70.

The country surrounding Durazzo (the ancient Epidamnus) is described by another excellent observer as highly attractive, though now unhealthy. See the valuable topographical work, *Albanien, Rumelien, und die Oesterreichisch-montenegrinische Gränze*, von Dr.

Joseph Müller (Prag. 1844), p. 62.

¹ Thucyd. i. 25; Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 4, 13; iii. 11, 1; iv. 3, 8; v. 1, 6; v. 3, 4.

The allusions of the philosopher are so brief, as to convey little or no knowledge: see O. Müller, *Dorians*, b. iii. 9, 6; Tittmann, *Griech. Staatsverfass.* p. 491.

² Plutarch. *Quest. Græc.* p. 297. c. 27; *LEBAN*, V. H. xlii. 16.

with the tribes in the interior, was lucrative, we can have no doubt; and Leukas and Ambrakia continued for a long time to be not merely faithful allies, but servile imitators, of their mother-city. The commerce of Korkyra is also represented as very extensive, and carried even to the northern extremity of the Ionic Gulf. It would seem that they were the first Greeks to open a trade and to establish various settlements on the Illyrian and Dalmatian coasts, as the Phokæans were the first to carry their traffic along the Adriatic coast of Italy. The jars and pottery of Korkyra enjoyed great reputation throughout all parts of the Gulf.¹ The general trade of the island, and the encouragement for its shipping, must probably have been greater during the sixth century B.C., while the cities of Magna Græcia were at the maximum of their prosperity, than in the ensuing century when they had comparatively declined. Nor can we doubt that the visitors and presents to the oracle of Dodona in Epirus, which was distant two days' journey on landing from Korkyra, and the importance of which was most sensible during the earlier periods of Grecian history, contributed to swell the traffic of the Korkyræans.

It is worthy of notice that the monetary system established at Korkyra was thoroughly Grecian and Corinthian, graduated on the usual scale of obols, drachms, minæ, and talents, without including any of those native Italian or Sicilian elements which were adopted by the cities in Magna Græcia and Sicily. The type of the Corinthian coins seems also to have passed to those of Leukas and Ambrakia.²

Of the islands of Zakynthus and Kephallenia (Zante and Cephalonia) we hear very little: of Ithaka, so interesting from the story of the Odyssey, we have no historical

¹ W. C. Müller, *De Corcyraeor.* *Repub.* ch. 3. p. 60-62; *Aristot.* *Mirab. Ausc.* c. 104; *Hesychius*, v. *Κερκυραίων ἀμποραίς*; *Herodot.* i. 145.

The story given in the above passage of the Pseudo-Aristotle is to be taken in connection with the succeeding chapter of the same work (105), wherein the statement (largely credited in antiquity) is

given that the river Danube forked at a certain point of its course into two streams, one flowing into the Adriatic, the other into the Euxine.

² See the *Inscriptions* No. 1833 and No. 1845, in the collection of Boeckh, and Boeckh's *Metrologië*, vii. 8. p. 97. Respecting the Corinthian coinage our information is confused and imperfect.

information at all. The inhabitants of Zakynthus were Achæans from Peloponnesus; Kephallenia was distributed among four separate city-governments.¹ Neither of these islands plays any part in Grecian history until the time of the maritime empire of Athens, after the Persian war.

¹ Thucyd. ii. 30-33.

CHAPTER XXIV.

AKARNANIANS.—EPIROTS.

SOME notice must be taken of those barbarous or non-Hellenic nations who formed the immediate neighbours of Hellas, west of the range of Pindus, and north of that range which connects Pindus with Olympus—as well as of those other tribes who, though lying more remote from Hellas proper, were yet brought into relations of traffic or hostility with the Hellenic colonies.

Between the Greeks and these foreign neighbours, the Akarnanians, of whom I have already spoken briefly in my preceding volume, form the proper link of transition. They occupied the territory between the river Achelôus, the Ionian Sea, and the Ambrakian Gulf: they were Greeks, and admitted as such to contend at the Pan-Hellenic games,¹ yet they were also closely connected with the Amphilochi and Agræi, who were not Greeks. In manners, sentiments, and intelligence, they were half-Hellenic and half-Epirotic—like the Ætolians and the Ozolian Lokrians. Even down to the time of Thucydidês, these nations were subdivided into numerous petty communities, lived in unfortified villages, were frequently in the habit of plundering each other, and never permitted themselves to be unarmed: in case of attack, they withdrew their families and their scanty stock, chiefly cattle, to the shelter of difficult mountains or marshes. They were for the most part light-armed, few among them being trained to the panoply of the Grecian hoplite; but they were both brave and skilful in their own mode of warfare, and the sling in the hands of the Akarnanian was a weapon of formidable efficiency.²

Notwithstanding this state of disunion and insecurity, however, the Akarnanians maintained a loose political league among themselves. A hill near the Amphilochian Argos, on the shores of the Ambrakian Gulf, had been

¹ See Aristot. *Fragm.* περί Πολι- *Ἀκαρνάνων πολιτεία.*
τειῶν, ed. Neumann; *Fragm.* 2.

² Pollux, i. 150; Thucyd. ii. 81.

fortified to serve as a judgement-seat or place of meeting for the settlement of disputes. And it seems that both Stratus and Œniadæ had become fortified in some measure towards the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. The former, the most considerable township in Akarnania, was situated on the Achelôus, rather high up its course—the latter was at the mouth of the river, and was rendered difficult of approach by its inundations.¹ Astakus, Solium, Palærus, and Alyzia, lay on or near the coast of the Ionian Sea, between Œniadæ and Leukas: Phytia, Koronta, Medeôn, Limnæa and Thyrium, were between the southern shore of the Ambrakian Gulf and the river Achelôus.

The Akarnanians appear to have produced many prophets. They traced up their mythical ancestry, as well as that of their neighbours the Amphilochians, to the most renowned prophetic family among the Grecian heroes—Amphiaras, with his sons Alkmæôn and Amphiloehus: Akarnan, the eponymous hero of the nation, and other eponymous heroes of the separate towns, were supposed to be the sons of Alkmæôn.² They are spoken of, together with the Ætolians, as mere rude shepherds by the lyric poet Alkman, and so they seem to have continued with little alteration until the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when we hear of them, for the first time, as allies of Athens and as bitter enemies of the Corinthian colonies on their coast. The contact of those colonies, however, and the large spread of Akarnanian accessible coast, could not fail to produce some effect in socialising and improving the people. And it is probable that this effect would have been more sensibly felt, had not the Akarnanians been kept back by the fatal neighbourhood of the Ætolians, with whom they were in perpetual feud—a people the most unprincipled and unimprovable of all who bore the Hellenic name, and whose habitual faithlessness stood in marked contrast with the rectitude and steadfastness of

Their social
and political
condition.

¹ Thucyd. ii. 102; iii. 105.

² Thucyd. ii. 6^o-102; Stephan. Byz. v. Φοῖτις. See the discussion in Strabo (x. p. 462), whether the Akarnanians did, or did not, take part in the expedition against Troy; Ephorus maintaining the negative

and stringing together a plausible narrative to explain *why* they did not. The time came when the Akarnanians gained credit with Rome for this supposed absence of their ancestors.

the Akarnanian character.¹ It was in order to strengthen the Akarnanians against these rapacious neighbours that the Macedonian Kassander urged them to consolidate their numerous small townships into a few considerable cities. Partially at least the recommendation was carried into effect, so as to aggrandise Stratus and one or two other towns. But in the succeeding century, the town of Leukas seems to lose its original position as a separate Corinthian colony, and to pass into that of chief city of Akarnania,² which it lost only by the sentence of the Roman conquerors.

Passing over the borders of Akarnania, we find small nations or tribes not considered as Greeks, but Epirots—comprising different tribes, with little or no ethnical kindred. known, from the fourth century B.C. downwards, under the common name of Epirots. This word signifies properly, inhabitants of a continent as opposed to those of an island or a peninsula. It came only gradually to be applied by the Greeks as their comprehensive denomination to designate all those diverse tribes, between the Ambrakian Gulf on the south and west, Pindus on the east, and the Illyrians and Macedonians to the north and north-east. Of these Epirots, the principal were—the Chaonians, Thesprotians, Kassôpians, and Molossians,³ who occupied the country inland as well as maritime along the Ionian Sea from the Akrokeraunian mountains to the borders of Ambrakia in the interior of the Ambrakian Gulf. The Agræans and Amphilochians dwelt eastward of the last-mentioned gulf, bordering upon Akarnania: the Athamânes, the Tymphæans, and the Talares lived along the western skirts and high range of Pindus. Among these various tribes it is difficult to discriminate the semi-Hellenic from the non-Hellenic; for Herodotus considers both Molossians and Thesprotians as Hellenic—and the oracle of Dôdôna, as well as the Nekyomanteion (or holy cavern for evoking the dead) of Acheron, were both in the territory of the Thesprotians, and both (in the time of the historian) Hellenic. Thucydidês, on the other hand, treats both Molossians and Thesprotians as barbaric, and Strabo says the same respecting the Athamânes, whom Plato numbers as Hellenic.⁴ As the Epirots were con-

¹ Polyb. iv. 30: compare also ix. 40.

² Skylax. c. 28-32.

³ Diodor. xix. 67; Livy xxxiii. 16-17; xlv. 31.

⁴ Herodot. ii. 58, v. 127; Thucyd. ii. 80; Plato, Minos, p. 315. The Chaonians and Thesprotians were

founded with the Hellenic communities towards the south, so they become blended with the Macedonian and Illyrian tribes towards the north. The Macedonian Orestæ, north of the Cambunian mountains and east of Pindus, are called by Hekataeus a Molossian tribe; and Strabo even extends the designation Epirots to the Illyrian Paroræi and Atintænes, west of Pindus, nearly on the same parallel of latitude with the Orestæ.¹ It must be remembered (as observed above), that while the designations Illyrians and Macedonians are properly ethnical, given to denote analogies of language, habits, feeling, and supposed origin, and probably acknowledged by the people themselves—the name Epirots belongs to the Greek language, is given by Greeks alone, and marks nothing except residence on a particular portion of the continent. Theopompus (about 340 B.C.) reckoned fourteen distinct Epirotic nations, among whom the Molossians and Chaonians were the principal. It is possible that some of these may have been semi-Illyrian, others semi-Macedonian, though all were comprised by him under the common name Epirots.²

Of these various tribes, who dwelt between the Akro-keraunian promontory and the Ambrakian Gulf, some at least appear to have been of ethnical kindred with portions of the inhabitants of Southern Italy. There were Chaonians on the Gulf of Tarentum before the arrival of the Greek settlers, as well as in Epirus. Though we do not find the name Thesprotians in Italy, we find there a town named Pandosia and a river named Acheron, the same as among the Epirotic Thesprotians: the ubiquitous name Pelasgian is connected both with one and with the other. This ethnical affinity, remote or near, between Ænotrians

Some of these tribes ethnically connected with those of Southern Italy.

separated by the river Thyamis (now Kalamas)—Thucyd. i. 46; Stephanus Byz. v. Τροία.

¹ Hekataeus, Fr. 77, ed. Klausen; Strabo, vii. p. 326; Appian, Illyric. c. 7. In the time of Thucydides, the Molossi and the Atintænes were under the same king (ii. 80). The name Ἠπειρώται, with Thucydides, means only inhabitants of a continent—οἱ τῶν ἡπειρωτῶν (i. 47; ii. 80) includes Ætoli-
ans

and Akarnanians (iii. 94-95), and is applied to inhabitants of Thrace (iv. 105).

Epirus is used in its special sense to designate the territory west of Pindus, by Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 1, 7.

Compare Mannert, Geographie der Griech. und Römer, part vii. book 2. p. 283.

² Strabo, vii. p. 324.

and Epirots, which we must accept as a fact without being able to follow it into detail, consists at the same time with the circumstance—that both seem to have been susceptible of Hellenic influences to an unusual degree, and to have been moulded, with comparatively little difficulty, into an imperfect Hellenism, like that of the *Ætolians* and *Akarnanians*. The Thesprotian conquerors of Thessaly passed in this manner into Thessalian Greeks. The Amphiloichians who inhabited Argos on the Ambrakian Gulf were hellenised by the reception of Greeks from Ambrakia, though the Amphiloichians situated without the city still remained barbarous in the time of Thucydidês:¹ a century afterwards, probably, they would be hellenised like the rest by a longer continuance of the same influences—as happened with the *Sikels* in Sicily.

To assign the names and exact boundaries of the different tribes inhabiting Epirus as they stood in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., at the time when the western stream of Grecian colonisation was going on, and when the newly-established Ambrakiots must have been engaged in subjugating or expelling the prior occupants of their valuable site—is out of our power. We have no information prior to Herodotus and Thucydidês, and that which they tell us cannot be safely applied to a time either much earlier or much later than their own. That there was great analogy between the inland Macedonians and the Epirots, from Mount Bermius across the continent to the coast opposite Korkyra, in military equipment, in the fashion of cutting the hair, and in speech, we are apprised by a valuable passage of Strabo; who farther tells us that many of the tribes spoke two different languages²—a fact which at least proves very close intercommunion, if not a double origin and incorporation. Wars or voluntary secessions and new alliances would alter the boundaries and relative situation of the various tribes. And this would be

Others, with the Macedonians—impossible to mark the boundaries.

¹ Thucyd. ii. 68.

² Strabo, vii. p. 324. In these same regions, under the Turkish government of the present day, such is the mixture and intercourse of Greeks, Albanians, Bulgarian Slavonians, Wallachians and

Turks, that most of the natives find themselves under the necessity of acquiring two, sometimes three, languages: see Dr. Grisebach, *Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa*, ch. xii. vol. ii. p. 68.

the more easily effected, as all Epirus, even in the fourth century B.C., was parcelled out among an aggregate of villages, without any great central cities: so that the severance of a village from the Molossian union, and its junction with the Thesprotian (abstracting from the feelings with which it might be connected), would make little practical difference in its condition or proceedings. The gradual increase of Hellenic influence tended partially to centralise this political dispersion, enlarging some of the villages into small towns by the incorporation of some of their neighbours; and in this way probably were formed the seventy Epirotic cities which were destroyed and given up to plunder on the same day, by Paulus Emilius and the Roman senate. The Thesprotian Ephyre is called a city even by Thucydides.¹ Nevertheless the situation was unfavourable to the formation of considerable cities, either on the coast or in the interior, since the physical character of the territory is an exaggeration of that of Greece—almost throughout, wild, rugged and mountainous. The valleys and low grounds, though frequent, are never extensive—while the soil is rarely suited, in any continuous spaces, for the cultivation of corn; insomuch that the flour for the consumption of Janina, at the present day, is transported from Thessaly over the lofty ridge of Pindus by means of asses and mules;² while the fruits and vegetables are brought from Arta, the territory of Ambrakia. Epirus is essentially a pastoral country: its cattle as well as its shepherds and shepherd's dogs were celebrated throughout all antiquity; and its population then, as now, found divided village residence the most suitable to their means and occupations. In spite of this natural tendency, however, Hellenic influences were to a certain extent efficacious, and it is to them that we are to ascribe the formation of towns like Phœnikê—an inland city a few miles removed from the sea, in a latitude somewhat north of the northernmost point of Korkyra, which Polybius notices as the most flourishing³ of the Epirotic cities at the

Territory distributed into villages—no considerable cities.

¹ Livy, xlv. 34; Thucyd. i. 47. Phanotê, in the more northerly part of Epirus, is called only a *castellum*, though it was an important military post (Livy, xliii. 21).

² Leake's Travels in Northern Greece, ch. xxxviii. vol. iv. pp. 207,

210, 233: ch. ix. vol. i. p. 411; Cyprien Robert, *Les Slaves de Turquie*, book iv. ch. 2.

Βουβόται πρῶτες ἐξόχοι—Pindar, Nem. iv. 81; Cæsar, Bell. Civil. iii. 47;

³ Polybius, ii. 5, 8.

time when it was plundered by the Illyrians in 230 B.C. Passarôn, the ancient spot where the Molossian kings were accustomed on their accession to take their coronation-oath, had grown into a considerable town, in this last century before the Roman conquest; while Tekmôn, Phylakê, and Horreum also become known to us at the same period.¹ But the most important step which those kings made towards aggrandisement, was the acquisition of the Greek city of Ambrakia, which became the capital of the kingdom of Pyrrhus, and thus gave to him the only site suitable for a concentrated population which the country afforded.

If we follow the coast of Epirus from the entrance of the Ambrakian Gulf northward to the Akrokeraunian promontory, we shall find it discouraging to Grecian colonisation. There are none of those extensive maritime plains which the Gulf of Tarentum exhibits on its coast, and which sustained the grandeur of Sybaris and Krotôn. Throughout the whole extent, the mountain-region, abrupt and affording little cultivable soil, approaches near to the sea;² and the level ground, wherever it exists, must be commanded and possessed (as it is now) by villagers on hill-sites, always difficult of attack and often inexpugnable. From hence, and from the neighbourhood of Korkyra—herself well situated for traffic with Epirus, and jealous of neighbouring rivals—we may understand why the Grecian emigrants omitted this unprofitable tract, and passed on either northward to the maritime plains of Illyria, or westward to Italy. In the time of Herodotus and Thucydides, there seems to have been no Hellenic settlement between Ambrakia and Apollonia. The harbour called Glykys Limên, with the neighbouring valley and plain, the most considerable in Epirus next to that of Ambrakia, near the junction of the lake and river of Acheron with the sea—were possessed by the Thesprotian town of Ephyrê, situated on a neighbouring eminence; perhaps also in part by the ancient Thesprotian town of Pandosia, so pointedly connected, both in Italy and Epirus, with the river Acheron.³ Amidst the almost inexpugnable mountains

¹ Plutarch, Pyrrh. c. i.; Livy, xlv. 26.

² See the description of the geographical features of Epirus in

Boué, *La Turquie en Europe, Géographie Générale*, vol. i. p. 57.

³ See the account of this territory in Colonel Leake's *Travels in*

and gorges which mark the course of that Thesprotian river, was situated the memorable recent community of Suli, which held in dependence many surrounding villages in the lower grounds and in the plain—the counterpart of primitive Epirotic rulers in situation, in fierceness, and in indolence, but far superior to them in energetic bravery and endurance. It appears that after the time of Thucydidês, certain Greek settlers must have found admission into the Epirotic towns in this region. For Dêmôsthenês¹ mentions Pandosia, Buchetia, and Elæa, as settlements from Elis, which Philip of Macedon conquered and handed over to his brother-in-law the king of the Molossian Epirots; and Strabo tells us that the name of Ephyrê had been changed to Kichyrus, which appears to imply an accession of new inhabitants.

Both the Chaonians and Thesprotians appear, in the time of Thucydidês, as having no kings: there was a privileged kingly race, but the presiding chief was changed from year to year. The Molossians, however, had a line of kings, succeeding from father to son, which professed to trace its descent through fifteen generations downward, from Achilles and Neoptolemus to Tharypas about the year 400 B.C.: thus forming a scion of the great Æakid race. Admêtus, the Molossian king to whom Themistoklês presented himself as a suppliant, appears to have lived in the simplicity of an inland village chief. But Arrybas, his son or grandson, is said to have been educated at Athens, and to have introduced improved social regularity into his native country: while the subsequent kings both imitated the ambition and received the aid of Philip of Macedon, extending their dominion² over a large portion of the other Epirots. Even in

Some Epirotic tribes governed by kings, others not.

Northern Greece, vol. i. ch. v.; his journey from Janina, through the district of Suli and the course of Acheron, to the plain of Glyky and the Acherusian lake and marshes near the sea. Compare also vol. iv. ch. xxxv. p. 73.

"To the ancient sites (observes Colonel Leake) which are so numerous in the great valleys watered by the Lower Acheron, the Lower Thyamis, and their tributaries, it

is a mortifying disappointment to the geographer not to be able to apply a single name with absolute certainty."

The number of these sites affords one among many presumptions that each must have been individually inconsiderable.

¹ Dêmôsthenês, *De Haloneso*, ch. 7, p. 84 R; Strabo, vii. p. 324.

² Skylax, c. 32; Pausanias, i. 11; Justin, xvii. 6.

the time of Skylax, they covered a large inland territory, though their portion of sea-coast was confined. From the narrative of Thucydides, we gather that all the Epirots, though held together by no political union, were yet willing enough to combine for purposes of aggression and plunder. The Chaonians enjoyed a higher military reputation than the rest. But the account which Thucydides gives of their expedition against Akarnania exhibits a blind, reckless, boastful impetuosity, which contrasts strikingly with the methodical and orderly march of their Greek allies and companions.¹

To collect the few particulars known, respecting these ruder communities adjacent to Greece, is a task indispensable for the just comprehension of the Grecian world, and for the appreciation of the Greeks themselves by comparison or contrast with their contemporaries. Indispensable as it is, however, it can hardly be rendered in itself interesting to the reader, whose patience I have to bespeak by assuring him that the facts hereafter to be recounted of Grecian history would be only half understood without this preliminary survey of the lands around.

That the *Arrhybas* of Justin is the same as the *Tharypas* of Pausanias—perhaps also the same as *Tharyps* in Thucydides, who was

a minor at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war—seems probable.

¹ Thucyd. ii. 81.

CHAPTER XXV.

ILLYRIANS, MACEDONIANS, PÆONIANS.

NORTHWARD of the tribes called Epirotic lay those more numerous and widely extended tribes who bore the general name of Illyrians, bounded on the west by the Adriatic, on the east by the mountain-range of Skardus, the northern continuation of Pindus, and thus covering what is now called Middle and Upper Albania, together with the more northerly mountains of Montenegro, Herzegovina, and Bosnia. Their limits to the north and north-east cannot be assigned. But the Dardani and Autariatæ must have reached to the north-east of Skardus and even east of the Servian plain of Kossovo; while along the Adriatic coast, Skylax extends the race so far northward as to include Dalmatia, treating the Liburnians and Istrians beyond them as not Illyrian: yet Appian and others consider the Liburnians and Istrians as Illyrian, and Herodotus even includes under that name the Eneti or Veneti at the extremity of the Adriatic Gulf.¹ The Bulini, according to Skylax, were

Different
tribes of
Illyrians.

¹ Herod. i. 196; Skylax, c. 19-27; Appian, *Illyric.* c. 2, 4, 8.

The geography of the countries occupied in ancient times by the Illyrians, Macedonians, Pæonians, Thracians, &c., and now possessed by a great diversity of races, among whom the Turks and Albanians retain the primitive barbarism without mitigation, is still very imperfectly understood; though the researches of Colonel Leake, of Boué, of Grisebach, and others (especially the valuable travels of the latter), have of late thrown much light upon it. How much our knowledge is extended in this direction, may be seen by comparing the map prefixed to Mannert's *Geographie*, or to O. Müller's *Dis-*

sertation on the Macedonians, with that in Boué's *Travels*; but the extreme deficiency of the maps, even as they now stand, is emphatically noticed by Boué himself (see his *Critique des Cartes de la Turquie* in the fourth volume of his *Voyage*)—by Paul Joseph Schaffarik, the learned historian of the Slavonic race, in the preface attached by him to Dr. Joseph Müller's *Topographical Account of Albania*—and by Grisebach, who in his surveys taken from the summits of the mountains Peristeri and Ljubatrin, found the map differing at very step from the bearings which presented themselves to his eye. It is only since Boué and Grisebach that the idea

the northernmost Illyrian tribe: the Amantini, immediately northward of the Epirotic Chaonians, were southernmost.

has been completely dismissed, derived originally from Strabo, of a straight line of mountains (εὐθεία γραμμῇ, Strabo, lib. vii. Fragm. 3) running across from the Adriatic to the Euxine, and sending forth other lateral chains in a direction nearly southerly. The mountains of Turkey in Europe, when examined with the stock of geological science which M. Viquesnel (the companion of Boué) and Dr. Grisebach bring to the task, are found to belong to systems very different, and to present evidences of conditions of formation often quite independent of each other.

The thirteenth chapter of Grisebach's *Travels*, presents the best account which has yet been given of the chain of Skardus and Pindus: he has been the first to prove clearly, that the Ljubatrin, which immediately overhangs the plain of Kossovo at the southern border of Servia and Bosnia, is the north-eastern extremity of a chain of mountains reaching southward to the frontiers of Ætolia, in a direction not very wide of N-S.—with the single interruption (first brought to view by Colonel Leake) of the Klissoura of Devol—a complete gap, where the river Devol, rising on the eastern side, crosses the chain and joins the Apsus or Beratino on the western—(it is remarkable that both in the map of Boué and in that annexed to Dr. Joseph Müller's *Topographical Description* of Albania, the river Devol is made to join the Genussus or Skoumi, considerably north of the Apsus, though Colonel Leake's map gives the correct course). In Grisebach's nomenclature Skardus is made to reach from the Ljubatrin as its north-eastern extremity,

south-westward and southward as far as the Klissoura of Devol: south of that point Pindus commences, in a continuation however of the same axis.

In reference to the seats of the ancient Illyrians and Macedonians, Grisebach has made another observation of great importance (vol. ii. p. 121.) Between the north-eastern extremity, Mount Ljubatrin and the Klissoura of Devol, there are in the mighty and continuous chain of Skardus (above 7000 feet high) only two passes fit for an army to cross: one near the northern extremity of the chain, over which Grisebach himself crossed, from Kalkandele to Prisdren, a very high col, not less than 5000 feet above the level of the sea; the other, considerably to the southward, and lower as well as easier, nearly in the latitude of Lychnidus or Ochrida. It was over this last pass that the Roman Via Egnatia travelled, and that the modern road from Scutari and Durazzo to Bitolia now travels. With the exception of these two partial depressions, the long mountain ridge maintains itself undiminished in height, admitting indeed paths by which a small company either of travellers, or of Albanian robbers from the Dibren, may cross (there is a path of this kind which connects Struga with Ueskioub, mentioned by Dr. Joseph Müller, p. 70, and some others by Boué, vol. iv. p. 546), but nowhere admitting the passage of an army.

To attack the Macedonians, therefore, an Illyrian army would have to go through one or other of these passes, or else to go round the north-eastern pass of Katschanik, beyond the extremity of

Among the southern Illyrian tribes are to be numbered the Taulantii—originally the possessors, afterwards the immediate neighbours, of the territory on which Epidamnus was founded. The ancient geographer Hekataeus¹ (about 500 B. C.) is sufficiently well acquainted with them to specify their town Sesarêthus. He names the Chelidonii as their northern, the Encheleis as their southern, neighbours; and the Abri also as a tribe nearly adjoining. We

Ljubatrin. And we shall find that, in point of fact, the military operations recorded between the two nations, carry us usually in one or other of these directions. The military proceedings of Brasidas (Thucyd. iv. 124)—of Philip the son of Amyntas king of Macedon (Diodor. xvi. 8)—of Alexander the Great in the first year of his reign (Arrian, i. 5), all bring us to the pass near Lychnidus (compare Livy, xxxii. 9; Plutarch, Flaminin. c. 4); while the Illyrian Dardani and Autariatæ border upon Pæonia, to the north of Pelagonia, and threaten Macedonia from the north-east of the mountain-chain of Skardus. The Autariatæ are not far removed from the Pæonian Agrianes, who dwelt near the sources of the Strymon, and both Autariatæ and Dardani threatened the return march of Alexander from the Danube into Macedonia, after his successful campaign against the Getæ, low down in the course of that great river (Arrian, i. 5). Without being able to determine the precise line of Alexander's march on this occasion, we may see that these two Illyrian tribes must have come down to attack him from Upper Mœsia, and on the eastern side of the Axios. This, and the fact that the Dardani were the immediate neighbours of the Pæonians, shows us that their seats could not have been far removed from Upper Mœsia (Livy, xlv. 29): the fauces

Pelagoniæ (Livy, xxxi. 34) are the pass by which they entered Macedonia from the north. Ptolemy even places the Dardani at Skopie (Ueskioub) (iii. 9); his information about these countries seems better than that of Strabo.

The important topographical instruction contained in Grisebach's work was deprived of much of its value from the want of a map annexed. This deficiency has now been supplied (1853) in the new map of Turkey in Europe, published by Kiepert of Berlin; wherein the data of Grisebach, Boué, Viquesnel, Joseph Müller, and several others, are for the first time combined and turned to account. Kiepert's map is a material addition to our knowledge of the countries south of the Danube. The "Erläuterungen" annexed to it, while they set forth the best evidences on which a cartographer of Turkey in the present day can proceed, proclaim however the deplorable paucity of scientific or accurate observations.

¹ Hekatei Fragm. ed. Klausen, Fr. 66—70; Thucyd. i. 26.

Skylax places the Encheleis north of Epidamnus and of the Taulantii. It may be remarked that Hekataeus seems to have communicated much information respecting the Adriatic: he noticed the city of Adria at the extremity of the Gulf, and the fertility and abundance of the territory around it (Fr. 58: compare Skymnus Chius, 384).

hear of the Illyrian Parthini, nearly in the same regions—of the Dassaretii,¹ near Lake Lychnidus—of the Penestæ, with a fortified town Uscana, north of the Dassaretii—of the Ardiæans, the Autariatæ, and the Dardanians, throughout Upper Albania eastward as far as Upper Mœsia, including the range of Skardus itself; so that there were some Illyrian tribes conterminous on the east, with Macedonians, and on the south with Macedonians as well as with Pæonians. Strabo even extends some of the Illyrian tribes much farther northward, nearly to the Julian Alps.²

With the exception of some portions of what is now called Middle Albania, the territory of these tribes consisted principally of mountain pastures with a certain proportion of fertile valley, but rarely expanding into a plain. The Autariatæ had the reputation of being unwarlike, but the Illyrians generally were poor, rapacious, fierce and formidable in battle. They shared with the remote Thracian tribes the custom of tattowing³ their bodies and of offering human sacrifices: moreover, they were always ready to sell their military service for hire, like the modern Albanian Schkipetars, in whom probably their blood yet flows, though with considerable admixture from subsequent immigrations. Of the Illyrian kingdom on the Adriatic coast, with Skodra (Scutari) for its capital city, which became formidable by its reckless piracies in the third century B. C., we hear nothing in the flourishing period of Grecian history. The description of Skylax notices in his day, all along the northern Adriatic,

¹ Livy, xliii. 9—18. Mannert (Geograph. der Griech. und Römer, part vii. ch. 9. p. 386 *seq.*) collects the points and shows how little can be ascertained respecting the localities of these Illyrian tribes.

² Strabo, iv. p. 206.

³ Strabo, vii. p. 315; Arrian, i. 5, 4—11. So impracticable is the territory, and so narrow the means of the inhabitants, in the region called Upper Albania, that most of its resident tribes even now are considered as free, and pay no tribute to the Turkish government: the Pachas cannot extort it without

greater expense and difficulty than the sum gained would repay. The same was the case in Epirus or Lower Albania, previous to the time of Ali Pacha: in Middle Albania, the country does not present the like difficulties, and no such exemptions are allowed (Boué, Voyage en Turquie, vol. iii. p. 192). These free Albanian tribes are in the same condition with regard to the Sultan as the Mysians and Pisidians in Asia Minor with regard to the king of Persia in ancient times (Xenophon, Anab. iii. 2, 23).

a considerable and standing traffic between the coast and the interior, carried on by Liburnians, Istrians, and the small Grecian insular settlements of Pharos and Issa. But he does not name Skodra, and probably this strong post (together with the Greek town Lissus, founded by Dionysius of Syracuse) was occupied after his time by conquerors from the interior,¹ the predecessors of Agrôn and Gentius, just as the coast-land of the Thermaic Gulf was conquered by inland Macedonians.

Once during the Peloponnesian war, a detachment of hired Illyrians, marching into Macedonia Lynkêstis (seemingly over the pass of Skardus a little east of Lychnidus or Ochrida), tried the valour of the Spartan Brasidas. On that occasion (as in the expedition above alluded to of the Epirots against Akarnania) we shall notice the marked superiority of the Grecian character, even in the case of an armament chiefly composed of helots newly enfranchised, over both Macedonians and Illyrians. We shall see the contrast between brave men acting in concert and obedience to a common authority, and an assailing host of warriors, not less brave individually, but in which every man is his own master,² and fights as he pleases. The rapid and impetuous rush of the Illyrians, if the first shock failed of its effect, was succeeded by an equally rapid retreat or flight. We hear nothing afterwards respecting these barbarians until the time of Philip of Macedon, whose vigour and military energy first repressed their incursions, and afterwards partially conquered them. It seems to have been about this period (400-350 B.C.) that the great movement of the Gauls from west to east took place, which brought the Gallic Skordiski and other tribes into the regions between the Danube and the Adriatic Sea, and which probably dislodged some of the northern Illyrians so as to drive them upon new enterprises and fresh abodes.

What is now called Middle Albania, the Illyrian territory immediately north of Epirus, is much superior to

¹ Diodor. xv. 13; Polyb. ii. 4.

² See the description in Thucydides (iv. 124-128; especially the exhortation which he puts into the mouth of Brasidas — ἀντοχράτωρ

μύχῃ, contrasted with the orderly array of Greeks.

"Illyriorum velocitas ad excursiones et impetus subitos."—Livy, xxxi. 35.

Conflicts
and contrast
of
Illyrians
with
Greeks.

the latter in productiveness.¹ Though mountainous, it possesses more both of low hill and valley, and Epidamnus and Apollonia in relation to the Illyrians. ampler as well as more fertile cultivable spaces. Epidamnus and Apollonia formed the seaports of this territory. To them commerce with the southern Illyrians, less barbarous than the northern, was one of the sources² of great prosperity during the first century of their existence—a prosperity interrupted in the case of the Epidamnians by internal dissensions, which impaired their ascendancy over their Illyrian neighbours, and ultimately placed them at variance with their mother-city Korkyra. The commerce between these Greek seaports and the interior tribes, when once the Greeks became strong enough to render violent attack from the latter hopeless, was reciprocally beneficial to both of them. Grecian oil and wine were introduced among these barbarians, whose chiefs at the same time learnt to appreciate the woven fabrics,³ the polished and carved metallic work, the tempered weapons, and the pottery, which issued from Grecian artisans. Moreover, the importation sometimes of salt-fish, and always that of salt itself, was of the greatest importance to these inland residents, especially for such localities as possessed lakes abounding in fish like that of Lychnidus. We hear of wars between the Autariatæ and the Ardiæi, respecting salt-springs near their boundaries, and also of other tribes whom the privation of salt reduced to the necessity of submitting to the Romans.⁴ On the other hand these tribes possessed two

¹ See Pouqueville, *Voyage en Grèce*, vol. i. ch. 23 and 24; Grisebach, *Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa*, vol. ii. p. 138, 139; Boué, *La Turquie en Europe*, Géographie Générale, vol. i. p. 60-65.

² Skymnus Chius, v. 418-425.

³ Thucydides mentions the ὑφαντὰ καὶ λεῖα, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη κατασκευή, which the Greek settlements on the Thracian coast sent up to king Seuthês (ii. 98): similar to the ὑφάσμαθ' ἱερὰ, and to the χειρῶν τεκτόνων δαίδαλα, offered as presents to the Delphian god (Eurip. Ion, 1141; Pindar, Pyth. v. 46).

⁴ Strabo, vii. p. 317; Appian, Illy-

ric. 17; Aristot. Mirab. Ausc. c. 138. For the extreme importance of the trade in salt, as a bond of connexion, see the regulations of the Romans when they divided Macedonia into four provinces, with the distinct view of cutting off all connexion between one and the other. All *commercium* and *convivium* were forbidden between them. The fourth region, whose capital was Pelagonia (and which included all the primitive or Upper Macedonia, east of the range of Pindus and Skardus), was altogether inland, and it was expressly forbidden to draw its salt from the

articles of exchange so precious in the eyes of the Greeks, that Polybius reckons them as absolutely indispensable¹—cattle and slaves; which latter were doubtless procured from Illyria, often in exchange for salt, as they were from Thrace and from the Euxine, and from Aquileia

third region, or the country between the Lower Axios and the Peneius; while on the other hand the Illyrian Dardani (situated northward of Upper Macedonia) received express permission to draw their salt from this third or maritime region of Macedonia: the salt was to be conveyed from the Thermaic Gulf along the road of the Axios to Stobi in Pæonia, and was there to be sold at a fixed price.

The inner or fourth region of Macedonia, which included the modern Bitoglia and Lake Castoria, could easily obtain its salt from the Adriatic, by the communication afterwards so well known as the Roman Egnatian way; but the communication of the Dardani with the Adriatic led through a country of the greatest possible difficulty, and it was probably a great convenience to them to receive their supply from the Gulf of Therma by the road along the Vardar (Axios) (Livy, xlv. 29). Compare the route of Grisebach from Salonichi to Scutari, in his *Reise durch Rumelien*, vol. ii.

¹ About the cattle in Illyria, Aristotle, *De Mirab. Ausc.* c. 128. There is a remarkable passage in Polybius, wherein he treats the importation of slaves as a matter of necessity to Greece (iv. 37). The purchasing of the Thracian slaves in exchange for salt is noticed by Menander—Θράξ ἐργαῖς εἰ, πρὸς ἄλλας ἡγορασμένοις: see Proverb. Zenob. ii. 12, and Diogenian, i. 100.

The same trade was carried on in antiquity with the nations on and near Caucasus, from the seaport of Dioskurias at the eastern

extremity of the Euxine (Strabo, xi. p. 506): so little have those tribes changed, that the Circassians now carry on much the same trade. Dr. Clarke's statement carries us back to the ancient world:—"The Circassians frequently sell their children to strangers, particularly to the Persians and Turks, and their princes supply the Turkish seraglios with the most beautiful of the prisoners of both sexes whom they take in war. In their commerce with the Tchernomorski Cossacks (north of the river Kuban), the Circassians bring considerable quantities of wood, and the delicious honey of the mountains, sewed up in goats' hides, with the hair on the outside. These articles they exchange for salt, a commodity found in the neighbouring lakes, of a very excellent quality. Salt is more precious than any other kind of wealth to the Circassians, and it constitutes the most acceptable present which can be offered to them. They weave mats of very great beauty, which find a ready market both in Turkey and Russia. They are also ingenious in the art of working silver and other metals, and in the fabrication of guns, pistols and sabres. Some, which they offered us for sale, we suspected had been procured in Turkey in exchange for slaves. Their bows and arrows are made with inimitable skill, and the arrows being tipped with iron, and otherwise exquisitely wrought, are considered by the Cossacks and Russians as inflicting incurable wounds." (Clarke's Travels, vol. i. ch. xvi. p. 378.)

in the Adriatic, through the internal wars of one tribe with another. Silver-mines were worked at Damastium in Illyria. Wax and honey were probably also articles of export, and it is a proof that the natural products of Illyria were carefully sought out, when we find a species of iris peculiar to the country collected and sent to Corinth, where its root was employed to give the special flavour to a celebrated kind of aromatic unguent.¹

The intercourse between the Hellenic ports and the Illyrians inland, was not exclusively commercial. Grecian exiles also found their way into Illyria, and Grecian myths became localised there, as may be seen by the tale of Kadmus and Harmonia, from whom the chiefs of the Illyrian Encheleis professed to trace their descent.²

The Macedonians of the fourth century B.C. acquired, from the ability and enterprise of two successive kings, a great perfection in Greek military organization without any of the loftier Hellenic qualities. Their career in Greece is purely destructive, extinguishing the free movement of the separate cities, and disarming the citizen-soldier to make room for the foreign mercenary whose sword was unhallowed by any feelings of patriotism — yet totally incompetent to substitute any good system of central or pacific administration. But the Macedonians of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. are an aggregate only of rude inland tribes, subdivided into distinct petty principalities, and separated from the Greeks by a wider ethnical difference even than the Epirots; since Herodotus, who considers the Epirotic Molossians and Thesprotians as children of Hellen, decidedly thinks the contrary respecting the Macedonians.³ In the main, however, they seem at this early period analogous to the Epirots in character

¹ Theophrast. Hist. Plant. iv. 5, 2; ix. 7, 4; Pliny, H. N. xiii. 2; xxi. 19; Strabo, vii. p. 326. Coins of Epidamnus and Apollonia are found not only in Macedonia, but in Thrace and in Italy: the trade of these two cities probably extended across from sea to sea, even before the construction of the Egnatian way; and the Inscription 2056 in the Corpus of Boeckh proclaims the gratitude of Odëssus (Varna)

in the Euxine Sea towards a citizen of Epidamnus (Barth, Corinthiorum Mercatur. Hist. p. 49; Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. c. 104).

² Herodot. v. 61; viii. 137; Strabo, vii. p. 326. Skylax places the *λῆγον* of Kadmus and Harmonia among the Illyrian Manii, north of the Encheleis (Diodor. xix. 53; Pausan. ix. 5, 3).

³ Herodot. v. 22.

and civilization. They had some few towns, but they were chiefly village residents, extremely brave and pugnacious: the customs of some of their tribes enjoined that the man who had not yet slain an enemy should be distinguished on some occasions by a badge of discredit.¹

The original seats of the Macedonians were in the regions east of the chain of Skardus (the northerly continuation of Pindus)—north of the chain called Their original seats. the Cambunian mountains, which connects Olympus with Pindus, and which forms the north-western boundary of Thessaly; but they did not reach so far eastward as the Thermaic Gulf; apparently not farther eastward than Mount Bermius, or about the longitude of Edessa and Berrhoia. They thus covered the upper portions of the course of the rivers Haliakmôn and Erigôn, before the junction of the latter with the Axios; while the upper course of the Axios, higher than this point of junction, appears to have belonged to Pæonia, though the boundaries of Macedonia and Pæonia cannot be distinctly marked out at any time.

The large space of country included between the above-mentioned boundaries is in great part mountainous, occupied by lateral ridges or elevations which connect themselves with the main line of Skardus. But it also comprises three wide alluvial basins or plains, which are of great extent and well-adapted to cultivation—the plain of Tettovo or Kalkandele (northernmost of the three), which contains the sources and early course of the Axios or Vardar—that of Bitolia, coinciding to a great degree with the ancient Pelagonia, wherein the Erigôn flows towards the Axios—and the larger and more undulating basin of Greveno and Anaselitzas, containing the Upper Haliakmôn with its confluent streams: this latter region is separated from the basin of Thessaly by a mountainous line of considerable length, but presenting numerous easy passes.² Reckoning the basin of Thessaly as a fourth, General view of the country which they occupied—eastward of Pindus and Skardus.

¹ Aristot. Polit. vii. 2, 6. That the Macedonians were chiefly village residents, appears from Thucyd. ii. 100. iv. 124, though this does not exclude some towns.

² Boué, Voyage en Turquie, vol.

i. p. 199: "un bon nombre de cols dirigés du nord au sud, comme pour inviter les habitants de passer d'une de ces provinces dans l'autre."

here are four distinct enclosed plains on the east side of this long range of Skardus and Pindus—each generally bounded by mountains which rise precipitously to an alpine height, and each leaving only one cleft for drainage by a single river—the Axios, the Erigôn, the Haliakmôn and the Peneius respectively. All four, moreover, though of high level above the sea, are yet for the most part of distinguished fertility, especially the plains of Tettovo, of Bitolia, and Thessaly. The fat rich land to the east of Pindus and Skardus is described as forming a marked contrast with the light calcareous soil of the Albanian plains and valleys on the western side. The basins of Bitolia and of the Haliakmôn, with the mountains around and adjoining, were possessed by the original Macedonians; that of Tettovo, on the north, by a portion of the Pæonians. Among the four, Thessaly is the most spacious; yet the two comprised in the primitive seats of the Macedonians, both of them very considerable in magnitude, formed a territory better calculated to nourish and to generate a considerable population than the less favoured home, and smaller breadth of valley and plain, occupied by Epirots or Illyrians. Abundance of corn easily raised, of pasture for cattle, and of new fertile land open to cultivation, would suffice to increase the numbers of hardy villagers, indifferent to luxury as well as to accumulation, and exempt from that oppressive extortion of rulers which now harasses the same fine regions.¹

¹ For the general physical character of the region, both east and west of Skardus, continued by Pindus, see the valuable chapter of Grisebach's Travels above referred to (Reisen, vol. ii. ch. viii. p. 125—130; c. xiv. p. 175; c. xvi. p. 214—216; c. xvii. p. 244, 245).

Respecting the plains comprised in the ancient Pelagonia, see also the Journal of the younger Pouqueville, in his progress from Travnik in Bosnia to Janina. He remarks, in the two days' march from Prelepe (Prilip) through Bitolia to Florina, "Dans cette route on parcourt des plaines luxuriantes couvertes de moissons, de vastes prairies remplies de trèfle, des

plateaux abondans en pâturages inépuisables, où paissent d'innombrables troupeaux de bœufs, de chèvres, et de menu bétail . . . Le blé, le maïs, et les autres grains sont toujours à très bas prix, à cause de la difficulté des débouchés, d'où l'on exporte une grande quantité de laines, de cotons, de peaux d'agneaux, de buffles, et de chevaux, qui passent par le moyen des caravanes en Hongrie." (Pouqueville, Voyage dans la Grèce, tom. ii. ch. 62. p. 495.) So also Grisebach, describing his journey from Bitolia to Prilip, mentions—"spacious fields, of immeasurable extent, covered with wheat, barley, and maize, together with rich mea-

The inhabitants of this primitive Macedonia doubtless differed much in ancient times, as they do now, according as they dwelt on mountain or plain, and in soil and climate more or less kind. But all acknowledged a common ethnical name and nationality, and the tribes were in many cases distinguished from each other, not by having substantive names of their own, but merely by local epithets of Grecian origin. Thus we find Elymiotæ Macedonians or Macedonians of Elymeia—Lynkêstæ Macedonians or Macedonians of Lynkus, &c. Orestæ is doubtless an adjunct name of the same character. The inhabitants of the more northerly tracts, called Pelagonia and Deuriopus, were also portions of the Macedonian aggregate, though neighbours of the Pæonians, to whom they bore much affinity: whether the Eordi and Almopians were of Macedonian race, it is more difficult to say. The Macedonian language was different from Illyrian,¹ from Thracian, and seemingly also from Pæonian; it was also different from Greek, yet apparently not more widely distinct than that of the Epirots; so that the acquisition of Greek was comparatively easy to the chiefs and people,

Distribution and tribes of the Macedonians.

dows and pasture-grounds bordering the water" (p. 214).

Again, M. Boué remarks upon this same plain, in his *Critique des Cartes de la Turquie, Voyage*, vol. iv. p. 483, "La plaine immense de Prilip, de Bitolia, et de Florina, n'est pas représentée (sur les cartes) de manière à ce qu'on ait une idée de son étendue, et surtout de sa largeur . . . La plaine de Sarigoul est changée en vallée," &c. The basin of the Haliakmôn he remarks to be represented equally imperfectly on the maps: compare also his *Voyage*, i. pp. 211, 299, 300.

I notice the more particularly the large proportion of fertile plain and valley in the ancient Macedonia, because it is often represented (and even by O. Müller, in his *Dissertation on the ancient Macedonians*, attached to his *History of the Dorians*) as a cold and

rugged land, pursuant to the statement of Livy (xlv. 29), who says, respecting the fourth region of Macedonia as distributed by the Romans, "Frigida hæc omnis, duraque cultu, et aspera plaga est: cultorum quoque ingenia terræ similia habet: ferociores eos et accolæ barbari faciunt, nunc bello exercentes, nunc in pace miscentes ritus suos."

This is probably true of the mountaineers included in the region, but it is too much generalised.

¹ Polyb. xxviii. 8, 9. This is the most distinct testimony which we possess, and it appears to me to contradict the opinion both of Mannert (*Geogr. der Gr. und Röm.* vol. vii. p. 492) and of O. Müller (*On the Macedonians*, sect. 28-36), that the native Macedonians were of Illyrian descent.

though there were always some Greek letters which they were incapable of pronouncing. And when we follow their history, we shall find in them more of the regular warrior conquering in order to maintain dominion and tribute, and less of the armed plunderer—than the Illyrians, Thracians, or Epirots, by whom it was their misfortune to be surrounded. They approach nearer to the Thessalians,¹ and to the other ungifted members of the Hellenic family.

The large and comparatively productive region covered by the various sections of Macedonians, helps to explain that increase of ascendancy which they successively acquired over all their neighbours. It was not however until a late period that they became united under one government. At first, each section—how many we do not know—had its own prince or chief. The Elymiots or inhabitants of Elymeia, the southernmost portion of Macedonia, were thus originally distinct and independent; also the Orestæ, in mountain seats somewhat north-west of the Elymiots—the Lynkêstæ and Eordi, who occupied portions of territory on the track of the subsequent Egnatian way, between Lychnidus (Ochrida) and Edessa—the Pelagonians,² with a town of the same name, in the fertile plain of Bitolia—and the more northerly Deuriopians. And the early political union was usually so loose, that each of these denominations probably includes many petty independencies, small towns, and villages. The section of the

Macedonians round Edessa—the leading portion of the nation.

Macedonian name who afterwards swallowed up all the rest and became known as *The Macedonians*, had their original centre at Ægæ or Edessa—the lofty, commanding and picturesque site of the modern Vodhena. And though the residence of the kings was in later times transferred to the marshy Pella, in the maritime plain beneath, yet Edessa was always retained as the regal burial place, and as the hearth to which the religious continuity of the nation (so

¹ The Macedonian military array seems to have been very like that of the Thessalians—horsemen well-mounted and armed and maintaining good order (Thucyd. ii. 201): of their infantry, before the time of Philip son of Amyntas, we do not much hear.

"Macedoniam, quæ tantis barbarorum gentibus attingitur, ut semper Macedonicis imperatoribus iidem fines imperii fuerint qui gladiatorum atque pilorum." (Cicero, in Pison. c. xvi.)

² Strabo, lib. vii. Fragm. 29, c.l. Tafel.

much revered in ancient times) was attached. This ancient town, which lay on the Roman Egnatian way from Lychnidus to Pella and Thessalonika, formed the pass over the mountain-ridge called Bermius, or that prolongation to the northward of Mount Olympus, through which the Haliakmôn makes its way out into the maritime plain at Verria, by a cleft more precipitous and impracticable than that of the Peneius in the defile of Tempê.

This mountain-chain called Bermius, extending from Olympus considerably to the north of Edessa, formed the original eastern boundary of the Macedonian tribes; who seem at first not to have reached the valley of the Axios in any part of its course, and who certainly did not reach at first to the Thermaic Gulf. Between the last-mentioned gulf and the eastern counterforts of Olympus and Bermius there exists a narrow strip of plain land or low hill which reaches from the mouth of the Peneius to the head of the Thermaic Gulf; it there widens into the spacious and fertile plain of Salonichi, comprising the mouths of the Haliakmôn, the Axios, and the Echeidôrus. The river Ludias, which flows from Edessa into the marshes surrounding Pella, and which in antiquity joined the Haliakmôn, near its mouth, has now altered its course so as to join the Axios. This narrow strip, between the mouths of the Peneius and the Haliakmôn, was the original abode of the Pierian Thracians, who dwelt close to the foot of Olympus, and among whom the worship of the Muses seems to have been a primitive characteristic; Grecian poetry teems with local allusions and epithets which appear traceable to this early fact, though we are unable to follow it in detail. North of the Pierians, from the mouth of the Haliakmôn to that of the Axios, dwelt the Bottiæans.¹ Beyond the river Axios, at

Pierians
and Bot-
tiæans—
originally
placed on
the Ther-
maic Gulf,
between
the Mace-
donians
and the sea.

¹ I have followed Herodotus in stating the original series of occupants on the Thermaic Gulf, anterior to the Macedonian conquests. Thucydides introduces the Pæonians between Bottiæans and Mygdonians: he says that the Pæonians possessed "a narrow strip of land on the side of the Axios, down to Pella and the sea" (ii. 96). If this

were true, it would leave hardly any room for the Bottiæans, whom nevertheless Thucydides recognizes on the coast; for the whole space between the mouths of the two rivers, Axios and Haliakmôn, is inconsiderable; moreover, I cannot but suspect that Thucydides has been led to believe, by finding in the Iliad that the Pæonian allies

the lower part of its course, began the tribes of the great Thracian race—Mygdonians, Krestônians, Edônians, Bissaltæ, Sithonians: the Mygdonians seem to have been originally the most powerful, since the country still continued to be called by their name, Mygdonia, even after the Macedonian conquest. These, and various other Thracian tribes, originally occupied most part of the country between the mouth of the Axios and that of the Strymon; together with that memorable three-pronged peninsula which derived from the Grecian colonies its name of Chalkidikê. It will thus appear, if we consider the Bottiæans as well as the Pierians to be Thracians, that the Thracian race extended originally southward as far as the mouth of the Peneius: the Bottiæans professed indeed a Kretan origin, but this pretension is not noticed by either Herodotus or Thucy-

of Troy came from the Axios, that there *must have been* old Pæonian settlements at the mouth of that river, and that he has advanced the inference as if it were a certified fact. The case is analogous to what he says about the Bœotians in his preface (upon which O. Müller has already commented); he stated the immigration of the Bœotians into Bœotia as having taken place *after* the Trojan war, but saves the historical credit of the Homeric catalogue by adding that there had been a *fraction* of them in Bœotia *before*, from whom the contingent which went to Troy was furnished (ἀποδασμὸς, Thucyd. i. 12).

On this occasion, therefore, having to choose between Herodotus and Thucydides, I prefer the former. O. Müller (On the Macedonians, sect. 11) would strike out just so much of the assertion of Thucydides as positively contradicts Herodotus, and retain the rest; he thinks that the Pæonians came down *very near* to the mouth of the river, but *not quite*. I confess that this does not satisfy me; the more so as the passage from

Livy by which he would support his view will appear, on examination, to refer to Pæonia high up the Axios—not to a supposed portion of Pæonia near the mouth (Livy, xlv. 29).

Again, I would remark that the original residence of the Pierians between the Peneius and the Haliakmôn rests chiefly upon the authority of Thucydides: Herodotus knows the Pierians in their seats between Mount Pangæus and the sea, but he gives no intimation that they had before dwelt south of the Haliakmôn; the tract between the Haliakmôn and the Peneius is by him conceived as Lower Macedonia or Macedonis, reaching to the borders of Thessaly (vii. 127-173). I make this remark in reference to sect. 7-17 of O. Müller's Dissertation, wherein the conception of Herodotus appears incorrectly apprehended, and some erroneous inferences founded upon it. That this tract was the original Pieria, there is sufficient reason for believing (compare Strabo, vii. Frag. 22, with Tafel's note, and ix. p. 410; Livy, xlv. 9); but Herodotus notices it only as Macedonia.

didês. In the time of Skylax,¹ seemingly during the early reign of Philip the son of Amyntas, Macedonia and Thrace were separated by the Strymon.

We have yet to mention the Pæonians, a numerous and much-divided race, seemingly neither Thracian nor Macedonian nor Illyrian, but professing to be descended from the Teukri of Troy. These Pæonians occupied both banks of the Strymon, from the neighbourhood of Mount Skomius, in which that river rises,² down to the lake near its mouth: some of their tribes possessed the fertile plain of Siris (now Seres)—the land immediately north of Mount Pangæus—and even a portion of the space through which Xerxês marched on his route from Akanthus to Therma. Besides this, it appears that the upper parts of the valley of the Axios were also occupied by Pæonian tribes; how far down the river they extended, we are unable to say. We are not to suppose that the whole territory between Axios and Strymon was continuously peopled by them. Continuous population is not the character of the ancient world, and it seems moreover that while the land immediately bordering on both rivers is in very many places of the richest quality, the spaces between the two are either mountain or barren low hill—forming a marked contrast with the rich alluvial basin of the Macedonian river Erigôn.³ The Pæonians in their north-western tribes thus bordered upon the Macedonian Pelagonia—in their northern tribes, upon the Illyrian Dardani and Autariatæ—in their eastern, southern and south-eastern tribes, upon the Thracians and Pierians;⁴ that is, upon the second seats occupied by the expelled Pierians under Mount Pangæus.

¹ Skylax, c. 67. The conquests of Philip extended the boundary beyond the Strymon to the Nestus (Strabo, lib. vii. Fragm. 33, ed. Tafel).

² Mount Skomius seems to be the mountain now called Vitoshka, between Kadamir and Sophia, near the south-eastern frontier of Servia (Thucyd. ii. 96; Grisebach, vol. ii. ch. x. p. 29).

³ See this contrast noticed in Grisebach, especially in reference to the wide but barren region called the plain of Mustapha, no great

distance from the left bank of the Axios (Grisebach, Reisen, v. ii. p. 225; Boué, Voyage, vol. i. p. 168).

For the description of the banks of the Axios (Vardar) and the Strymon, see Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, vol. iii. p. 201, and Boué, Voyage en Turquie, vol. i. p. 196-199. "La plaine ovale de Seres est un des diamans de la couronne de Byzance," &c. He remarks how incorrectly the course of the Strymon is depicted on the maps (vol. iv. p. 482).

⁴ The expression of Strabo or

Such was, as far as we can make it out, the position of the Macedonians and their immediate neighbours, in the seventh century B.C. It was first altered by the enterprise and ability of a family of exiled Greeks, who conducted a section of the Macedonian people to those conquests which their descendants, Philip and Alexander the Great, afterwards so marvellously multiplied.

Respecting the primitive ancestry of these two princes, there were different stories, but all concurred in tracing the origin of the family to the Herakleid or Temenid race of Argos. According to one story (which apparently cannot be traced higher than Theopompus), Karanus, brother of the despot Pheidon, had migrated from Argos to Macedonia, and established himself as conqueror at Edessa. According to another tale, which we find in Herodotus, there were three exiles of the Temenid race, Gauanês, Aëropus, and Perdikkas, who fled from Argos to Illyria, from whence they passed into Upper Macedonia, in such poverty as to be compelled to serve the petty king of the town Lebæa in the capacity of shepherds. A remarkable prodigy happening to Perdikkas foreshadows the future eminence of his family, and leads to his dismissal by the king of Lebæa—from whom he makes his escape with difficulty. He is preserved by the sudden rise of a river, immediately after he had crossed it, so as to become impassable by the horsemen who pursued him; to this river, as to the saviour of the family, solemn sacrifices were still offered by the kings of Macedonia in the time of Herodotus. Perdikkas with his two brothers having thus escaped, established himself near the spot called the Garden of Midas on Mount Bermius. From the loins of this hardy young shepherd sprang the dynasty of Edessa.¹ This tale bears much more the marks of a genuine local tradition than that of Theopompus; and the origin of the Macedonian family, or Argeadæ, from Argos, appears to have been universally recognised by Grecian inquirers,² so that Alexander the son of

his Epitomator—τῇν Παιονίαν μέγχι Πελαγονίας καὶ Πισπίας ἔκτε-
τάσθαι—seems quite exact, though Tafel finds a difficulty in it. See his note on the Vatican Fragments of the seventh Book of Strabo, Fr. 37. The Fragment 40 is expressed

much more loosely. Compare Herodot. v. 13-16, vii. 124; Thucyd. ii. 96; Diodor. xx. 19.

¹ Herodot. viii. 137, 138.

² Herodot. v. 22. Argeadæ, Strabo, lib. vii. Fragm. 20, ed. Tafel, which may probably have been erro-

Amyntas, the contemporary of the Persian invasion, was admitted by the Hellanodikæ to contend at the Olympic games as a genuine Greek, though his competitors sought to exclude him as a Macedonian.

The talent for command was so much more the attribute of the Greek mind than of any of the neighbouring barbarians, that we easily conceive a courageous Argeian adventurer acquiring to himself great ascendancy in the local disputes of the Macedonian tribes, and transmitting the chieftainship of one of those tribes to his offspring. The influence acquired by Miltiadês among the Thracians of the Chersonese, and by Phormio among the Akarnanians (who specially requested that after his death his son or some one of his kindred might be sent from Athens to command them¹), was very much of this character. We may add the case of Sertorius among the native Iberians. In like manner, the kings of the Macedonian Lynkestæ professed to be descended from the Bacchiadæ² of Corinth; and the neighbourhood of Epidamnus and Apollonia, in both of which doubtless members of that great gens were domiciliated, renders this tale even more plausible than that of an emigration from Argos. The kings of the Epirotic Molossi pretended also to a descent from the heroic Æakid race of Greece. In fact, our means of knowledge do not enable us to discriminate the cases in which these reigning families were originally Greeks, from those in which they were Hellenised natives pretending to Grecian blood.

Talents for command manifested by Greek chieftains over barbaric tribes.

After the foundation-legend of the Macedonian kingdom, we have nothing but a long blank until the reign of king Amyntas (about 520-500 B.C.), and his son Alexander (about 480 B.C.). Herodotus gives us five successive kings between the founder Perdikkas and Amyntas—Perdikkas, Argæus, Philippus, Aëropus, Alketas, Amyntas, and Alexander—the contemporary and to a certain extent the ally of Xerxes.³ Though we have no means of establishing any

eously changed into Ægeadæ (Justin, vii. 1).

¹ Thucyd. iii. 7; Herodot. vi. 34-37: compare the story of Zalmoxis among the Thracians (i. 24).

² Strabo, vii. p. 326.

³ Herodot. viii. 139. Thucydides

agrees in the number of kings, but does not give the names (ii. 100).

For the divergent lists of the early Macedonian kings, see Mr. Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. ii. p. 221.

dates in this early series, either of names or of facts, yet we see that the Temenid kings, beginning from a humble origin, extended their dominions successively on all sides. They conquered the Briges,¹ originally their neighbours on Mount Bermius—the Eordi, bordering on Edessa to the westward, who were either destroyed or expelled from the country (a small remnant of them still existed in the time of Thucydidês at Physka between Strymon and Axios)—the Almopians, an inland tribe of unknown site—and many of the interior Macedonian tribes who had been at first autonomous. Besides these inland conquests, they had made the still more important acquisition of Pieria (the territory which lay between Mount Bermius and the sea), from whence they expelled the original Pierians, who found new seats on the eastern bank of the Strymon between Mount Pangæus and the sea. Amyntas king of Macedon was thus master of a very considerable territory, comprising the coast of the Thermaic Gulf as far north as the mouth of the Haliakmôn, and also some other territory on the same gulf from which the Bottiæans had been expelled; but not comprising the coast between the mouths of the Axios and the Haliakmôn, nor even Pella the subsequent capital, which were still in the hands of the Bottiæans at the period when Xerxês passed through.² He possessed also Anthemûs, a town and territory in the peninsula of Chalkidikê, and some parts of Mygdonia, the territory east of the mouth of the Axios; but how much, we do not know. We shall find the Macedonians hereafter extending their dominion still farther, during the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian war.

¹ This may be gathered, I think, from Herodot. vii. 73 and viii. 133. The alleged migration of the Briges into Asia, and the change of their name to Phryges, is a statement which I do not venture to repeat as credible.

² Herodot. vii. 123. Herodotus recognises both Bottiæans between the Axios and the Haliakmôn—and Bottiæans at Olynthus, whom the Macedonians had expelled from

the Thermaic Gulf at the time when Xerxês passed (viii. 127). These two statements seem to me compatible, and both admissible: the former Bottiæans were expelled by the Macedonians subsequently, anterior to the Peloponnesian war.

My view of these facts therefore differs somewhat from that of O. Müller (Macedonians sect. 16).

We hear of king Amyntas in friendly connexion with the Peisistratid princes at Athens, whose dominion was in part sustained by mercenaries from the Strymon; and this amicable sentiment was continued between his son Alexander and the emancipated Athenians.¹ It is only in the reigns of these two princes that Macedonia begins to be implicated in Grecian affairs. The regal dynasty had become so completely Macedonised, and had so farrenounced its Hellenic brotherhood, that the claim of Alexander to run at the Olympic games was contested by his competitors, who compelled him to prove his lineage before the Hellenodikæ.

Friendship
between
king
Amyntas
and the
Peisistra-
tids.

¹ Herodot. i. 59; v. 94; viii. 136.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THRACIANS AND GREEK COLONIES IN THRACE.

THAT vast space comprised between the rivers, Strymon and Danube, and bounded to the west by the easternmost Illyrian tribes, northward of the Strymon, was occupied by the innumerable subdivisions of the race called Thracians or Threïcians. They were the most numerous and most terrible race known to Herodotus: could they by possibility act in unison or under one dominion (he says) they would be irresistible. A conjunction thus formidable once seemed impending, during the first years of the Peloponnesian war, under the reign of Sitalkês king of the Odrysæ, who reigned from Abdêra at the mouth of the Nestus to the Euxine, and compressed under his sceptre a large proportion of these ferocious but warlike plunderers; so that the Greeks even down to Thermopylæ trembled at his expected approach. But the abilities of that prince were not found adequate to bring the whole force of Thrace into effective co-operation and aggression against others.

Numerous as the tribes of Thracians were, their customs and character (according to Herodotus) were marked by great uniformity: of the Getæ, the Trausi, and others, he tells us a few particularities. And the large tract over which the race were spread, comprising as it did the whole chain of Mount Hæmus and the still loftier chain of Rhodopê,¹ to-

¹ This territory of ancient Rhodopê—the inland space between the Strymon, the Hebrus, and the Ægean Sea—has been less visited by modern travellers, and is at present more thoroughly unknown, than any part of European Turkey. M. Viquesnel visited it in 1847, and the topographical data collected by him (embodied in a report

made to the French Government) have been employed by Kiepert in the preparation of his new map of European Turkey, just published (1853). But Viquesnel's own map of the region of Rhodopê has not yet appeared (see Kiepert's *Erläuterungen*, annexed to his Map, p. 5).

gether with a portion of the mountains Orbêlus and Skomius, was yet partly occupied by level and fertile surface—such as the great plain of Adrianople, and the land towards the lower course of the rivers Nestus and Hebrus. The Thracians of the plain, though not less warlike, were at least more home-keeping, and less greedy of foreign plunder, than those of the mountains. But the general character of the race presents an aggregate of repulsive features, unredeemed by the presence of even the commonest domestic affections.¹ The Thracian chief deduced his pedigree from a god called by the Greeks Hermês, to whom he offered up worship apart from the rest of his tribe, sometimes with the acceptable present of a human victim. He tattooed his body,² and that of the women belonging to him, as a privilege of honourable descent: he bought his wives from their parents, and sold his children for exportation to the foreign merchant: he held it disgraceful to cultivate the earth, and felt honoured only by the acquisitions of war and robbery. The Thracian tribes worshipped deities whom the Greeks assimilate to Arês, Dionysus, and Artemis. The great sanctuary and oracle of their god Dionysus was in one of the loftiest summits of Rhodopê, amidst dense and foggy thickets—the residence of the fierce and unassailable Satræ. To illustrate the Thracian character, we may turn to a deed perpetrated by the king of the Bisaltæ—perhaps one out of several chiefs of that extensive Thracian tribe—whose territory, between Strymon and Axios, lay in the direct march of Xerxês into Greece, and who, to escape the ignominy of being dragged along amidst the compulsory auxiliaries of the Persian invasion, fled to the heights of Rhodopê, forbidding his six sons to take any part in it. From recklessness, or curiosity, the sons disobeyed his commands, and accompanied Xerxês into Greece. They returned unhurt by the Greek spear, but the incensed father, when they again came into his

Their
cruelty,
rapacity,
and mi-
litary ef-
ficiency.

¹ Mannert assimilates the civilization of the Thracians to that of the Gauls when Julius Cæsar invaded them—a great injustice to the latter, in my judgement (*Geograph. der Gr. und Röm.* vol. ii. p. 23).

² Cicero, *De Officiis*, ii. 7. "Barbarum compunctum notis Thre-

ciis." Plutarch (*De Serâ Numin. Vindict.* c. 13. p. 558) speaks as if the women only were tattooed, in Thrace: he puts a singular interpretation upon it, as a continuous punishment on the sex for having slain Orpheus.

presence, caused the eyes of all of them to be put out. Exultation of success manifested itself in the Thracians by increased alacrity in shedding blood; but as warriors, the only occupation which they esteemed, they were not less brave than patient of hardship; maintaining a good front, under their own peculiar array, against forces much superior in all military efficacy.¹ It appears that the Thynians and Bithynians,² on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, perhaps also, the Mysians, were members of this great Thracian race which was more remotely connected also with the Phrygians. And the whole race may be said to present a character more Asiatic than European; especially in those ecstatic and maddening religious rites, which prevailed not less among the Edonian Thracians than in the mountains of Ida and Dindymon of Asia, though with some important differences. The Thracians served to furnish the Greeks with mercenary troops and slaves, and the number of Grecian colonies planted on the coast had the effect of partially softening the tribes in the immediate vicinity, between whose chiefs and the Greek leaders intermarriages were not unfrequent. But the tribes in the interior seem to have retained their savage habits with little mitigation; so that the language in which Tacitus³ describes them is an apt continuation to that of Herodotus, though coming more than five centuries after.

To note the situation of each one among these many different tribes, in the large territory of Thrace, which is even now imperfectly known and badly mapped, would be unnecessary and indeed impracticable. I shall proceed to mention the principal Grecian colonies which were formed in the country, noticing occasionally the particular Thracian tribes with which they came in contact.

The Grecian colonies established on the Thermaic Gulf, as well as in the peninsula of Chalkidikê—emanating principally from Chalkis and Eretria, though we do not know their precise epoch—appear to have been of early date, and probably

¹ For the Thracians generally, see Herodot. v. 3–9, vii. 110, viii. 116, ix. 119; Thucyd. ii. 100, vii. 29, 30; Xenophon, Anab. vii. 2, 38, and the seventh book of the Anabasis generally, which describes

the relations of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand Greeks with Seuthês the Thracian prince.

² Xenoph. Anab. vi. 2, 17; Herodot. vii. 75.

³ Tacit. Annal. ii. 66; iv. 46.

preceded the time when the Macedonians of Edessa extended their conquest to the sea. At that early period, they would find the Pierians still between the Peneius and Haliakmôn—also a number of petty Thracian tribes throughout the broad part of the Chalkidic peninsula; they would find Pydna a Pierian town, and Therma, Anthemus, Chalastra, &c., Mygdonian.

The most ancient Grecian colony in these regions seems to have been Methônê, founded by the Eretrians in Pieria; nearly at the same time (if we may trust a statement of rather suspicious character, though the date itself is noway improbable) as Korkyra was settled by the Corinthians (about 730-720 B.C.¹). It was a little to the north of the Pierian town of Pydna, and separated by about ten miles from the Bottiæan town of Alôrus, which lay north of the Haliakmôn.² We know very little about Methônê, except that it preserved its autonomy and its Hellenism until the time of Philip of Macedon, who took and destroyed it. But though, when once established, it was strong enough to maintain itself in spite of conquest made all around by the Macedonians of Edessa, we may fairly presume that it could not have been originally planted on Macedonian territory. Nor in point of fact was the situation peculiarly advantageous for Grecian colonists, inasmuch as there were other maritime towns, not Grecian, in its neighbourhood—Pydna, Alôrus, Therma, Chalastra; whereas the point of advantage for a Grecian colony was, to become the exclusive seaport for inland indigenous people.

Methônê
the earliest
—about
720 B.C.

The colonies, founded by Chalkis and Eretria on all the three projections of the Chalkidic peninsula, were numerous, though for a long time inconsiderable. We do not know how far these projecting headlands were occupied before the arrival of the settlers from Eubœa. Such arrival we may probably place at some period earlier than 600 B.C. For after that period Chalkis and Eretria seem rather on the decline; and it appears too, that the Chalkidian colonists in Thrace aided their mother-city Chalkis in her war against Eretria, which cannot be much later than 600 B.C., though it may be considerably earlier.

Several
other small
settlements
on the
Chalkidic
peninsula
and its
three
projecting
headlands.

¹ Plutarch, *Quest. Græc.* p. 293. ² Skylax, c. 67.

The range of mountains which crosses from the Thermaic to the Strymonic Gulf and forms the northern limit of the Chalkidic peninsula, slopes down towards the southern extremity, so as to leave a considerable tract of fertile land between the Torônaic and the Thermaic Gulfs, including the fertile headland called Pallênê—the westernmost of those three prongs of Chalkidikê which run out into the *Ægean*. Of the other two prongs or projections, the easternmost is terminated by the sublime Mount Athos, which rises out of the sea as a precipitous rock 6400 feet in height, connected with the mainland by a ridge not more than half the height of the mountain itself, yet still high, rugged and woody from sea to sea, leaving only little occasional spaces fit to be occupied or cultivated. The intermediate or Sithonian headland is also hilly and woody, though in a less degree—both less inviting and less productive than Pallênê.¹

Chalkidic
peninsula
—Mount
Athos.

Æneia, near that cape which marks the entrance of the inner Thermaic Gulf—and *Potidæa*, at the narrow isthmus of Pallênê—were both founded by Corinth. Between these two towns lay the fertile territoy called *Krusis* or *Krossæa*, forming in aftertimes a part of the domain of *Olynthus*, but in the sixth century B.C. occupied by petty Thracian townships.² Within Pallênê were the towns of *Mendê*, a colony from *Eretria*—*Skiônê*, which, having no legitimate mother-city, traced its origin to *Pellenian* warriors returning from *Troy*—*Aphytis*, *Neapolis*, *Ægê*, *Therambôs*, and *Sanê*,³ either wholly or partly colonies from *Eretria*. In the Sithonian peninsula were *Assa*, *Pilôrus*, *Singus*, *Sartê*, *Torônê*, *Gâlêpsus*, *Sermylê*, and *Mekyberna*: all or most of these seem to have been of Chalkidic origin. But at the head of the *Toronaic* Gulf (which lies between

Colonies in
Pallênê, or
the western-
most
of the
three head-
lands.

In Sitho-
nia, or the
middle
headland.

¹ For the description of Chalkidikê, see Grisebach's *Reisen*, vol. ii. ch. 10. pp. 6—16, and Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, vol. iii. ch. 24. p. 152.

If we read attentively the description of Chalkidikê as given by Skylax (c. 67), we shall see that he did not conceive it as three-

pronged, but as terminating only in the peninsula of Pallênê, with *Potidæa* at its isthmus.

² Herodot. vii. 123; Skymnus Chius, v. 627.

³ Strabo, x. p. 447; Thucyd. iv. 120-123; Pompon. Mela, ii. 2; Herodot. vii. 123.

Sithonia and Pallênê) was placed Olynthus, surrounded by an extensive and fertile plain. Originally a Bottiæan town, Olynthus will be seen at the time of the Persian invasion to pass into the hands of the Chalkidian Greeks,¹ and gradually to incorporate with itself several of the petty neighbouring establishments belonging to that race; whereby the Chalkidians acquired that marked preponderance in the peninsula which they retained, even against the efforts of Athens, until the days of Philip of Macedon.

On the scanty spaces, admitted by the mountainous promontory or ridge ending in Athos, were planted some Thracian and some Pelasgic settlements of the same inhabitants as those who occupied Lemnos and Imbros; a few Chalkidic citizens being domiciliated with them, and the people speaking both Pelasgic and Hellenic. But near the narrow isthmus which joins this promontory to Thrace, and along the north-western coast of the Strymonic Gulf, were Grecian towns of considerable importance—Sanê, Akanthus, Stageira, and Argilus, all colonies from Andros, which had itself been colonised from Eretria.² Akanthus and Stageira are said to have been founded in 654 B.C.

In the head-land of Athos—Akanthus, Stageira, &c.

Following the southern coast of Thrace, from the mouth of the river Strymôn towards the east, we may doubt whether, in the year 560 B.C., any considerable independent colonies of Greeks had yet been formed upon it. The Ionic colony of Abdêra, eastward of the mouth of the river Nestus, formed from Teôs in Ionia, is of more recent date, though the Klazomenians³ had begun an unsuccessful settlement there as early as the year 651 B.C.; while Dikæa—the Chian settlement of Marôncia—and the Lesbian settlement of Ænus at the mouth of the Hebrus—are of unknown date.⁴ The important and valuable territory near the mouth of the Strymôn, where, after many ruinous failures,⁵ the Athenian colony of Amphipolis afterwards maintained itself, was at

Greek settlements east of the Strymôn in Thrace.

¹ Herodot. vii. 122; viii. 127. Stephanus Byz. (v. Παλλήνη) gives us some idea of the myths of the lost Greek writers, Hêgesippus and Theagenês, about Pallênê.

² Thucyd. iv. 84, 103, 109. See Mr. Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, ad ann. 654 B.C.

³ Solinus, x. 10.

⁴ Herodot. i. 168; vii. 58-59, 109; Skymnus Chius, v. 675.

⁵ Thucyd. i. 100, iv. 102; Herodot. v. 11. Large quantities of corn are now exported from this territory to Constantinople (Leake, *North. Gr.* vol. iii. ch. 25. p. 172).

the date here mentioned possessed by Edonian Thracians and Pierians. The various Thracian tribes—Satræ, Edonians, Dersæans, Sapæans, Bistones, Kikones, Pætians, &c.—were in force on the principal part of the tract between Strymôn and Hebrus, even to the sea-coast. It is to be remarked however that the island of Thasus, and that of Samothrace, each possessed what in Greek was called a *Peræa*¹—a strip of the adjoining mainland cultivated and defended by means of fortified posts or small towns. Probably these occupations are of very ancient date, since they seem almost indispensable as a means of support to the islands. For the barren Thasus, especially, merits even at this day the uninviting description applied to it by the poet Archilochus, in the seventh century B.C.—“an ass’s backbone, overspread with wild wood;”² so wholly is it composed of mountain naked or wooded, and so scanty are the patches of cultivable soil left in it, nearly all close to the sea-shore.

This island was originally occupied by the Phenicians, who worked the gold-mines in its mountains with a degree of industry, which, even in its remains, excited the admiration of Herodotus. How and when it was evacuated by them, we do not know. But the poet Archilochus³ formed one of a body of Parian colonists who planted themselves on it in the seventh century B.C., and carried on war, not always successful, against the Thracian tribe called Saians: on one occasion, Archilochus found himself compelled to throw away his shield. By their mines and their pos-

¹ Herodot. vii. 108-109; Thucyd. i. 101.

² ἦδε δ' ὥστ' ὄνου ῥάχις

³ Ἔστηκεν, ὕλης ἀγρίης ἐπιστατής.
Archiloch. Fragm. 17-18, ed. Schneidewin.

The striking propriety of this description, even after the lapse of 2500 years, may be seen in the *Travels of Grisebach*, vol. i. ch. 7. p. 210-212, and in Prokesh, *Denkwürdigkeiten des Orients*, Th. 3. p. 612. The view of Thasus from the sea justifies the title Ἠζρίη (*Ænomaus* ap. Euseb. *Prepar. Evang.* vii. p. 256; Steph. Byz. *Θάσος*).

Thasus (now Tasso) contains at present a population of about 6000 Greeks, dispersed in twelve small villages; it exports some good ship-timber, principally fir, of which there is abundance on the island, together with some olive oil and wax; but it cannot grow corn enough even for this small population. No mines either are now, or have been for a long time, in work.

³ Archiloch. Fragm. 5, ed. Schneidewin; Aristophan. *Pac.* 1298, with the Scholia; Strabo, x. p. 487, xii. p. 549; Thucyd. iv. 104.

sessions on the mainland (which contained even richer mines, at Skaptê Hylê, and elsewhere, than those in the island), the Thasian Greeks rose to considerable power and population. And as they seem to have been the only Greeks, until the settlement of the Milesian Histiaëus on the Strymôn about 510 B.C., who actively concerned themselves in the mining districts of Thrace opposite to their island, we cannot be surprised to hear that their clear surplus revenue before the Persian conquest, about 493 B.C., after defraying the charges of their government without any taxation, amounted to the large sum of 200 talents, sometimes even to 300 talents, in each year (£46,000—66,000).

On the long peninsula called the Thracian Chersonese there may probably have been small Grecian settlements at an early date, though we do not know at what time either the Milesian settlement of Kardia, Thracian Chersonesus. on the western side of the isthmus of that peninsula, near the Ægean Sea—or the Æolic colony of Sestus on the Hellespont—was founded. The Athenian ascendancy in the peninsula begins only with the migration of the first Miltiadês, during the reign of Peisistratus at Athens. The Samian colony of Perinthus, on the northern coast of the Propontis,¹ is spoken of as ancient in date, and the Megarian colonies, Selymbria and Byzantium, belong to the seventh century B.C.: the latter of these two is assigned to the 30th Olympiad (657 B.C.), and its neighbour Chalkêdôn, on the opposite coast, was a few years earlier. The site of Byzantium in the narrow strait of the Bosphorus, with its abundant thunny-fishery,² which both employed and nourished a large proportion of the poorer freemen, was alike convenient either for maritime traffic or for levying contributions on the numerous corn ships which passed from the Euxine into the Ægean. We are even told that it held a considerable number of the neighbouring Bithynian Thracians as tributary Pericæi. Such dominion, though probably maintained during the more vigorous period of Grecian city life, became in later times impracticable, and we even find the Byzantines not always competent to the defence of their own small surrounding territory. The

¹ Silymnus Chius, 699-715: Plutarch, *Quest. Gr. c. c.* 57. See M. Raoul Rochette, *Histoire des Co-*

lonies Grecques, ch. xi.-xiv. vol. iii. p. 273-298.

² Aristot. *Polit.* iv. 4, 1.

place, however, will be found to possess considerable importance during all the period of this history.¹

The Grecian settlements on the inhospitable southwestern coast of the Euxine, south of the Danube, appear never to have attained any consideration: the principal traffic of Greek ships in that sea tended to more northerly ports, on the banks of the Borysthenês and in the Tauric Chersonese. Istria was founded by the

Milesians near the southern embouchure of the Danube—Apollonia and Odêssus on the same coast more to the south—all probably between 600-560 c. c. The Megarian or Byzantine colony of Mesambria seems to have been later than the Ionic revolt: of Kallatis the age is not known. Tomi, north of Kallatis and south of Istria, is renowned as the place of Ovid's banishment.² The picture which he gives of that uninviting spot, which enjoyed but little truce from the neighbourhood of the murderous Getæ, explains to us sufficiently why these towns acquired little or no importance.

The islands of Lemnos and Imbros, in the Ægean, were at this early period occupied by Tyrrhenian Pelasgi. They were conquered by the Persians about 508 B. C., and seem to have passed into the power of the Athenians, at the time when Ionia revolted from the Persians. If the mythical or poetical stories respecting these Tyrrhenian Pelasgi contain any basis of truth, they must have been a race of buccaneers not less rapacious than cruel. At one time, these Pelasgi seem also to have possessed Samothrace, but how or when they were supplanted by Greeks, we find no trustworthy account: the population of Samothrace at the time of the Persian war was Ionic.³

¹ Polyb. iv. 39; Phylarch. Fragm. 10, ed. Didot.

² Skymnus Chius, 720-740; Herodot. ii. 33, vi. 33; Strabo, vii. p. 319; Skylax, c. 68; Mannert, Geograph. d. Gr. und Röm. vol. vii. ch. 8. p. 126-140.

An inscription in Boeckh's Collection proves the existence of a pentapolis or union of five Grecian

cities on this coast. Tomi, Kallatis, Mesambria, and Apollonia, are presumed by Blaramberg to have belonged to this union. See *Inschrift*. No. 2056 c.

Syncellus however (p. 213) places the foundation of Istria considerably earlier, in 651 B.C.

³ Herodot. viii. 90.

CHAPTER XXVII

KYRENE AND BARKA.—HESPERIDES.

It has been already mentioned in a former chapter, that Psammetichus king of Egypt, about the middle of the seventh century B.C., first removed those prohibitions which had excluded Grecian commerce from the country. In his reign, Grecian mercenaries were first established in Egypt, and Grecian traders admitted, under certain regulations, into the Nile. The opening of this new market emboldened them to traverse the direct sea which separates Krête from Egypt—a dangerous voyage with vessels which rarely ventured to lose sight of land—and seems to have first made them acquainted with the neighbouring coast of Libya, between the Nile and the gulf called the Great Syrtis. Hence arose the foundation of the important colony called Kyrênê.

First voyages of the Greeks to Libya.

As in the case of most other Grecian colonies, so in that of Kyrênê, both the foundation and the early history are very imperfectly known. The date of the event, as far as can be made out amidst much contradiction of statement, was about 630 B.C.¹ Thêra was the mother-city, herself a colony from Lacedæmon; and the settlements formed in Libya became no inconsiderable ornaments to the Dorian name in Hellas.

According to the account of a lost historian, Meneklês²—political dissension among the inhabitants of Thêra led to that emigration which founded Kyrênê. The more ample legendary details which Herodotus collected, partly from Thæræan, partly from Kyrênæan informants, are not positively inconsistent with this statement, though they indicate more particularly bad seasons, distress, and over-population. But both of them dwell emphatically on the Delphian oracle as the instigator as well as the director of the first emigrants, whose

Foundation of Kyrênê.

¹ See the discussion of the æra of Kyrênê in Thirge, *Historia Cyrenês*, ch. 22, 23, 24, where the

different statements are noticed and compared.

² Schol. ad Pindar. *Pyth.* iv.

apprehensions of a dangerous voyage and an unknown country were very difficult to overcome. Both of them affirmed that the original œkist Battus was selected and consecrated to the work by the divine command: both called Battus the son of Polymnêstus, of the mythical breed called Minyæ. But on other points there was complete divergence between the two stories, and the Kyrenæans themselves, whose town was partly peopled by emigrants from Krête, described the mother of Battus as daughter of

Founded by Battus from the island of Thêra.	Etearchus, prince of the Kretan town of Axus. ¹ Battus had an impediment in his speech, and it was on his entreating from the Delphian oracle a cure for this infirmity that he received direc-
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tions to go as "a cattle-breeding œkist to Libya." The suffering Theræans were directed to assist him. But neither he nor they knew where Libya was, nor could they find any resident in Krête who had ever visited it. Such was the limited reach of Grecian navigation to the south of the Ægean Sea, even a century after the foundation of Syracuse. At length, by prolonged inquiry, they discovered a man employed in catching the purple shellfish, named Korôbius, who said that he had been once forced by stress of weather to the island of Platea, close on the shores of Libya, and on the side not far removed from the western limit of Egypt. Some Theræans being sent along with Korôbius to inspect this island, left him there with a stock of provisions, and returned to Thêra to conduct the emigrants. From the seven districts into which Thêra was divided, emigrants were drafted for the colony, one brother being singled out from the different numerous families by lot. But so long was their return to Platea deferred, that the provisions of Korôbius were exhausted, and he was only saved from starvation by the accidental arrival of a Samian ship, driven by contrary winds out of her course on the voyage to Egypt. Kôlæus, the master of this ship (whose immense profits made by the first voyage to Tartêssus have been noticed in a former chapter), supplied him with provisions for a year—an act of kindness which is said to have laid the first foundation of the alliance and good feeling afterwards prevalent between Thêra, Kyrênê, and Samos. At length the expected emigrants reached the island, having found the voyage so perilous and difficult, that they once

¹ Herodot. iv. 150-154.

returned in despair to Thêra, where they were only prevented by force from re-landing. The band which accompanied Battus was all conveyed in two pentekonters—armed ships with fifty rowers each. Thus humble was the start of the mighty Kyrênê, which, in the days of Herodotus, covered a city-area equal to the entire island of Platea.¹

That island, however, though near to Libya, and supposed by the colonists to be Libya, was not so in reality: the commands of the oracle had not been literally fulfilled. Accordingly the settlement carried with it nothing but hardship for the space of two years; and Battus returned with his companions to Delphi, to complain that the promised land had proved a bitter disappointment. The god, through his priestess, returned for answer, "If you, who have never visited the cattle-breeding Libya, know it better than I who *have*, I greatly admire your cleverness." Again the inexorable mandate forced them to return. This time they planted themselves on the actual continent of Libya, nearly over against the island of Platea, in a district called Aziris, surrounded on both sides by fine woods, and with a running stream adjoining. After six years of residence in this spot, they were persuaded by some of the indigenous Libyans to abandon it, under the promise that they should be conducted to a better situation. Their guides now brought them to the actual site of Kyrênê, saying, "Here, men of Hellas, is the place for you to dwell, for here the sky is perforated."² The road through which they passed had led through the tempting region of Irasa with its fountain Thestê, and their guides took the precaution to carry them through it by night, in order that they might remain ignorant of its beauties.

Colony first settled in the island of Platea—afterwards removed to Kyrênê.

Such were the preliminary steps, divine and human, which brought Battus and his colonists to Kyrênê. In the time of Herodotus, Irasa was an outlying portion of the eastern territory of this powerful city. But we trace in the story just related an opinion prevalent among his Kyrenæan informants, that Irasa with its fountain Thestê was a more inviting position than Kyrênê with

Situation of Kyrênê.

¹ Herodot. iv. 155.

² Herodot. iv. 158. ἐφ' ἧς τὰ γὰρ ὁ εὐχόμενος πέτυχε. Compare the just ascribed to the Byzantian

envoys on occasion of the vaunts of Lysimachus (Plutarch, De Fortuna Alexandr. Magn. c. 3. p. 338).

its fountain of Apollo, and ought in prudence to have been originally chosen: out of which opinion, according to the general habit of the Greek mind, an anecdote is engendered and accredited, explaining how the supposed mistake was committed. What may have been the recommendations of Irasa, we are not permitted to know; but descriptions of modern travellers, no less than the subsequent history of Kyrênê, go far to justify the choice actually made. The city was placed at the distance of about ten miles from the sea, having a sheltered port called Apollonia, itself afterwards a considerable town—it was about twenty miles from the promontory Phykus, which forms the northernmost projection of the African coast, nearly in the longitude of the Peloponnesian Cape Tænarus (Matapan). Kyrênê was situated about 1800 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, of which it commanded a fine view, and from which it was conspicuously visible, on the edge of a range of hills which slope by successive terraces down to the port. The soil immediately around, partly calcareous, partly sandy, is described by Captain Beechey to present a vigorous vegetation and remarkable fertility; though the ancients considered it inferior in this respect both to Barka¹ and Hesperides, and still more inferior to the more westerly region near Kinyps. But the abundant periodical rains, attracted by the lofty heights around, and justifying the expression of the “perforated sky,” were even of greater importance under an African sun than extraordinary richness of soil.² The maritime regions near Kyrênê and

¹ Herodot. iv. 198.

² See, about the productive powers of Kyrênê and its surrounding region, Herodot. iv. 199; Kallimachus (himself a Kyrenæan), Hymn. ad. Apoll. 65, with the note of Spanheim; Pindar, Pyth. iv., with the Scholia *passim*; Diodor. iii. 49; Arrian, Indica, xliii. 13. Strabo (xvii. p. 837) saw Kyrênê from the sea in sailing by, and was struck with the view: he does not appear to have landed.

The results of modern observation in that country are given in the Viaggio of Della Cella and in the exploring expedition of Captain

Beechey: see an interesting summary in the History of the Barbary States, by Dr. Russell (Edinburgh, 1835), ch. v. p. 160-171. The chapter on this subject (c. 6) in Thirge's *Historia Cyrênês* is defective, as the author seems never to have seen the careful and valuable observations of Captain Beechey, and proceeds chiefly on the statements of Della Cella.

I refer briefly to a few among the many interesting notices of Captain Beechey. For the site of the ancient Hesperides (Bengazi), and the “beautiful fertile plain near it, extending to the foot of a long

Barka, and Hesperides, produced oil and wine as well as corn, while the extensive district between these towns, composed of alternate mountain, wood and plain, was eminently suited for pasture and cattle-breeding. The ports were secure, presenting conveniences for the intercourse of the Greek trader with Northern Africa, such as were not to be found along all the coast of the Great Syrtis westward of Hesperides. Abundance of applicable land—great diversity both of climate and of productive season, between the sea-side, the low hill, and the upper mountain, within a small space, so that harvest was continually going on, and fresh produce coming in from the earth, during eight months of the year—together with the monopoly of the valuable plant called the *Silphium*, which grew nowhere except in the Kyrenaic region, and the juice of which was extensively demanded throughout Greece and Italy—led to the rapid growth of Kyrênê, in spite of serious and renewed political troubles. And even now, the immense remains which still mark its desolate site, the evidences of past labour and solicitude at the Fountain of Apollo and elsewhere, together with the profusion of excavated and ornamented tombs,

Fertility,
produce,
and
prosperity.

chain of mountains about fourteen miles distant to the south-eastward,"—see Beechey, Expedition, ch. xi. p. 287-315; "a great many date-palm trees in the neighbourhood" (ch. xii. p. 340-354).

The distance between Bengazi (Hesperides) and Ptolemeta (Ptolemais, the port of Barka) is fifty-seven geographical miles, along a fertile and beautiful plain, stretching from the mountains to the sea. Between these two was situated the ancient Teucheira (*ib.* ch. xii. p. 347), about thirty-eight miles from Hesperides (p. 347), in a country highly productive wherever it is cultivated (p. 350-355). Exuberant vegetation exists near the deserted Ptolemeta (or Ptolemais) after the winter rains (p. 364). The circuit of Ptolemais, as measured by the ruins of its walls, was about three and a half English

miles (p. 380).

An extensive, fertile, and well watered mountain-plain of Mergê, constituted the territory of the ancient Barka (*ib.* ch. xiii. p. 395-401): the bricks, which the Arabic geographers state to have been exported from Barka to Egypt (p. 399), are noticed by Stephan. Byzant. (v. Βάρχη) as constituting the material of the houses at Barka.

The road from Barka to Kyrênê presents continued marks of ancient chariot-wheels (ch. xiv. p. 406); after passing the plain of Mergê, it becomes hilly and woody, "but on approaching Grenna (Kyrênê) it becomes more clear of wood; the valleys produce fine crops of barley, and the hills excellent pasturage for cattle" (p. 409). Luxuriant vegetation comes after the winter rains in the vicinity of Kyrênê (ch. xv. p. 465).

attest sufficiently what the grandeur of the place must have been in the days of Herodotus and Pindar. So much did the Kyrenæans pride themselves on the Silphium, found wild in their back country from the island of Platea on the east to the inner recess of the Great Syrtis westward—the leaves of which were highly salubrious for cattle and the stalk for man, while the root furnished the peculiar juice for export—that they maintained it to have first appeared seven years prior to the arrival of the first Grecian colonists in their city.¹

But it was not only the properties of the soil which promoted the prosperity of Kyrênê. Isokratês² praises the well-chosen site of that colony, because it was planted in the midst of indigenous natives apt for subjection, and far distant from any formidable enemies. That the native Libyan tribes were made conducive in an eminent degree to the growth of the Greco-Libyan cities, admits of no doubt; and in reviewing the history of these cities, we must bear in mind that their population was not pure Greek, but more or less mixed, like that of the colonies in Italy, Sicily, or Ionia. Though our information is very imperfect, we see enough to prove that the small force brought over by Battus the Stammerer was enabled first to fraternise with the indigenous Libyans—next, reinforced by additional colonists and availing themselves of the power of native chiefs, to overawe and subjugate them. Kyrênê—combined with Barka and Hesperides, both of them having sprung from her root³—exercised over the Libyan tribes between the borders of Egypt and the inner recess of the Great Syrtis, for a space of three degrees of longitude, an ascendancy similar to that which Carthage possessed over the more westerly Libyans near the Lesser Syrtis. Within these Kyrenæan limits,

¹ Theophrast. Hist. Pl. vi. 3, 3; ix. 1, 7; Skylax. c. 107.

² Isokratês, Or. v. ad Philipp. p. 84 (p. 107 ed. Bek.). Thêra being a colony of Lacedæmon, and Kyrênê of Thêra, Isokratês speaks of Kyrênê as a colony of Lacedæmon.

³ Pindar, Pyth. iv. 26. Κυρήνην—ἑσπερίων ἴλιαν. In the time of Herodotus these three cities may possibly have been spoken of as a

Tripolis; but no one before Alexander the Great would have understood the expression Pentapolis, used under the Romans to denote Kyrênê, Apollonia. Ptolemais, Teucheira, and Berenikê or Hesperides.

Ptolemais, originally the port of Barka, had become autonomous and of greater importance than the latter.

and farther westward along the shores of the Great Syrtis, the Libyan tribes were of pastoral habits; westward, beyond the Lake Tritônis and the Lesser Syrtis,¹ they began to be agricultural. Immediately westward of Egypt were the Adyrmachidæ, bordering upon Apis and Marea, the Egyptian frontier towns;² they were subject to the Egyptians, and had adopted some of the minute ritual and religious observances which characterised the region of the Nile. Proceeding westward from the Adyrmachidæ were found the Giligammæ, the Asbystæ, the Auschisæ, the Kabales, and the Nasamônes—the latter of whom occupied the south-eastern corner of the Great Syrtis—next, the Makæ, Gindânes, Lotophagi, Machlyes, as far as a certain river and lake called Tritôn and Tritônis, which seems to have been near the Lesser Syrtis. These last-mentioned tribes were not dependent either on Kyrênê or on Carthage, at the time of Herodotus, nor probably during the proper period of free Grecian history (600-300 B.C.). But in the third century B.C., the Ptolemaic governors of Kyrênê extended their dominion westward, while Carthage pushed her colonies and castles eastward, so that the two powers embraced between them the whole line of coast between the Greater and Lesser Syrtis, meeting at the spot called the Altars of the Brothers Philani—celebrated for its commemorative legend.³ Moreover, even in the sixth century B.C., Carthage was jealous of the extension of Grecian colonies along this coast, and aided the Libyan Makæ (about 510 B.C.) to expel the Spartan prince Dorieus from his settlement near the river Kinyps; near that spot was afterwards planted, by Phœnician or Carthaginian

Extensive
dominion
of Kyrênê
and Barka
over the
Libyans.

¹ The accounts respecting the lake called in ancient times Tritônis are however very uncertain: see Dr. Shaw's *Travels in Barbary*, p. 127. Strabo mentions a lake so called near Hesperides (xvii. p. 836); Pherekydês talks of it as near Irsa (Pherekyd. *Fragm.* 33 d. ed. Didot).

² Eratosthenês, born at Kyrênê and resident at Alexandria, estimated the land-journey between

the two at 525 Roman miles (Pliny, H. N. v. 6).

³ Sallust, *Bell. Jugurth.* c. 75; Valerius Maximus, v. 6. Thrige (*Histor. Cyr.* c. 49) places this division of the Syrtis between Kyrênê and Carthage at some period between 400-330 B.C., anterior to the loss of the independence of Kyrênê; but I cannot think that it was earlier than the Ptolemies: compare Strabo, xvii. p. 836.

exiles, the town of Leptis Magna¹ (now Lebida), which does not seem to have existed in the time of Herodotus. Nor does the latter historian notice the Marmaridæ, who appear as the principal Libyan tribe near the west of Egypt between the age of Skylax and the third century of the Christian æra. Some migration or revolution subsequent to the time of Herodotus must have brought this name into predominance.²

The interior country stretching westward from Egypt (along the thirtieth and thirty-first parallel of latitude) to the Great Syrtis, and then along the southern shore of that gulf, is to a great degree low and sandy, and quite destitute of trees; yet affording in many parts water, herbage, and a fertile soil.³ But the maritime region north of

¹ The Carthaginian establishment Neapolis is mentioned by Skylax (c. 109), and Strabo states that Leptis was another name for the same place (xvii. p. 835).

² Skylax, c. 107; Vopiscus, Vit. Prob. c. 9; Strabo, xvii. p. 838; Pliny, H. N. v. 5. From the Libyan tribe Marmaridæ was derived the name Marmarika applied to that region.

³ ταπεινὴ τε καὶ ψαμμώδης (Herodot. iv. 191); Sallust, Bell. Jugurthin. c. 17.

Captain Beechey points out the mistaken conceptions which have been entertained of this region:—

“It is not only in the works of early writers that we find the nature of the Syrtis misunderstood; for the whole of the space between Mesurata (*i. e.* the cape which forms the western extremity of the Great Syrtis) and Alexandria is described by Leo Africanus, under the title of Barca, as a wild and desert country, where there is neither water nor land capable of cultivation. He tells us that the most powerful among the Mahometan invaders possessed themselves of the fertile parts of the coast, leaving the others only the desert for their abode, exposed to all the

miseries and privations attendant upon it; for this desert (he continues) is far removed from any habitations, and nothing is produced there whatever. So that if these poor people would have a supply of grain, or of any other articles necessary to their existence, they are obliged to pledge their children to the Sicilians who visit the coast; who, on providing them with these things, carry off the children they have received....

“It appears to be chiefly from Leo Africanus that modern historians have derived their idea of what they term the district and desert of Barca. Yet the whole of the Cyrenaica is comprehended within the limits which they assign to it; and the authority of Herodotus, without citing any other, would be amply sufficient to prove that this tract of country not only was no desert, but was at all times remarkable for its fertility.... The impression left upon our minds, after reading the account of Herodotus, would be much more consistent with the appearance and peculiarities of both, in their actual state, than that which would result from the description of any succeeding writer.... The district

this, constituting the projecting bosom of the African coast from the island of Platea (Gulf of Bomba) on the east to Hesperides (Bengazi) on the west, is of a totally different character; covered with mountains of considerable elevation, which reach their highest point near Kyrênê, interspersed with productive plain and valley, broken by frequent ravines which carry off the winter torrents into the sea, and never at any time of the year destitute of water. It is this latter advantage that causes them to be now visited every summer by the Bedouin Arabs, who flock to the inexhaustible Fountain of Apollo and to other parts of the mountainous region from Kyrênê to Hesperides, when their supply of water and herbage fails in the interior;¹ and the

Connexion
of the Greek
colonies
with the
Nomads
of Libya.

of Barca, including all the country between Mesurata and Alexandria, neither is, nor ever was, so destitute and barren as has been represented; the part of it which constitutes the Cyrenaica is capable of the highest degree of cultivation, and many parts of the Syrtis afford excellent pasturage, while some of it is not only adapted to cultivation, but does actually produce good crops of barley and dhurra." (Captain Beechey, Expedition to Northern Coast of Africa, ch. x. pp. 263, 265, 267, 269: comp. ch. xi. p. 321.)

¹ Justin, xiii. 7. "amœnitatem loci et fontium ubertatem." Captain Beechey notices this annual migration of the Bedouin Arabs:—

"Teucheira (on the coast between Hesperides and Barka) abounds in wells of excellent water, which are reserved by the Arabs for their summer consumption, and only resorted to when the more inland supplies are exhausted: at other times it is uninhabited. Many of the excavated tombs are occupied as dwelling-houses by the Arabs during their summer visits to that part of the coast." (Beechey, Exp. to North. Afric. ch. xii. p. 354.)

And about the wide mountain

plain, or table-land of Mergê, the site of the ancient Barka, "The water from the mountains enclosing the plain settles in pools and lakes in different parts of this spacious valley; and affords a constant supply, during the summer months, to the Arabs who frequent it" (ch. xiii. p. 390). The red earth which Captain Beechey observed in this plain is noticed by Herodotus in regard to Libya (ii. 12). Stephan. Byz. also mentions the bricks used in building (v. Βάπρυ). Derna, too, to the eastward of Cyrene on the sea-coast, is amply provided with water (ch. xvi. p. 471).

Respecting Kyrênê itself, Captain Beechey states:—"During the time, about a fortnight, of our absence from Cyrene, the changes which had taken place in the appearance of the country about it were remarkable. We found the hills on our return covered with Arabs, their camels, flocks, and herds; the scarcity of water in the interior at this time having driven the Bedouins to the mountains, and particularly to Cyrene, where the springs afford at all times an abundant supply. The corn was all cut, and the high grass and luxuriant vegetation, which we

same circumstance must have operated in ancient times to hold the Nomadic Libyans in a sort of dependence on Kyrênê and Barka. Kyrênê appropriated the maritime portion of the territory of the Libyan Asbystæ:¹ the Auschisæ occupied the region south of Barka, touching the sea near Hesperides: the Kabales dwelt near Teucheira in the territory of Barka. Over the interior spaces these Libyan Nomads, with their cattle and twisted tents, wandered unrestrained, amply fed upon meat and milk,² clothed in goat skins, and enjoying better health than any people known to Herodotus. Their breed of horses was excellent, and their chariots or waggon with four horses could perform feats admired even by Greeks. It was to these horses that the princes³ and magnates of Kyrênê and Barka owed the frequent successes of their chariots in the games of Greece. The Li-

Manners of
the Libyan
Nomads.

byan Nasamônes, leaving their cattle near the sea, were in the habit of making an annual journey up the country to the Oasis of Augila for the purpose of gathering the date-harvest,⁴ or of purchasing dates; and the Bedouin Arabs from Bengazi still make this same journey annually, carrying up their wheat and barley, for the same purpose. Each of the Libyan tribes was distinguished by a distinct mode of cutting the hair, and by some peculiarities of religious worship, though generally all worshipped the Sun and the Moon.⁵ But in the neighbourhood of the Lake Tritônis (seemingly the western extremity of Grecian coasting trade in the time of Herodotus,

had found it so difficult to wade through on former occasions, had been eaten down to the roots by the cattle" (ch. xviii. pp. 517, 520).

The winter rains are also abundant, between January and March, at Bengazi (the ancient Hesperides): sweet springs of water are found near the town (ch. xi. pp. 282, 315, 327). About Ptolemeta, or Ptolemais, the port of the ancient Barka, *ib.* ch. xii. p. 363.

¹ Herodot. iv. 170-171. παραλία σφόδρα εὐδαίμων. Strabo, ii. p. 131. πολυμήλου καὶ πολυκαρπότηας χήνους, Pindar, Pyth. ix. 7.

² Herodot. iv. 186, 187, 189, 190. Νομάδες κρεοφάγοι καὶ γαλακτοπόται.

Pindar, Pyth. ix. 127, ἰππεύουσι Νομάδες. Pompon. Mela, i. 8.

³ See the fourth, fifth and ninth Pythian Odes of Pindar. In the description given by Sophoklēs (Electra, 695) of the Pythian contest, in which pretence is made that Orestēs has perished, ten contending chariots are supposed, of which two are Libyan from Barka: of the remaining eight, one only comes from each place named.

⁴ Herodot. iv. 172-1-2. Compare Hornemann's Travels in Africa, p. 48, and Heeren, Verkehr und Handel der Alten Welt, Th. ii. Abth. 1. Abschnitt vi. p. 226.

⁵ Herodot. iv. 175-188.

who knows little beyond, except from Carthaginian authorities), the Grecian deities Poseidôn and Athênê, together with the legend of Jason and the Argonauts, had been localised. There were moreover current prophecies announcing that one hundred Hellenic cities were destined one day to be founded round the lake—and that one city in the island Phla, surrounded by the lake, was to be planted by the Lacedæmonians.¹ These indeed were among the many unfulfilled prophecies which from every side cheated the Grecian ear, proceeding probably from Kyrenæan or Theræan traders, who thought the spot advantageous for settlement, and circulated their own hopes under the form of divine assurances. It was about the year 510 B.C.² that some of the Theræans conducted the Spartan prince Dorieus to found a colony in the fertile region of Kinyps, belonging to the Libyan Makæ. But Carthage, interested in preventing the extension of Greek settlements westward, aided the Libyans in driving him out.

The Libyans in the immediate neighbourhood of Kyrênê were materially changed by the establishment of that town. They constituted a large part—at first Mixture of
Greeks and
Libyan in-
habitants
at Kyrênê.—probably far the largest part—of its constituent population. Not possessing that fierce tenacity of habits which the Mahomedan religion has impressed upon the Arabs of the present day, they were open to the mingled influence of constraint and seduction applied by Grecian settlers; and in the time of Herodotus, the Kabales and the Asbystæ of the interior had come to copy Kyrenæan tastes and customs.³ The Theræan colonists, having obtained not merely the consent, but even the guidance, of the natives to their occupation of Kyrênê constituted themselves like privileged Spartan citizens in the midst of Libyan Pericæi.⁴ They seem to have married Libyan wives, so that Herodotus describes the women of Kyrênê and Barka as following, even in his time, religious observances indigenous and not Hellenic.⁵ Even the

¹ Herodot. iv. 178, 179, 195, 196.

² Herodot. iv. 42.

³ Herodot. iv. 179. νόμος δὲ τοῦς ἑσπερίαισι καὶ τοῖς ἀσβυσταῖσι καὶ τοῖς κάβασι.

⁴ Herodot. iv. 161. Ἑρριτών καὶ τῶν περικίων, &c.

⁵ Herodot. iv. 186-189. Compare also the story in Pindar, Pyth. ix. 109-126, about Alexidamus, the ancestor of Telesikrates the Kyrenæan; how the former won, by his swiftness in running, a Libyan maiden, daughter of Antæus of

descendants of the primitive œkist Battus were semi-Libyan, for Herodotus gives us the curious information that Battus was the Libyan word for a king, and deduces from it the just inference that the name Battus was not originally personal to the œkist, but acquired in Libya first as a title;¹ though it afterwards passed to his descendants as a proper name. For eight generations the reigning princes were called Battus and Arkesilaus, the Libyan denomination alternating with the Greek, until the family was finally deprived of its power. Moreover we find the chief of Barka, kinsman of Arkesilaus of Kyrênê, bearing the name of Alazir; a name certainly not Hellenic, and probably Libyan.² We are therefore to conceive the first Theræan colonists as established in their lofty fortified post Kyrênê, in the centre of Libyan Periœki, till then strangers to walls, to arts, and perhaps even to cultivated land. Probably these Periœki were always subject and tributary, in a greater or less degree, though they continued for half a century to retain their own king.

To these rude men the Theræans communicated the elements of Hellenism and civilization, not without receiving themselves much that was non-Hellenic in return; and perhaps the reactionary influence of the Libyan element against the Hellenic might have proved the stronger of the two, had they not been reinforced by new-comers from Greece. After forty years of Battus the Œkist (about 630-590 B.C.) and sixteen years of his son Arkesilaus (about 590-574 B.C.), a second Battus³ succeeded, called Battus the Prosperous, to mark the extraordinary increase of Kyrênê during his presidency. The Kyrenæans under him took pains to invite new settlers from all parts of Greece without distinction—a circumstance deserving notice in Grecian colonization, which usually manifested a preference for certain races, if it did not positively exclude the rest. To every new-comer was promised a lot of land, and the Delphian priestess strenuously seconded the wishes of the Kyrenæans, proclaiming that “whosoever should reach the place too late for the land-division, would have

Irasa—and Kallimachus, Hymn. Apoll. 86.

¹ Herodot. iv. 155.

² Herodot. iv. 164.

³ Respecting the chronology of the Battiad princes, see Boeckh, ad Pindar. Pyth. iv. p. 265, and Thrice, *Histor. Cyrenes*, p. 127, *seq.*

reason to repent it." Such promise of new land, as well as the sanction of the oracle, were doubtless made public at all the games and meetings of Greeks. A large number of new colonists embarked for Kyrênê: the exact number is not mentioned, but we must conceive it to have been very great, when we are told that during the succeeding generation, not less than 7000 Grecian hoplites of Kyrênê perished by the hands of the revolted Libyans—yet leaving both the city itself and its neighbour Barka still powerful. The loss of so great a number as 7000 Grecian hoplites has very few parallels throughout the whole history of Greece. In fact, this second migration, during the government of Battus the Prosperous, which must have taken place between 574-554 B.C., ought to be looked upon as the moment of real and effective colonization for Kyrênê. It was on this occasion probably that the port of Apollonia, which afterwards came to equal the city itself in importance, was first occupied and fortified—for the second swarm of immigrants came by sea direct, while the original colonists had reached Kyrênê by land from the island of Platea through Irasa. The fresh immigrants came from Peloponnesus, Krête, and some other islands of the Ægean.

To furnish so many new lots of land, it was either necessary, or it was found expedient, to dispossess many of the Libyan Perioeki; who found their situation, in other respects also, greatly changed for the worse. The Libyan king Adikran, himself among the sufferers, implored aid from Apriês king of Egypt, then in the height of his power; sending to declare himself and his people Egyptian subjects, like their neighbours the Adymachidæ. The Egyptian prince, accepting the offer, despatched a large military force of the native soldier-caste, who were constantly in station at the western frontier-town Marca, by the route along shore to attack Kyrênê. They were met at Irasa by the Greeks of Kyrênê, and being totally ignorant of Grecian arms and tactics, experienced a defeat so complete that few of them reached home.¹ The consequences of this disaster in Egypt, where it caused the transfer of the throne from Apriês to Amasis, have been noticed in a former chapter.

Disputes
with the
native
Libyans.

Of course the Libyan Perioeki were put down, and the redivision of lands near Kyrênê among the Greek settlers

¹ Herodot. iv. 159.

accomplished, to the great increase of the power of the city. And the reign of Battus the Prosperous marks a flourishing æra in the town, with a large acquisition of land-dominions, antecedent to years of dissension and distress. The Kyrenæans came into intimate alliance with Amasis king of Egypt, who encouraged Grecian connexion in every way, and who even took to wife Ladikê, a woman of the Battiad family at Kyrênê; so that the Libyan Pericæki lost all chance of Egyptian aid against the Greeks.¹

New prospects, however, were opened to them during the reign of Arkesilaus the Second, son of Battus the Prosperous (about 554-544 B.C.). The behaviour of this prince incensed and alienated his own brothers, who raised a revolt against him, succeeded with a portion of the citizens, and induced a number of the Libyan Pericæki to take part with them. They founded the Greco-Libyan city of Barka, in the territory of the Libyan Auschisæ, about twelve miles from the coast, distant from Kyrênê by sea about seventy miles to the westward. The space between the two, and even beyond Barka as far as the more westerly Grecian colony called Hesperides, was in the days of Skylax provided with commodious ports for refuge or landing.² At what time Hesperides was founded we do not know, but it existed about 510 B.C.³ Whether Arkesilaus obstructed the foundation of Barka is not certain; but he marched the Kyrenæan forces against those revolted Libyans who had joined it. Unable to resist, the latter fled for refuge to their more easterly brethren near the borders of Egypt, and Arkesilaus pursued them. At length, in a district called Leukôn, the fugitives found an opportunity of attacking him at such prodigious advantage, that they almost destroyed the Kyrenæan army; 7000 hoplites (as has been before intimated) being left dead on the field. Arkesilaus did not long survive this disaster. He was strangled during sickness by his brother Learchus, who aspired to the throne; but Eryxô, widow of the deceased prince,⁴ avenged the crime by causing Learchus to be assassinated.

¹ Herodot. ii. 180-181.

³ Herodot. iv. 204.

² Herodot. iv. 160; Skylax, c. 107; Hekataeus, Fragm. 309. ed. Klausen.

⁴ Herodot. iv. 160. Plutarch (De Virtutibus Mulier. p. 261) and Polyænus (viii. 41) give various de-

That the credit of the Battiad princes was impaired by such a series of disasters and enormities, we can readily believe. But it received a still greater shock from the circumstance, that Battus the Third, son and successor of Arkesilaus, was lame and deformed in his feet. To be governed by a man thus personally disabled, was in the minds of the Kyrenæans an indignity not to be borne, as well as an excuse for pre-existing discontents. The resolution was taken to send to the Delphian oracle for advice. They were directed by the priestess to invite from Mantinea a moderator, empowered to close discussions and provide a scheme of government. The Mantineans selected Demônax, one of the wisest of their citizens, to solve the same problem which had been committed to Solon at Athens. By his arrangement, the regal prerogative of the Battiad line was terminated, and a republican government established, seemingly about 543 B.C.; the dispossessed prince retaining both the landed domains¹ and the various sacerdotal functions which had belonged to his predecessors. Respecting the government, as newly framed, however, Herodotus unfortunately gives us hardly any particulars. Demônax classified the inhabitants of Kyrênê into three tribes; composed of—1. Theraeans with their Libyan Periœki; 2. Greeks who had come from Peloponnesus and Krête; 3. such

Battus the Third—a lame man—reform by Demônax.

tails of this stratagem on the part of Eryxô; Learchus being in love with her. Plutarch also states that Learchus maintained himself as despot for some time by the aid of Egyptian troops from Amasis, and committed great cruelties. His story has too much the air of a romance to be transcribed into the text, nor do I know from what authority it is taken.

¹ Herodot. iv. 161. Τῷ βασιλεῖ Βάττῳ περιμένα ἐξελών καὶ κρωσάσας, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε.

I construe the word περιμένα as meaning all the domains, doubtless large, which had belonged to the Battiad princes; contrary to Thrice (*Historia Cyrênês*, ch. 38. p. 150), who restricts the ex-

pression to revenues derived from sacred property. The reference of Wesseling to Hesych.—Βάττου σιλήφρον—is of no avail for illustrating this passage.

The supposition of O. Müller, that the preceding king had made himself despotic by means of Egyptian soldiers, appears to me not probable and not admissible upon the simple authority of Plutarch's romantic story, when we take into consideration the silence of Herodotus. Nor is he correct in affirming that Demônax "restored the supremacy of the community:" that legislator superseded the old kingly political privileges, and framed a new constitution (see O. Müller, *History of Dorians*, l. iii. ch. 9. s. 13).

Greeks as had come from all other islands in the Ægean. It appears too that a senate was constituted, taken doubtless from these three tribes, and, we may presume, in equal proportion. It seems probable that there had been before no constitutional classification, nor political privilege, except what was vested in the Theræans—that these latter, the descendants of the original colonists, were the only persons hitherto *known to the constitution*—and that the remaining Greeks, though free landed proprietors and hoplites, were not permitted to act as an integral part of the body politic, nor distributed in tribes at all.¹ The whole powers of government—up to this time vested in the Battiad princes, subject only to such check, how effective we know not, which the citizens of Theræan origin might be able to interpose—were now transferred from the prince to the people, that is, to certain individuals or assemblies chosen somehow from among all the citizens. There existed at Kyrênê, as at Thêra and Sparta, a board of Ephors, and a band of three hundred armed police,² analogous to those who were called the Hippeis or Horsemen at Sparta. Whether these were instituted by Demônax we do not know, nor does the identity of titular office, in different states, afford safe ground for inferring identity of power. This is particularly to be remarked with regard to the Pericœki at Kyrênê, who were perhaps more analogous to the Helots than to the Pericœki of Sparta. The fact that the Pericœki were considered in the new constitution as belonging specially to the Theræan branch of citizens, shows that these latter still continued

¹ Both O. Müller (Dor. b. iii. 4, 5) and Thirge (Hist. Cyren. c. 38. p. 148) speak of Demônax as having abolished the old tribes and created new ones. I do not conceive the change in this manner. Demônax did not *abolish* any tribes, but distributed for the first time the inhabitants into tribes. It is possible indeed that before his time the Theræans of Kyrênê may have been divided among themselves into distinct tribes; but the other inhabitants, having immigrated from a great number of different places, had never before been

thrown into tribes at all. Some formal enactment or regulation was necessary for this purpose, to define and sanction that religious, social, and political communion which went to make up the idea of the Tribe. It is not to be assumed, as a matter of course, that there must necessarily have been tribes anterior to Demônax, among a population so miscellaneous in its origin.

² Hesychius, Τριτάκτις; Eustath. ad Hom. Odyss. p. 303; Herakleides Pontic. De Polit. c. 4.

a privileged order, like the Patricians with their Clients at Rome in relation to the Plebs.

That the re-arrangement introduced by Demônax was wise, consonant to the general current of Greek feeling, and calculated to work well, there is good reason to believe. No discontent within would have subverted it without the aid of extraneous force. Battus the lame acquiesced in it peaceably during his life; but his widow and his son, Pheretimê and Arkesilaus, raised a revolt after his death and tried to regain by force the kingly privileges of the family. They were worsted and obliged to flee—the mother to Cyprus, the son to Samos—where both employed themselves in procuring foreign arms to invade and conquer Kyrênê. Though Pheretimê could obtain no effective aid from Euclithôn prince of Salamis in Cyprus, her son was more successful in Samos, by inviting new Greek settlers to Kyrênê, under promise of a redistribution of the land. A large body of emigrants joined him on this proclamation; the period seemingly being favourable to it, since the Ionian cities had not long before become subject to Persia, and were discontented with the yoke. But before he conducted this numerous band against his native city, he thought proper to ask the advice of the Delphian oracle. Success in the undertaking was promised to him, but moderation and mercy after success were emphatically enjoined, on pain of losing his life; and the Battiad race was declared by the god to be destined to rule at Kyrênê for eight generations, but no longer—as far as four princes named Battus and four named Arkesilaus.¹ “More than such eight generations (said the Pythia), Apollo forbids the Battiards even to aim at.” This oracle was doubtless told to Herodotus by Kyrenæan informants when he visited their city after the final deposition of the Battiad princes, which took place in the person of the fourth Arkesilaus, between 460-450 B.C.; the invasion of Kyrênê by Arkesilaus the Third, sixth prince of the Battiad race, to which the oracle professed to refer, having occurred about 530 B.C. The words placed in the mouth

New immigration—
restoration
of the Battiad
Arkesilaus the
Third.

Oracle
limiting the
duration of
the Battiad
dynasty.

¹ Herodot. iv. 163. Ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσαρες Βάττους, καὶ Ἀρκεσίλειος τέσσαρες, διδοῖ μιν Ἀπόλλων βασιλεύειν

Κυρήνης· πλέον μόντοι τούτου οὐδέ πειράσθαι παραινέει.

of the priestess doubtless date from the later of these two periods, and afford a specimen of the way in which pretended prophecies are not only made up by ante-dating after-knowledge, but are also so contrived as to serve a present purpose; for the distinct prohibition of the god "not even to aim at a longer lineage than eight Battiad princes," seems plainly intended to deter the partisans of the dethroned family from endeavouring to reinstate them.

Arkesilaus the Third, to whom this prophecy purports to have been addressed, returned with his mother Pheretimê and his army of new colonists to Kyrênê. He was strong enough to carry all before him—to expel some of his chief opponents and seize upon others, whom he sent to Cyprus to be destroyed; though the vessels were driven out of their course by storms to the peninsula of Knidus, where the inhabitants rescued the prisoners and sent them to Thêra. Other Kyrenæans, opposed to the Battiads, took refuge in a lofty private tower, the property of Aglômachus, wherein Arkesilaus caused them all to be burnt, heaping wood around and setting it on fire. But after this career of triumph and revenge, he became conscious that he had departed from the mildness enjoined to him by the oracle, and sought to avoid the punishment which it had threatened by retiring from Kyrênê. At any rate he departed from Kyrênê to Barka, to the residence of the Barkæan prince his kinsman Alazir, whose daughter he had married. But he found in Barka some of the unfortunate men who had fled from Kyrênê to escape him. These exiles, aided by a few Barkæans, watched for a suitable moment to assail him in the market-place, and slew him together with his kinsman the prince Alazir.¹

The victory of Arkesilaus at Kyrênê, and his assassination at Barka, are doubtless real facts. But they seem to have been compressed together and incorrectly coloured, in order to give to the death of the Kyrenæan prince the appearance of a divine judgement. For the reign of Arkesilaus cannot have been very short, since events of the utmost importance occurred within it. The Persians under Kambylês conquered Egypt, and both the Kyrenæan and the Barkæan prince sent to Memphis to make their sub-

Violences at Kyrênê under Arkesilaus the Third.

Arkesilaus sends his submission to Kambylês king of Persia.

¹ Herodot. iv. 163—164.

mission to the conqueror—offering presents and imposing upon themselves an annual tribute. These presents of the Kyrenæans, 500 minæ of silver, were considered by Kambysês so contemptibly small, that he took hold of them at once and threw them among his soldiers. And at the moment when Arkesilaus died, Aryandes, the Persian satrap after the death of Kambysês, is found established in Egypt.¹

During the absence of Arkesilaus at Barka, his mother Pheretimê had acted as regent, taking her place at the discussions in the senate. But when his death took place, and the feeling against the Battiaids manifested itself strongly at Barka, she did not feel powerful enough to put it down, and went to Egypt to solicit aid from Aryandes. The satrap, being made to believe that Arkesilaus had met his death in consequence of steady devotion to the Persians, sent a herald to Barka to demand the men who had slain him. The Barkæans assumed the collective responsibility of the act, saying that he had done them injuries both numerous and severe—a farther proof that his reign cannot have been very short. On receiving this reply, the satrap immediately despatched a powerful Persian armament, land-force as well as sea-force, in fulfilment of the designs of Pheretimê against Barka. They besieged the town for nine months, trying to storm, to batter, and to undermine the walls:² but their efforts were vain, and it was taken at last only by an act of the grossest perfidy. Pretending to relinquish the attempt in despair, the Persian general concluded a treaty with the Barkæans, wherein it was stipulated that the latter should continue to pay tribute to the Great King, but that the army should retire without farther hostilities: "I swear it (said the Persian general), and my oath shall hold good, as long as this earth shall keep its place." But the spot on which the oaths were exchanged had been fraudulently prepared: a ditch had been excavated and covered with hurdles, upon which again a surface of earth had been laid. The Barkæans, confiding in the oath, and overjoyed at their liberation, immediately opened their gates and relaxed their guard; while the Persians, breaking down the hurdles and letting

B.C. 517-513.
Persian expedition
from Egypt
against
Barka—
Pheretimê
mother of
Arkesilaus.

¹ Herodot. iii. 13; iv. 165-176.

² Polyænus (Strateg. vii. 27) gives

a narrative in many respects different from this of Herodotus.

fall the superimposed earth, so that they might comply with the letter of their oath, assaulted the city and took it without difficulty.

Miserable was the fate which Pheretimê had in reserve for these entrapped prisoners. She crucified Barka by the chief opponents of herself and her late son perfidy—around the walls, on which were also affixed the cruelty of Pheretimê. breasts of their wives: then, with the exception of such of the inhabitants as were Battiads and noway concerned in the death of Arkesilaus, she consigned the rest to slavery in Persia. They were carried away captive into the Persian empire, where Darius assigned to them a village in Baktria as their place of abode, which still bore the name of Barka, even in the days of Herodotus.

During the course of this expedition, it appears, the Persian army advanced as far as Hesperides, and reduced many of the Libyan tribes to subjection. These, together with Kyrênê and Barka, figure afterwards among the tributaries and auxiliaries of Xerxês in his expedition against Greece. And when the army returned to Egypt, by order of Ariandês, they were half inclined to seize Kyrênê itself in their way, though the opportunity was missed and the purpose left unaccomplished.¹

Pheretimê accompanied the retreating army to Egypt, where she died shortly of a loathsome disease, consumed by worms; thus showing (says Herodotus²) that "excessive cruelty in revenge brings down upon men the displeasure of the gods." It will be recollected that in the veins of this savage woman the Libyan blood was intermixed with the Grecian. In Greece Proper, political enmity kills—but seldom, if ever, mutilates—or sheds the blood of women.

We thus leave Kyrênê and Barka again subject to Battiad princes, at the same time that they are tributaries of Persia. Another Battus and another Arkesilaus have to intervene before the glass of this worthless dynasty is run out, between 460-450 B.C. I shall not at present carry the reader's attention to this last Arkesilaus, who stands honoured by two chariot victories in Greece, and two fine odes of Pindar.

Battus the Fourth and Arkesilaus the Fourth—final extinction of the dynasty about 460-450 B.C.

¹ Herodot. iv. 203, 204.

² Herodot. iv. 205.

The victory of the third Arkesilaus, and the restoration of the Battiads, broke up the equitable constitution established by Demônax. His triple classification into tribes must have been completely remodelled, though we do not know how; for the number of new colonists whom Arkesilaus introduced must have necessitated a fresh distribution of land, and it is extremely doubtful whether the relation of the Theræan class of citizens with their Periœki, as established by Demônax, still continued to subsist. It is necessary to notice this fact, because the arrangements of Demônax are spoken of by some authors as if they formed the permanent constitution of Kyrênê; whereas they cannot have outlived the restoration of the Battiads, nor can they even have been revived after that dynasty was finally expelled, since the number of new citizens and the large change of property, introduced by Arkesilaus the Third, would render them inapplicable to the subsequent city.

Constitu-
tion of
Demônax
not dur-
able.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PAN-HELLENIC FESTIVALS—OLYMPIC, PYTHIAN,
NEMEAN, AND ISTHMIAN.

IN the preceding chapters I have been under the necessity of presenting to the reader a picture altogether incoherent and destitute of central effect. I have specified briefly each of the two or three hundred towns which agreed in bearing the Hellenic name, and recounted its birth and early life, as far as our evidence goes—but without being able to point out any action and reaction, exploits or sufferings, prosperity or misfortune, glory or disgrace, common to all.

Want of
grouping
and unity
in the early
period
of Grecian
history.

To a great degree, this is a characteristic inseparable from the history of Greece from its beginning to its end; for the only political unity which it ever receives, is the melancholy unity of subjection under all-conquering Rome. Nothing short of force will efface in the mind of a free Greek the idea of his city as an autonomous and separate organization. The village is a fraction, but the city is an unit,—and the highest of all political units, not admitting of being consolidated with others into a ten or a hundred, to the sacrifice of its own separate and individual mark. Such is the character of the race, both in their primitive country and in their colonial settlements—in their early as well as in their late history—splitting by natural fracture into a multitude of self-administering, indivisible, cities. But that which marks the early historical period before Peisistratus, and which impresses upon it an incoherence at once so fatiguing and so irremediable, is, that as yet no causes have arisen to counteract this political isolation. Each city, whether progressive or stationary, prudent or adventurous, turbulent or tranquil, follows out its own thread of existence, having no partnership or common purposes with the rest, nor being yet constrained into any active communion with them by extraneous forces. In likemanner, the races which on every side surround the

Hellenic world appear distinct and unconnected, not yet taken up into any co-operating mass or system.

Contemporaneously with the accession of Peisistratus, this state of things becomes altered both in and out of Hellas—the former as a consequence of the latter. For at that time begins the formation of the great Persian empire, which absorbs into itself not only Upper Asia and Asia Minor, but also Phenicia, Egypt, Thrace, Macedonia, and a considerable number of the Grecian cities themselves; while the common danger, from this vast aggregate, threatening the greater states of Greece Proper, drives them, in spite of great reluctance and jealousy, into active union. Hence arises a new impulse, counter-working the natural tendency to political isolation in the Hellenic cities, and centralising their proceedings to a certain extent for the two centuries succeeding 650 B.C.; Athens and Sparta both availing themselves of the centralising tendencies which had grown out of the Persian war. But during the interval between 776-560 B.C., no such tendency can be traced even in commencement, nor any constraining force calculated to bring it about. Even Thucydidês, as we may see by his excellent preface, knew of nothing during these two centuries except separate city-politics and occasional wars between neighbours. The only event, according to him, in which any considerable number of Grecian cities were jointly concerned, was the war between Chalkis and Eretria, the date of which we do not know. In that war, several cities took part as allies; Samos, among others, with Eretria—Mîlêtus with Chalkis:¹ how far the alliances of either may have extended, we have no evidence to inform us, but the presumption is that no great number of Grecian cities was comprehended in them. Such as it was, however, this war between Chalkis and Eretria was the nearest approach, and the only approach, to a Pan-Hellenic proceeding, which Thucydidês indicates between the Trojan and the Persian wars. Both he and Herodotus present this early period only by way of preface and contrast to that which follows—when the Pan-Hellenic spirit and tendencies, though never at any time predominant, yet counted for a powerful element in history, and sensibly modified the universal

New causes
tending to
favour
union
begin after
560 B.C.—no
general war
between
776 and 560
B.C. known
to Thucy-
didês.

¹ Thucyd. i. 15.

instinct of city-isolation. They tell us little about it, either because they could find no trustworthy informants, or because there was nothing in it to captivate the imagination in the same manner as the Persian or the Peloponnesian wars. From whatever cause their silence arises, it is deeply to be regretted, since the phænomena of the two centuries from 776-560 B.C., though not susceptible of any central grouping, must have presented the most instructive matter for study, had they been preserved. In no period of history have there ever been formed a greater number of new political communities, under much variety of circumstances, personal as well as local. A few chronicles, however destitute of philosophy, reporting the exact march of some of these colonies from their commencement—amidst all the difficulties attendant on amalgamation with strange natives, as well as on a fresh distribution of land—would have added greatly to our knowledge both of Greek character and Greek social existence.

Taking the two centuries now under review, then, it will appear that there is not only no growing political unity among the Grecian states, but a tendency even to the contrary—to dissemination and mutual estrangement. Not so, however, in regard to the other feelings of unity capable of subsisting between men who acknowledge no common political authority—sympathies founded on common religion, language, belief of race, legends, tastes and customs, intellectual appetencies, sense of proportion and artistic excellence, recreative enjoyments, &c. On all these points, the manifestations of Hellenic unity become more and more pronounced and comprehensive, in spite of increased political dissemination, throughout the same period. The breadth of common sentiment and sympathy between Greek and Greek, together with the conception of multitudinous periodical meetings as an indispensable portion of existence, appears decidedly greater in 560 B.C. than it had been a century before. It was fostered by the increased conviction of the superiority of Greeks as compared with foreigners—a conviction gradually more and more justified as Grecian art and intellect improved, and as the survey of foreign countries became extended—as well as by the many new efforts of men of genius in the field of music, poetry, statuary, and architecture; each of

Increasing
disposition
to reli-
gious, in-
tellectual
and social
union.

whom touched chords of feeling, belonging to other Greeks hardly less than to his own peculiar city. At the same time, the life of each peculiar city continues distinct, and even gathers to itself a greater abundance of facts and internal interests; so that during the two centuries now under review there was in the mind of every Greek an increase both of the city-feeling and of the Pan-Hellenic feeling, but on the other hand a decline of the old sentiment of separate race—Doric, Ionic, Æolic.

I have already, in my former volume, touched upon the many-sided character of the Grecian religion, entering as it did into all the enjoyments and sufferings, the hopes and fears, the affections and antipathies of the people—not simply imposing restraints and obligations, but protecting, multiplying and diversifying all the social pleasures and all the decorations of existence. Each city and even each village had its peculiar religious festivals, wherein the sacrifices to the gods were usually followed by public recreations of one kind or other—by feasting on the victims, processional marches, singing and dancing, or competition in strong and active exercises. The festival was originally local, but friendship or communion of race was shown by inviting others, non-residents, to partake in its attractions. In the case of a colony and its metropolis, it was a frequent practice that citizens of the metropolis were honoured with a privileged seat at the festivals of the colony, or that one of their number was presented with the first taste of the sacrificial victim.¹ Reciprocal frequentation of religious festivals was thus the standing evidence of friendship and fraternity among cities not politically united. That it must have existed to a certain degree from the earliest days, there can be no reasonable doubt; though in Homer and Hesiod we find only the celebration of funeral games, by a chief at his own private expense, in honour of his deceased father or friend—with

Reciprocal
admission
of cities to
the reli-
gious festi-
vals of
each other.

¹ Thucyd. i. 26. See the tale in Pausanias (v. 25, 1) of the ancient chorus sent annually from Messênê in Sicily across the strait to Rhegium, to a local festival of the Rhegians—thirty-five boys with a chorus-master and a flute-player: on one unfortunate occasion, all

of them perished in crossing. For the *Theôry* (or solemn religious deputation) periodically sent by the Athenians to Delos, see Plutarch, Nicias, c. 3; Plato, Phædon, c. 1. p. 68. Compare also Strabo, ix. p. 419, on the general subject.

all the accompanying recreations, however, of a public festival, and with strangers not only present, but also contending for valuable prizes.¹ Passing to historical Greece during the seventh century B.C., we find evidence of two festivals, even then very considerable, and frequented by Greeks from many different cities and districts—the festival at Delos, in honour of Apollo, the great place of meeting for Ionians throughout the *Ægean*—and the Olympic games.

The Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo, which must be placed earlier than 600 B. C., dwells with emphasis on the splendour of the Delian festival, unrivalled throughout Greece, as it would appear, during all the first period of this history, for wealth, finery of attire, and variety of exhibitions as well in poetical genius as in bodily activity²—equalling probably at that time, if not surpassing, the Olympic games. The complete and undiminished grandeur of this Delian Pan-Ionic festival is one of our chief marks of the first period of Grecian history, before the comparative prostration of the Ionic Greeks through the rise of Persia. It was celebrated periodically in every fourth year, to the honour of Apollo and Artemis. Moreover it was distinguished from the Olympic games by two circumstances both deserving of notice—first, by including solemn matches not only of gymnastic, but also of musical and poetical excellence, whereas the latter had no place at Olympia; secondly, by the admission of men, women and children indiscriminately as spectators, whereas women were formally excluded from the Olympic ceremony.³ Such exclusion may have depended in part on the inland situation of Olympia, less easily approachable by females than the island of Delos; but even making allowance for this circumstance, both the one distinction and the other mark the rougher character of the *Ætolo-Dorians* in Peloponnesus. The Delian festival, which greatly dwindled away during the subjection of the Asiatic and insular

¹ Homer, *Iliad*, xi. 879. xxiii. 679; Hesiod, *Opp. Di.* 651.

² Homer. *Hymn. Apoll.* 150; Thucyd. iii. 104.

³ Pausan. v. 6, 5; *Ælian*, N. H. x. 1; Thucyd. iii. 104. When Ephe-

sus, and the festival called Ephesia, had become the great place of Ionic meeting, the presence of women was still continued (*Dionys. Hal. A. R.* iv. 25).

Greeks to Persia, was revived afterwards by Athens during the period of her empire, when she was seeking in every way to strengthen her central ascendancy in the Ægean. But though it continued to be ostentatiously celebrated under her management, it never regained that commanding sanctity and crowded frequentation which we find attested in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo for its earlier period.

Very different was the fate of the Olympic festival—on the banks of the Alpheius¹ in Peloponnesus, near the old oracular temple of the Olympian Zeus—which not only grew up uninterruptedly from small beginnings to the maximum of Pan-Hellenic importance, but even preserved its crowds of visitors and its celebrity for many centuries after the extinction of Greek freedom, and only received its final abolition, after more than 1100 years of continuance, from the decree of the Christian emperor Theodosius in 394 A.D. I have already recounted in the preceding volume of this History, the attempt made by Pheidon, despot of Argos, to restore to the Pisatans, or to acquire for himself, the administration of this festival—an event which proves the importance of the festival in Peloponnesus, even so early as 740 B.C. At that time, and for some years afterwards, it seems to have been frequented chiefly, if not exclusively, by the neighbouring inhabitants of Central and Western Peloponnesus—Spartans, Messenians, Arkadians, Triphylians, Pisatans, Eleians, and Achæans²—and it forms an important link connecting the Ætolo-Eleians, and their privileges as Agonotheis, to solemnise and preside over it, with Sparta. From the year 720 B.C., we trace positive evidences of the gradual presence of more distant Greeks—Corinthians, Megarians, Bœotians, Athenians, and even Smyrnæans from Asia. We observe also other proofs of growing importance, in the increased number and variety of matches exhibited to the spectators, and in the substitution of the simple crown of olive, an honorary reward, in place of the more substantial present which the Olympic festival and all other Grecian festivals began by conferring upon the victor. The humble constitution of the Olympic

Olympic
games—
their cele-
brity and
long con-
tinuance.

¹ Strabo, viii. p. 353; Pindar, Olymp. viii. 2; Xenophon, Hellen. iv. 7, 2; iii. 2, 22.

² See K. F. Hermann, Lehrbuch der Griechischen Staats-Alterthümer sect. 10.

games presented originally nothing more than a match of runners in the measured course called the Stadium. A continuous series of the victorious runners was formally inscribed and preserved by the Eleians, beginning with Korœbus in 776 B.C., and was made to serve by chronological inquirers from the third century B.C. downwards, as a means of measuring the chronological sequence of Grecian events. It was on the occasion of the seventh Olympiad after Korœbus that Daiklês the Messenian first received for his victory in the stadium no farther recompense than a wreath from the sacred olive-tree near Olympia:¹ the honour of being proclaimed victor was found sufficient, without any pecuniary addition. But until the fourteenth Olympiad (724 B.C.) there was no other match for the spectators to witness besides that of simple runners in the stadium. On that occasion a second race was first introduced, of runners

in the double stadium, or up and down the course. Their gradual increase—new matches introduced. In the next or fifteenth Olympiad (720 B.C.) a third match, the long course for runners, or several times up and down the stadium. There were thus three races—the simple Stadium, the double Stadium or Diaulos, and the long course or Dolichos, all for runners—which continued without addition until the eighteenth Olympiad, when the wrestling-match and the complicated Pentathlon (including jumping, running, the quoit, the javelin, and wrestling) were both added. A farther novelty appears in the twenty-third Olympiad (688 B.C.), the boxing-match; and another still more important in the twenty-fifth (680 B.C.), the chariot with four full-grown horses. This last-mentioned addition is deserving of special notice, not merely as it diversified the scene by the introduction of horses, but also as it brought in a totally new class of competitors—rich men and women, who possessed the finest horses and could hire the most skilful drivers, without any personal superiority or power of bodily display in themselves.² The prodigious exhibition of wealth in

¹ Dionys. Halikarn. Ant. Rom. i. 71; Phlegon, De Olympiad. p. 140. For an illustration of the stress laid by the Greeks on the purely honorary rewards of Olympia, and on the credit which they took to themselves as competitors, not for money, but for glory, see Herodot.

viii. 26. Compare the Scholia on Pindar, Nem. and Isthm. Argument, p. 425—514, ed. Boeckh.

² See the sentiment of Agesilaus, somewhat contemptuous, respecting the chariot-race, as described by Xenophon (Agesilaus, ix. 6): the general feeling of Greece,

which the chariot proprietors indulged, is not only an evidence of growing importance in the Olympic games, but also served materially to increase that importance and to heighten the interest of spectators. Two farther matches were added in the thirty-third Olympiad (648 B.C.)—the Pankration, or boxing and wrestling conjoined,¹ with the hand unarmed or divested of that hard leather cestus² worn by the pugilist, which rendered the blow of the latter more terrible, but at the same time prevented him from grasping or keeping hold of his adversary—and the single race-horse. Many other novelties were introduced one after the other, which it is unnecessary fully to enumerate—the race between men clothed in full panoply and bearing each his shield—the different matches between boys, analogous to those between full-grown men, and between colts of the same nature as between full-grown horses. At the maximum of its attraction the Olympic solemnity occupied five days, but until the seventy-seventh Olympiad, all the various matches had been compressed into one—beginning at day-break and not always closing before dark.³ The seventy-seventh Olympiad follows immediately after the successful expulsion of the Persian invaders from Greece, when the

however, is more in conformity with what Thucydides (vi. 16) puts into the mouth of Alkibiades, and Xenophon into that of Simonides (Xenophon, Hiero, xi. 5). The great respect attached to a family which had gained chariot victories is amply attested: see Herodot. vi. 35, 36, 103, 126—οἰκίη τεύχεσι πεπρωμένος—and vi. 70, about Demaratus king of Sparta.

¹ Antholog. Palatin. ix. 588; vol. ii. p. 299, Jacobs.

² The original Greek word for this covering (which surrounded the middle hand and upper portion of the fingers, leaving both the ends of the fingers and the thumb exposed) was ἱμάς, the word for a thong, strap, or whip, of leather: the special word μόρμηξ seems to have been afterwards introduced (Hesychius, v. ἱμάς): see Homer, Iliad, xxiii. 686. Cestus, or Cæstus,

is the Latin word (Virg. Æn. v. 404): the Greek word χεστός is an adjective annexed to ἱμάς—χεστόν ἱμάνα—πολύχεστος ἱμάς (Iliad, xiv. 214. iii. 371). See Pausan. viii. 40, 3, for the description of the incident which caused an alteration in this hand-covering at the Nemean games: ultimately it was still farther hardened by the addition of iron.

³ Αἰθέλων περπαμέρους ἀμίλλας—Pindar, Olymp. v. 6: compare Schol. ad Pindar. Olymp. iii. 33.

See the facts respecting the Olympic Agôn collected by Corsini (Dissertationes Agonisticae, Dissert. i. sect. 8, 9, 10), and still more amply set forth, with a valuable commentary, by Krause (Olympia, oder Darstellung der grossen Olympischen Spiele, Wien 1838, sect. 8-11 especially).

Pan-Hellenic feeling had been keenly stimulated by resistance to a common enemy; and we may easily conceive that this was a suitable moment for imparting additional dignity to the chief national festival.

We are thus enabled partially to trace the steps whereby, during the two centuries succeeding 776 B.C., the festival of the Olympic Zeus in the Pisatid gradually passed from a local to a national character, and acquired an attractive force capable of bringing together into temporary union the dispersed fragments of Hellas, from Marseilles to Trebizond. In this important function it did not long stand alone. During the sixth century B.C., three other festivals, at first local, become successively nationalised—the Pythia near Delphi, the Isthmia near Corinth, the Nemea near Kleône, between Sikyôn and Argos.

In regard to the Pythian festival, we find a short notice of the particular incidents and individuals by whom its reconstitution and enlargement were brought about—a notice the more interesting, inasmuch as these very incidents are themselves a manifestation of something like Pan-Hellenic patriotism, standing almost alone in an age which presents little else in operation except distinct city-interests. At the time when the Homeric Hymn to the Delphinian Apollo was composed (probably in the seventh century B.C.), the Pythian festival had as yet acquired little eminence. The rich and holy temple of Apollo was then purely oracular, established for the purpose of communicating to pious inquirers “the counsels of the Immortals.” Multitudes of visitors came to consult it, as well as to sacrifice victims and to deposit costly offerings; but while the god delighted in the sound of the harp as an accompaniment to the singing of Pæans, he was by no means anxious to encourage horse-races and chariot-races in the neighbourhood. Nay, this psalmist considers that the noise of horses would be “a nuisance,”—the drinking of mules a desecration to the sacred fountains—and the ostentation of fine-built chariots objectionable,¹ as tending to divert the attention of spectators away from the great

Olympic festival—the first which passes from a local to a Pan-Hellenic character.

Pythian games or festival.

Early state and site of Delphi.

¹ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 262.

Πημανέει σ' αἰεὶ κτυπὸς ἵππων Ἀρδόμενοι τ' οὐρῆες ἐμῶν ἱερῶν
ὠχαιάων, ἀπὸ πηγέων

temple and its wealth. From such inconveniences the god was protected by placing his sanctuary "in the rocky Pytho"—a rugged and uneven recess, of no great dimensions, embosomed in the southern declivity of Parnassus, and about 2000 feet above the level of the sea, while the topmost Parnassian summits reach a height of near 8000 feet. The situation was extremely imposing, but unsuited by nature for the congregation of any considerable number of spectators—altogether impracticable for chariot-races—and only rendered practicable by later art and outlay for the theatre as well as for the stadium; the original stadium, when first established, was placed in the plain beneath. Such a site furnished little means of subsistence, but the sacrifices and presents of visitors enabled the ministers of the temple to live in abundance,¹ and gathered together by degrees a village around it.

Near the sanctuary of Pytho, and about the same altitude, was situated the ancient Phokian town of Krissa, on a projecting spur of Parnassus—Phokian town of Krissa. overhung above by the line of rocky precipice called the Phædriades, and itself overhanging below the deep ravine through which flows the river Peistus. On the other side of this river rises the steep mountain Kirphis, which projects southward into the Corinthian Gulf—the river reaching that gulf through the broad Krissæan, or Kirrhæan, plain, which stretches westward nearly to the Lokrian town of Amphissa; a plain for the most part fertile and productive, though least so in its eastern part immediately

Ἐνθα τις ἀνθρώπων βουλήσεται
εἰσοράσθαι

Ἄρματά τ' εὐποιήτα καὶ ὠκυπόδων
κτυπὸν ἵππων,

Ἡ νήρ τε μέγαν καὶ κτήματα πόλλ'
ἐνέοντα.

Also v. 288-394. γυάλων ὑπὸ Παρ-
νήσιον—485. ὑπὸ πρυχὶ Παρνήσιον—
Pindar, Pyth. viii. 90. Πυθῶνος
ἐν γυάλοις—Strabo, ix. p. 418. πε-
τρῶδες χωρίον καὶ θεατροειδές—He-
liodorus, Æthiop. ii. 26: compare
Will. Götte, Das Delphische Orakel
(Leipzig 1839), p. 39-42.

¹ Βωμοὶ μ' ἔφερβον, οὐπίων τ' ἀεὶ
ἔενος, says Ion (in Euripides, Ion,
334) the slave of Apollo, and the

verger of his Delphian temple, who waters it from the Kastalian spring, sweeps it with laurel boughs, and keeps off with his bow and arrows the obtrusive birds (Ion, 105, 143, 154). Whoever reads the description of Professor Ulrichs (Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland, ch. 7. p. 110) will see that the birds—eagles, vultures, and crows—are quite numerous enough to have been exceedingly troublesome. The whole play of Ion conveys a lively idea of the Delphian temple and its scenery, with which Euripides was doubtless familiar.

under the Kirphis, where the seaport Kirrha was placed.¹ The temple, the oracle, and the wealth of Pytho, belong to the very earliest periods of Grecian antiquity. But the octennial solemnity in honour of the god included at first no other competition except that of bards, who sang each a pæan with the harp. It has been already mentioned, in my preceding volume, that the Amphiktyonic assembly held one of its half-yearly meetings near the temple of Pytho, the other at Thermopylæ.

In those early times when the Homeric Hymn to Apollo was composed, the town of Krissa appears to have been great and powerful, possessing all the broad plain between Parnassus, Kirphis, and the gulf, to which latter it gave its name—and possessing also, what was a property not less valuable, the adjoining sanctuary of Pytho itself, which the Hymn identifies with Krissa, not indicating Delphi as a separate place. The

¹ There is considerable perplexity respecting Krissa and Kirrha, and it still remains a question among scholars whether the two names denote the same place, or different places; the former is the opinion of O. Müller (*Orchomenos*, p. 495). Strabo distinguishes the two, Pausanias identifies them, conceiving no other town to have ever existed except the seaport (x. 37, 4). Mannert (*Geogr. d. Gr. u. Röm.* viii. p. 148) follows Strabo, and represents them different.

I consider the latter to be the correct opinion; upon the grounds, and partly also on the careful topographical examination, of Professor Ulrichs, who gives an excellent account of the whole scenery of Delphi (*Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, Bremen 1840, chapters 1, 2, 3). The ruins described by him on the high ground near Kastri, called the Forty Saints, may fairly be considered as the ruins of Krissa; the ruins of Kirrha are on the seashore near the mouth of the Pleisthus. The plain beneath might

without impropriety be called either the Krissæan or the Kirrhaean plain (Herodot. viii. 32; Strabo, ix. p. 419). Though Strabo was right in distinguishing Krissa from Kirrha, and right also in the position of the latter under Kirphis, he conceived incorrectly the situation of Krissa; and his representation that there were two wars—in the first of which, Kirrha was destroyed by the Krissæans, while in the second, Krissa itself was conquered by the Amphiktyons—is not confirmed by any other authority.

The mere circumstance that Pindar gives us in three separate passages, Κρίσα, Κρίσαϊον, Κρίσαϊοτε (Isth. ii. 26; Pyth. v. 49, vi. 18), and in five other passages, Κίρρα, Κίρραε, Κίρραθεν (Pyth. iii. 33, vii. 14, viii. 26, x. 24, xi. 20), renders it almost certain that the two names belong to different places, and are not merely two different names for the same place; the poet could not in this case have any metrical reason for varying the denomination, as the metre of the two words is similar.

Krissæans doubtless derived great profits from the number of visitors who came to visit Delphi, both by land and by sea, and Kirrha was originally only the name for their seaport. Gradually, however, the port appears to have grown in importance at the expense of the town, just as Apollonia and Ptolemais came to equal Kyrênê and Barka, and as Plymouth Dock has swelled into Devonport; while at the same time the sanctuary of Pytho with its administrators expanded into the town of Delphi, and came to claim an independent existence of its own. The original relations between Krissa, Kirrha, and Delphi, were in this manner at length subverted, the first declining and the two latter rising. The Krissæans found themselves dispossessed of the management of the temple, which passed to the Delphians; as well as of the profits arising from the visitors, whose disbursements went to enrich the inhabitants of Kirrha. Krissa was a primitive city of the Phokian name, and could boast of a place as such in the Homeric Catalogue, so that her loss of importance was not likely to be quietly endured. Moreover, in addition to the above facts, already sufficient in themselves as seeds of quarrel, we are told that the Kirrhæans abused their position as masters of the avenue to the temple by sea, and levied exorbitant tolls on the visitors who landed there—a number constantly increasing from the multiplication of the transmarine colonies, and from the prosperity of those in Italy and Sicily. Besides such offence against the general Grecian public, they had also incurred the enmity of their Phokian neighbours by outrages upon women, Phokian as well as Argeian, who were returning from the temple.¹

Growth of
Delphi and
Kirrha—
decline of
Krissa.

Thus stood the case, apparently, about 595 B.C., when the Amphiktyonic meeting interfered—either prompted by the Phokians, or perhaps on their own spontaneous impulse, out of regard to the temple—to punish the Kirrhæans. After a war of ten years, the first Sacred War in Greece, this object was completely accomplished, by a joint force of Thessalians under Eurylochos, Sykyonians under

Insolence
of the
Kirrhæans
punished
by the
Amphik-
tyons.

¹ Athenæus, xiii. p. 560; Æschinæ cont. Ktesiphont. c. 36. p. 406; Strabo, ix. p. 418. Of the Akragalidæ, or Kraugallidæ, whom Æschinæ

mentions along with the Kirrhæans as another impious race who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the god—and who were over-

Kleisthenês, and Athenians under Alkmæon; the Athenian Solon being the person who originated and enforced in the Amphiktyonic council the proposition of interference. Kirrha appears to have made a strenuous resistance, until its supplies from the sea were intercepted by the naval force of the Sikyonian Kleisthenês. Even after the town was taken, its inhabitants defended themselves for some time on the heights of Kirphis.¹ At length, however, they were thoroughly subdued. Their town was destroyed or left to subsist merely as a landing-place; while the whole adjoining plain was consecrated to the Delphian god, whose domains thus touched the sea. Under this sentence, pronounced by the religious feeling of Greece, and sanctified by a solemn oath publicly sworn and inscribed at Delphi, the land was condemned to remain untilled and unplanted, without any species of human care, and serving only for the pasturage of cattle. The latter circumstance was convenient to the temple, inasmuch as it furnished abundance of victims for the pilgrims who landed and came to sacrifice—for without preliminary sacrifice no man could consult the oracle;² while the entire prohibition of tillage was the only means of obviating the growth of another troublesome neighbour on the seaboard. The ruin of Kirrha in this war is certain: though the necessity of a harbour for visitors arriving by sea, led to the gradual revival of the town, upon a humbler scale of pretension. But the fate of Krissa is not so clear, nor do we know whether it was destroyed, or left subsisting in a position of inferiority with regard to Delphi. From this time forward, however, the Delphian community appear as substantive and autonomous, exercising in their own right the management of the temple; though we shall find, on more than one occasion, that the Phokians contest this right, and lay claim to the management of it for themselves³—a remnant of that early period when the oracle

thrown along with the Kirrhæans—we have no farther information. O. Müller's conjecture would identify them with the Dryopes (Dorians, i. 2. 5, and his Orchomenos, p. 496); Harpokration, v. Κίρρα, λλίδαι.

¹ Schol. ad Pindar. Pyth. Introduct.; Schol. ad Pindar. Nem. ix.

2; Plutarch, Solon, c. 11; Pausan. ii. 9, 6. Pausanias (x. 37, 4) and Polyenus (Strateg. iii. 6) relate a stratagem of Solon, or of Eurymachus, to poison the water of the Kirrhæans with hellebore.

² Eurip. Ion, 230.

³ Thucyd. i. 112.

stood in the domain of the Phokian Krissa. There seems moreover to have been a standing antipathy between the Delphians and the Phokians.

The Sacred War just mentioned—emanating from a solemn Amphiktyonic decree, carried on jointly by troops of different states whom we do not know to have ever before co-operated, and directed exclusively towards an object of common interest—is in itself a fact of high importance as manifesting a decided growth of Pan-Hellenic feeling. Sparta is not named as interfering—a circumstance which seems remarkable when we consider both her power, even as it then stood, and her intimate connexion with the Delphian oracle—while the Athenians appear as the chief movers, through the greatest and best of their citizens. The credit of a large-minded patriotism rests prominently upon them.

But if this Sacred War itself is a proof that the Pan-Hellenic spirit was growing stronger, the positive result in which it ended reinforced that spirit still farther. The spoils of Kirrha were employed by the victorious allies in founding the Pythian games. The octennial festival hitherto celebrated at Delphi in honour of the god, including no other competition except in the harp and the pæan, was expanded into comprehensive games on the model of the Olympic, with matches not only of music, but also of gymnastics and chariots—celebrated, not at Delphi itself, but on the maritime plain near the ruined Kirrha—and under the direct superintendence of the Amphiktyons themselves. I have already mentioned that Solon provided large rewards for such Athenians as gained victories in the Olympic and Isthmian games, thereby indicating his sense of the great value of the national games as a means of promoting Hellenic intercommunion. It was the same feeling which instigated the foundation of the new games on the Kirrhæan plain, in commemoration of the vindicated honour of Apollo, and in the territory newly made over to him. They were celebrated in the autumn, or first half of every third Olympic year; the Amphiktyons being the ostensible Agonotheis or administrators, and appointing persons to discharge the duty in their names.¹ At the

First
Sacred
War, in
595 B.C.

Destruction
of Kirrha.
—Pythian
games
founded by
the Am-
phiktyons.

¹ Mr. Clinton thinks that the the autumn: M. Boeckh refers the Pythian games were celebrated in celebration to the spring: Krause

first Pythian ceremony (in 586 B.C.), valuable rewards were given to the different victors; at the second (582 B.C.), nothing was conferred but wreaths of laurel—the rapidly attained celebrity of the games being such as to render any farther recompense superfluous. The Sikyonian despot Kleisthenês himself, one of the leaders in the conquest of Kirrha, gained the prize at the chariot-race of the second Pythia. We find other great personages in Greece frequently mentioned as competitors, and the games long maintained a dignity second only to the Olympic, over which indeed they had some advantages; first, that they were not abused for the purpose of promoting petty jealousies and antipathies of any administering state, as the Olympic games were perverted by the Eleians, on more than one occasion; next, that they comprised music and poetry as well as bodily display. From the circumstances attending their foundation, the Pythian games deserved, even more than the Olympic, the title bestowed on them by Demosthenês—"the common Agôn of the Greeks."¹

The Olympic and Pythian games continued always to be the most venerated solemnities in Greece. Yet the Nemea and Isthmia acquired a celebrity not much inferior; the Olympic prize counting for the highest of all.² Both the Nemea and the Isthmia were distinguished from the other two festivals by occurring, not once in four years, but once in two years; the former in the second and fourth years of each Olym-

agrees with Boeckh (Clinton, Fast. Hell. vol. ii. p. 200, Appendix; Boeckh, ad Corp. Inscr. No. 1688. p. 813; Krause, Die Pythien, Nemeen und Isthmien, vol. ii. p. 29-35).

Mr. Clinton's opinion appears to me the right one. Boeckh admits that, with the exception of Thucydides (v. 1-19), the other authorities go to sustain it; but he relies on Thucydides to outweigh them. Now the passage of Thucydides, properly understood, seems to me as much in favour of Clinton's view as the rest, if not more.

I may remark, as a certain additional reason in favour of Mr. Clinton's view, that the Isthmia appear

to have been celebrated in the third year of each Olympiad, and in the spring (Krause, p. 187). It seems improbable that these two great festivals should have come one immediately after the other, which nevertheless must be supposed, if we adopt the opinion of Boeckh and Krause.

Though the Pythian games belong to late summer or early autumn, the exact month is not easy to determine: see the references in K. F. Hermann, *Lehrbuch der gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Griechen*, ch. 49. not 12.

¹ Demosthen. Philipp. iii. p. 119.

² Pindar, *Nem.* x. 28-33.

piad, the latter in the first and third years. To both is assigned, according to Greek custom, an origin connected with the interesting persons and circumstances of legendary antiquity; but our historical knowledge of both begins with the sixth century B.C. The first historical Nemead is presented as belonging to Olympiad 52 or 53 (572-568 B.C.), a few years subsequent to the Sacred War above-mentioned and to the origin of the Pythia. The festival was celebrated in honour of the Nemean Zeus, in the valley of Nemea between Phlius and Kleônæ. The Kleônæans themselves were originally its presidents, until, at some period after 460 B.C., the Argeians deprived them of that honour and assumed the honours of administration to themselves.¹ The Nemean games had their Hellanodikæ² to superintend, to keep order, and to distribute the prizes, as well as the Olympic.

Respecting the Isthmian festival, our first historical information is a little earlier, for it has already been stated that Solon conferred a premium upon every Athenian citizen who gained a prize at that festival as well as at the Olympian—in or after 594 B.C. It was celebrated by the Corinthians at their isthmus, in honour of Poseidôn, and if we may draw any inference from the legends respecting its foundation, which is ascribed sometimes to Theseus, the Athenians appear to have identified it with the antiquities of their own state.³

¹ Strabo, viii. p. 377; Plutarch, *Arat.* c. 28; Mannert, *Geogr. d. Gr. u. Röm.* pt. viii. p. 650. Compare the second chapter in Krause, *Die Pythien, Nemeen und Isthmien*, vol. ii. p. 108 *seqq.*

That the Kleônæans continued without interruption to administer the Nemean festival down to Olympiad 80 (460 B.C.), or thereabouts, is the rational inference from Pindar, *Nem.* x. 42: compare *Nem.* iv. 17. Eusebius indeed states that the Argeians seized the administration for themselves in Olympiad 53. In order to reconcile this statement with the above passage in Pindar, critics have concluded that the Argeians lost it again, and that the Kleônæans resumed it a little

before Olympiad 80. I take a different view, and am disposed to reject the statement of Eusebius altogether; the more so as Pindar's tenth Nemean ode is addressed to an Argeian citizen named Theiæus; and if there had been at that time a standing dispute between Argos and Kleônæ on the subject of the administration of the Nemea, the poet would hardly have introduced the mention of the Nemean prizes gained by the ancestors of Theiæus, under the untoward designation of "prizes received from Kleônæan men."

² See Boeckh, *Corp. Inscript.* No. 1126.

³ K. F. Hermann, in his *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthümer*

We thus perceive that the interval between 600-560 B.C. exhibits the first historical manifestation of the Pythia, Isthmia, and Nemea—the first expansion of all the three from local into Pan-Hellenic festivals. To the Olympic games, for some time the only great centre of union among all the widely dispersed Greeks, are now added three other sacred Agônes of the like public, open, national character; constituting visible marks as well as tutelary bonds, of collective Hellenism, and ensuring to every Greek who went to compete in the matches, a safe and inviolate transit even through hostile Hel-

Pan-Hellenic character acquired by all the four festivals—Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian.

(ch. 32. not. 7, and ch. 65. not. 3), and again in his more recent work (*Lehrbuch der gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Griechen*, part iii. ch. 49, also not. 6), both highly valuable publications, maintains, —1. That the exaltation of the Isthmian and Nemean games into Pan-Hellenic importance arose directly after and out of the fall of the despots of Corinth and Sikyon. 2. That it was brought about by the paramount influence of the Dorians, especially by Sparta. 3. That the Spartans put down the despots of both these two cities.

The last of these three propositions appears to me untrue in respect to Sikyon—improbable in respect to Corinth: my reasons for thinking so have been given in a former chapter. And if this be so, the reason for presuming Spartan intervention as to the Isthmian and Nemean games falls to the ground; for there is no other proof of it, nor does Sparta appear to have interested herself in any of the four national festivals except the Olympic, with which she was from an early period peculiarly connected.

Nor can I think that the first of Hermann's three propositions is at all tenable. No connexion whatever can be shown between Sikyon and the Nemean games; and it is

the more improbable in this case that the Sikyonians should have been active, inasmuch as they had under Kleisthenês a little before contributed to nationalize the Pythian games: a second interference for a similar purpose ought not to be presumed without some evidence. To prove his point about the Isthmia, Hermann cites only a passage of Solinus (vii. 14), "*Hoc spectaculum, per Cypselum tyrannum intermissum, Corinthii Olymp. 49 solemnitati pristinae reddiderunt.*" To render this passage at all credible, we must read *Cypselidas* instead of *Cypselum* which deducts from the value of a witness whose testimony can never under any circumstances be rated high. But granting the alteration, there are two reasons against the assertion of Solinus. One, a positive reason, that Solon offered a large reward to Athenian victors at the Isthmian games: his legislation falls in 594 B.C., ten years before the time when the Isthmia are said by Solinus to have been renewed after a long intermission. The other reason (negative, though to my mind also powerful) is the silence of Herodotus in that long invective which he puts into the mouth of Sosiklês against the Kypselids (v. 92). If Kypselus had really been

lenic states.¹ These four, all in or near Peloponnesus, and one of which occurred in each year, formed the Period, or cycle of sacred games, and those who had gained prizes at all the four received the enviable designation of Periodonikes.² The honours paid to Olympic victors on their return to their native city, were prodigious even in the sixth century B.C., and became even more extravagant afterwards. We may remark, that in the Olympic games alone, the oldest as well as the most illustrious of the four, the musical and intellectual element was wanting. All the three more recent Agônes included crowns for exercises of music and poetry, along with gymnastics, chariots, and horses.

It was not only in the distinguishing national stamp set upon these four great festivals, that the gradual increase of Hellenic family-feeling exhibited itself, during the course of this earliest period of Grecian history. Pursuant to the same tendencies, religious festivals in all the considerable towns gradually became more and more open and accessible, attracting guests as well as competitors from beyond the border. The comparative dignity of the city, as well as the honour rendered to the presiding god, were measured by the numbers, admiration, and envy, of the frequenting visitors.³ There is no positive evidence indeed of such expansion in the Attic festivals earlier than the reign of Peisistratus, who first added the

Increased frequentation of the other festivals in most Greek cities.

guilty of so great an insult to the feelings of the people as to suppress their most solemn festival, the fact would hardly have been omitted in the indictment which Sosiklês is made to urge against him. Aristotle indeed, representing Kypselus as a mild and popular despot, introduces a contrary view of his character, which, if we admitted it, would of itself suffice to negative the supposition that he had suppressed the Isthmia.

¹ Plutarch, Arat. c. 28. καὶ συνεχρήθη τότε πρῶτον (by order of Aratus) ἡ διεσπασμένη τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἀσουλία καὶ ἀσφάλεια, a deadly stain on the character of Aratus.

² Festus, v. Perihodos, p. 217, ed. Müller. See the animated protest of the philosopher Xenophanês against the great rewards given to Olympic victors (540-520 B.C.), Xenophan. Fragment. 2. p. 357, ed. Bergk.

³ Thucyd. vi. 16. Alkibiadês says, καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει χορηγίαις ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ λαμπρότατοι, τοῖς μὲν ἀστοῖς φθονεῖται, φόβει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ξένους καὶ αὐτῇ ἰσχὺς φαίνεται.

The greater Panathenæa are ascribed to Peisistratus by the Scholiast on Aristeidês, vol. iii. p. 323, ed. Dindorf: judging by what immediately precedes, the statement seems to come from Aristotle.

quadrennial or greater Panathenæa to the ancient annual or lesser Panathenæa. Nor can we trace the steps of progress in regard to Thebes, Orchomenus, Thespizæ, Megara, Sikyon, Pellênê, Ægina, Argos, &c., but we find full reason for believing that such was the general reality. Of the Olympic or Isthmian victors whom Pindar and Simonidês celebrated, many derived a portion of their renown from previous victories acquired at several of these local contests¹—victories sometimes so numerous, as to prove how wide-spread the habit of reciprocal frequentation had become:² though we find, even in the third century B.C., treaties of alliance between different cities, in which it is thought necessary to confer such mutual right by express stipulation. Temptation was offered, to the distinguished gymnastic or musical competitors, by prizes of great value. Timæus even asserted, as a proof of the overweening pride of Kroton and Sybaris, that these cities tried to supplant the preeminence of the Olympic games, by instituting games of their own with the richest prizes to be celebrated at the same time³—a statement in itself not worthy of credit, yet nevertheless illustrating the animated rivalry known to prevail among the Grecian cities, in procuring for themselves splendid and crowded games. At the time when the Homeric Hymn to Dêmêtêr was composed, the worship of that goddess seems to have been purely local at Eleusis. But before the Persian war, the festival celebrated by the Athenians every year, in honour of the Eleusinian Dêmêtêr, admitted Greeks of all cities to be initiated, and was attended by vast crowds of them.⁴

¹ Simonidês, *Fragm.* 154-158, ed. Bergk; Pindar, *Nem.* x. 45; *Olymp.* xiii. 107.

The distinguished athlete Theagenês is affirmed to have gained 1200 prizes in these various agônes: according to some, 1400 prizes (*Pausan.* vi. 11, 2; *Plutarch*, *Præcept.* *Reip. Ger.* c. 15. p. 811).

An athlete named Apollonius arrived too late for the Olympic games, having staid away too long from his anxiety to get money at various agônes in Ionia (*Pausan.* v. 21, 5).

² See particularly, the treaty be-

tween the inhabitants of Latus and those of Olûs in Krête, in Boeckh's *Corp. Inscr.* No. 2554, wherein this reciprocity is expressly stipulated. Boeckh places this Inscription in the third century B.C.

³ Timæus, *Fragm.* 82, ed. Didot. The Krotoniates furnished a great number of victors both to the Olympic and to the Pythian games (*Herodot.* viii. 47; *Pausan.* x. 5, 5-x. 7, 3; *Krause*, *Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen*, vol. ii. sect. 29. p. 752).

⁴ *Herodot.* viii. 65. xxi αὐτῶν ὁ

It was thus that the simplicity and strict local application of the primitive religious festival, among the greater states in Greece, gradually expanded, on certain great occasions periodically recurring, into an elaborate and regulated series of exhibitions—not merely admitting, but soliciting, the fraternal presence of all Hellenic spectators. In this respect Sparta seems to have formed an exception to the remaining states. Her festivals were for herself alone, and her general rudeness towards other Greeks was not materially softened even at the Karneia¹ and Hyakinthia, or Gymnopædiæ. On the other hand, the Attic Dionysia were gradually exalted, from their original rude spontaneous outburst of village feeling in thankfulness to the god, followed by song, dance, and revelry of various kinds—into costly and diversified performances, first by a trained chorus, next by actors superadded to it.² And the dramatic compositions thus produced, as they embodied the perfection of Grecian art, so they were eminently calculated to invite a Pan-Hellenic audience and to encourage the sentiment of Hellenic unity. The dramatic literature of Athens however belongs properly to a later period. Previous to the year 560 B. C., we see only those commencements of innovation which drew upon Thespis³ the rebuke of Solon; who however himself

All other Greek cities, except Sparta, encouraged such visits.

βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ποιεῖται.

The exclusion of all competitors natives of Lampsakus, from the games celebrated in the Chersonesus to the honour of the œkist Miltiadês, is mentioned by Herodotus as something special (Herodot. vi. 281).

¹ See the remarks, upon the Lacedæmonian discouragement of stranger-visitors at their public festivals, put by Thucydides into the mouth of Periklês (Thucyd. ii. 49).

Lichas the Spartan gained great renown by treating hospitably the strangers who came to the Gymnopædiæ at Sparta (Xenophon, Memorab. i. 2, 61; Plutarch, Kimon, c. 10)—a story which proves that

some strangers came to the Spartan festivals, but which also proves that they were not many in number, and that to show them hospitality was a striking distinction from the general character of Spartans.

² Aristot. Poetic. c. 3 and 4; Maximus Tyrius, Diss. xxi. p. 215; Plutarch, De Cupidine Divitiarum, c. 8. p. 527: compare the treatise "Quod non potest suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum," c. 16. p. 1098. The old oracles quoted by Demosthenês, cont. Meidiam (c. 15; p. 531, and cont. Makartat. p. 1072: see also Buttmann's note on the former passage), convey the idea of the ancient simple Athenian festival.

³ Plutarch, Solon, c. 29: see above, chap. xi. vol. iii. p. 195.

contributed to impart to the Panathenaic festival a more solemn and attractive character, by checking the licence of the rhapsodes and ensuring to those present a full orderly recital of the *Iliad*.

The sacred games and festivals, here alluded to as a class, took hold of the Greek mind by so great a variety of feelings,¹ as to counterbalance in a high degree the political disseverance; and to keep alive among their wide-spread cities in the midst of constant jealousy and frequent quarrel, a feeling of brotherhood and congenial sentiment such as must otherwise have died away. The *Theôrs*, or sacred envoys who came to Olympia or Delphi from so many different points, all sacrificed to the same god and at the same altar, witnessed the same sports, and contributed by their donatives to enrich or adorn one respected scene. Moreover the festival afforded opportunity for a sort of fair, including much traffic amid so large a mass of spectators;² and besides the exhibitions of the games themselves, there were recitations and lectures in a spacious council-room for those who chose to listen

Effect of these festivals upon the Greek mind.

¹ The orator Lysias, in a fragment of his lost Panegyric Oration, preserved by Dionysius of Halikarnassus (vol. v. p. 520 R.), describes the influence of the games with great force and simplicity. *Hēraklēs*, the founder of them, ὁ γῶνα μὲν σωμάτων ἐποίησε, φιλοτιμίαν δὲ πλοῦτος, γνώμης δ' ἐπίδειξιν ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ὅσα τούτων ἀπάντων ἕνεκα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔλθωμεν, τὰ μὲν ὀφόμενοι, τὰ δὲ ἀκούσομενοι. Ἡγήσατο γάρ τὸν ἐνθάδε σύλλογον ἀρχὴν γε εἶσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίας.

² Cicero, *Tusc. Quæst.* v. 3. "*Mercurium eum, qui haberetur maximo ludorum apparatus totius Græciæ celebritate: nam ut illic alii corporibus exercitatis gloriam et nobilitatem coronæ peterent, alii emendi aut vendendi quæstu et lucro ducerentur,*" &c.

Both Velleius Paterculus also (i. 8) and Justin (xiii. 5) call the

Olympic festival by the name *mercatus*.

There were booths all round the Altis, or sacred precinct of Zeus (Schol. Pindar. *Olymp.* xi. 55), during the time of the games.

Strabo observes with justice, respecting the multitudinous festivals generally—"Ἡ πανήγυρις, ἐμπορικὸν τι πρῶμα (x. p. 486), especially in reference to Delos: see Cicero *pro Lege Maniliâ*, c. 18: compare Pausanias, x. 32, 9, about the Panegyris and fair at Tithorea in Phokis, and Becker, *Chariklēs*, vol. i. p. 283.

At the Attic festival of the *Hērakleia*, celebrated by the communion called *Mesogei*, or a certain number of the demes constituting *Mesogæa*, a regular market-duty or ἀγοροστικὸν was levied upon those who brought goods to sell (*Inscriptiones Atticæ nuper repertæ* 12, by E. Curtius, p. 3-7).

to them, by poets, rhapsodes, philosophers and historians—among which last the history of Herodotus is said to have been publicly read by its author.¹ Of the wealthy and great men in the various cities, many contended simply for the chariot-victories and horse-victories. But there were others whose ambition was of a character more strictly personal, and who stripped naked as runners, wrestlers, boxers, or pankratiasts, having gone through the extreme fatigue of a complete previous training. Kylon whose unfortunate attempt to usurp the sceptre at Athens has been recounted, had gained the prize in the Olympic stadium: Alexander son of Amyntas, the prince of Macedon, had run for it:² the great family of the Diagoridæ at Rhodes, who furnished magistrates and generals to their native city, supplied a still greater number of successful boxers and pankratiasts at Olympia, while other instances also occur of generals named by various cities from the list of successful Olympic gymnasts; and the odes of Pindar, always dearly purchased, attest how many of the great and wealthy were found in that list.³ The perfect popularity, and equality of persons, at these great games, is a feature not less remarkable than the

¹ Pausan. vi. 23, 5; Diodor. xiv. 109, xv. 7; Lucian, Quomodo Historia sit conscribenda, c. 42. See Krause, Olympia. sect. 29, p. 183—186.

² Thucyd. i. 120; Herodot. v. 22-71. Eurybatês of Argos (Herodot. vi. 92); Philippus and Phayllus of Kroton (v. 47: viii. 47); Eualkidês of Eretria (v. 1 2); Hermolykus of Athens (ix. 105).

Pindar (Nem. iv. and vi.) gives the numerous victories of the Bassidæ and Theandridæ at Ægina: also Melissus the pankratiast and his ancestors the Kleonymidæ of Thebes—τιμᾶντες ἀρχάμεν τρώξεναι τ' ἐπὶ τρωπῶν (Isthm. iii. 25).

Respecting the extreme celebrity of Diagoras and his sons, of the Rhodian gens Eratidæ, Damagêtus, Akusilaus, and Dorieus, see Pindar, Olymp. vii. 16-145, with the Scholia; Thucyd. iii. 11; Pausan. vi. 7,

1, 2; Xenophon, Hellenic. i. 5, 19: compare Strabo, xiv. p. 655.

³ The Latin writers remark it as a peculiarity of Grecian feeling, as distinguished from Roman, that men of great station accounted it an honour to contend in the games: see, as a specimen, Tacitus, Dialogus de Orator. c. 9. "Ac si in Græciâ natus esses, ubi ludicras quoque artes exercere honestum est, ac tibi Nicostrati robur Dii dedissent, non paterer immanes illos et ad pugnam natos lacertos, levitate jaculi vancescere." Again, Cicero, pro Flacco, c. 13, in his sarcastic style—"Quid si etiam occisus est a piratis Adramyttenus, homo nobilis, cujus est fere nobis omnibus nomen auditum, Atinas pugil, Olympionices? hoc est apud Græcos (quoniam de eorum gravitate dicimus) prope majus et gloriosius, quam Romæ triumphasse."

exact adherence to predetermined rule, and the self-imposed submission of the immense crowd to a handful of servants armed with sticks,¹ who executed the orders of the Eleian Hellanodikæ. The ground upon which the ceremony took place, and even the territory of the administering state, was protected by a "Truce of God" during the month of the festival, the commencement of which was formally announced by heralds sent round to the different states. Treaties of peace between different cities were often formally commemorated by pillars there erected, and the general impression of the scene suggested nothing but ideas of peace and brotherhood among Greeks.² And I may remark that the impression of the games as belonging to all Greeks, and to none but Greeks, was stronger and clearer during the interval between 600—300 B.C., than it came to be afterwards. For the Macedonian conquests had the effect of diluting and corrupting Hellenism, by spreading an exterior varnish of Hellenic tastes and manners over a wide area of incongruous foreigners, who were incapable of the real elevation of the Hellenic character; so that although in later times the games continued undiminished both in attraction and in number of visitors, the spirit of Pan-Hellenic communion which had once animated the scene was gone for ever.

¹ Lichas, one of the chief men of Sparta, and moreover a chariot-victor, received actual chastisement on the ground, from these staff-bearers, for an infringement of the regulations (Thucyd. v. 50).

² Thucyd. v. 18-47, and the curious ancient Inscription in Boeckh's *Corpus Inscr.* Nr. 11. p. 28, recording the convention between the Eleians and the inhabitants of the Arcadian town of Heræa.

The comparison of various passages referring to the Olympia,

Isthmia, and Nemea (Thucydides, iii. 11, viii. 9, 10, v. 49-51, and Xenophon, *Hellenic.* iv. 7, 2; v. 1, 29) shows that serious political business was often discussed at these games—that diplomatists made use of the intercourse for the purpose of detecting the secret designs of states whom they suspected—and that the administering state often practised manœuvres in respect to the obligations of truce for the Hieromenia or Holy Season.

END OF VOL. III.



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